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THE FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLAND

SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY

THE FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLAND

OR TWELVE CENTURIES OF BRITISH HISTORY

(B.C. 55—A.D. 1154)

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BY

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ADDENDA AND ERRATA TO VOLUME II

Page 16. The reference for the date of Lanfranc's appointment to Caen should be Orderic, 549, where he corrects the erroneous date given at p. 494. See below, and text, 183, note.

Page 23, note 3. I might have added that if the proportion of the English army at Senlac contributed by the Church was large, it was a natural consequence of the fact that South of the Thames the Church estates were so vast. See *Domesday and Beyond*, 286.

Page 25, note 1. No attempt appears to have been made to interpret the old English toasting-cries as given by Wace, *Roman de R.* II. p. 184 ed. Pluquet).

> "Bublie crient é weissel,
> E laticome é drencheheil,
> Drink Hindrewart é Drintome
> Dric Helf, é drinc tome."

Bublie" seems to represent the common greeting "beo blíðe," 'be e,' 'rejoice,' conf. Matt. xxv. 21.

Veissel" of course is "wæs hæl," 'good health' or 'your good '; and "drencheheil" is "drinc hæl," or 'drink and good health,' k your health.'

icome" is probably 'let it come,' *i.e.* 'pass the bottle.'

k hindrewart" may possibly = 'drink hitherwards'; conf. 'I look ou.'

ome" should be 'drink to me.'

helf" and "drinc tome" go together; = 'drink half a cup,' a whole cup,' 'empty your glasses.' "Toom" in modern otch still means empty. In these suggestions I must acknowsistance of Mr. C. Plummer and Mr. A. L. Mayhew.

note. For Clark, Military "Antiquities," *read* "Architecture." See above, I. 500.

For 1066 as the date of Lanfranc's appointment to Caen, 66 is the year given by Orderic at p. 494, but this is corrected en at p. 549.

te. For "Aldreth-Soham" causeway, *read* "Aldrethseway. I should also have referred to Mr. C. C. of Old Cambridgeshire (Camb. Antiq. Soc. 1883).

3. Earl Roger, alleged to have been set free at the must have been recommitted to bonds, as he is never Orderic distinctly asserts that he died in prison.

For Round "60," *read* "308."

from top, for "Bishop," *read* "Archbishop."

For 1088–"1099," *read* "1089."

noval of the great Mercian Bishopric to Lincoln by fact, from Dorchester, but from Leicester, to which had already been removed. See Index,

od, *read* "Hugh" in

CHAPTER I

HAROLD II

A.D. 1066

Born 1023-1024.[1] Crowned 6th January, 1066. Died 14th October, 1066 (Killed at Battle)

Harold's Election and Coronation—Marriage with Ealdgyth—Descent of Tostig—Battle of Stamford Bridge

ON the 5th January (1066) the Confessor King had breathed his last. The very next day saw him buried before the high altar at St. Peter's Westminster, as already stated; a 'deposition' of unparalleled haste But the proceedings of that eventful Epiphany Day did not end ther The leaders of the nation were anxious to push on to other matters greater importance than the obsequies of a departed King. The quest of the succession under the circumstances of the hour was one of ex ordinary urgency and delicacy. According to constitutional precedent young Ætheling Eadgar, grandson of the gallant Ironside, was th pointed out for the suffrages of the Witan. Then there was William with his old pretensions and his new hold on Harold; an there was Harold himself, in whom the late King was understood finally acquiesced. The few foreigners at court might wish for th and sticklers for usage might look to Eadgar[2]; but from the En practical point of view, if England was not to be brought into to Normandy, Harold, and Harold only, could be thought of. at any rate were determined to allow of no discussion on the cordingly the hasty funeral of the Confessor was followed by and consecration of a new King, hurried on in a manner cedented. The Witan present in London held a council, e offhand, and then and there took him back to the Abbey, by Ealdred, Stigand being again put on one side.[3]

[1] Godwine became earl in 1018; he might marry 1019-1020; S came earl in 1043, and Harold became earl in 1045. He is re William as his junior; Guy Amiens, *M.H.B.*, 860. William was

[2] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 238.

[3] Chron. C, D, E; Flor.; *Hist. Ely* (Gale), II. 515. For the given by the two first "se froda, befæste," etc. Chron. E and the nomination by Eadward. See also W. Malm., *G. R.*, ss. 2 of the Norman writers that Harold was crowned by the schis of their many misrepresentations of fact; W. Poit., 105;

Of the composition of the assembly by which Harold was elected we really know nothing, except that the two Archbishops and the court circle must have been there. Florence roundly asserts that all the magnates of England were present.[1] But that is hardly credible considering the recent breach between the Northern Thegns and the late King. Harold was probably elected by representatives of the Southern Midlands, Wessex and East Anglia, and by the Church as a whole. That the Witan made a right choice cannot be doubted; and we fully believe that Harold's election was on the whole popular, and that he justified the confidence of his friends.[2] The precipitancy of the proceedings connected with his accession was perhaps unfortunate. It betrayed a certain nervousness, a certain want of confidence in his position. It must have been directed rather against domestic rivals than against William, who could not have carried England by a *coup de main*. It certainly justified Harold's enemies in taxing him with having snatched the crown.[3] That Harold's actual and prospective difficulties were immense is plain. In the first place the want of royal blood must have told heavily against him. The history of the world shows that wherever monarchy has established itself the predilection for a King sprung from the magic circle of the regal caste becomes so strong that the feeling might almost be regarded as an "innate idea," part of the equipment that man brings with him into the world, an ultimate fact to be accepted without explanation.[4] Harold's birth would certainly expose his throne to a certain amount of popular contempt, and a considerable amount of aristocratic jealousy among fellow-magnates. Then the attitude of Mercia and Northumbria must have been doubtful for some time. Eadwine and Morkere may have dreamed of partition.[5] They could not possibly have any heart in the succession of the West-Saxon Earl, who had twice endeavoured to drive his father out of house and home. These were some of Harold's domestic difficulties. Abroad he had his infuriated brother to reckon with, and his rival Duke William. Against these he had a single ally to look to. Flemish sympathy was divided between William, the latter having married Baldwin's daughter, and

Harold's Difficulties

at Home

old ritual was observed. Very likely it was, but there is no record of

[1] "A totius regni primatibus electus," etc.

sions in Malmesbury, *sup.*, where he speaks of the "benivolentia" arold. Of his rule he says, "quamvis ut non celetur veritas pro t regnum prudentia et fortitudine gubernaret si legitime suscepisset." ght than the mere panegyric of Florence, p. 280.

it"; Adam of Bremen, *sup.*, p. 344. "Arripuit diadema"; W. So also, of course, the Norman writers.

fication of the feeling is to be found in its tendency to limit the lidates, and the chances of dissension and disruption.

sup., understood that at Eadward's death the *principes* were g themselves for the succession.

the former his sister. The Danish view, as expressed by Adam of Bremen, was that Harold was a usurper.[1] Swein Estrithson had a claim of his own to urge through the old compact with Eadward. In Norway Harold Hardrada was still ready for Wicking adventure; while lastly the Papacy had been alienated by Harold's supposed connexion with Stigand. Harold, like many other English statesmen, had no foreign policy, and he paid the penalty of his mistake. But these difficulties must enhance our admiration for the spirited stand he was able to make under such adverse circumstances. Poor Harold! He indeed 'had little stillness the while that he ruled.'[2] It is pathetic to hear that his coins were inscribed with the motto PAX,[3] that peace for which he might sigh, but to which he could not attain. The motto, however, was not one of his invention, being found on coins of the Confessor.[4]

Harold's accession probably was attended by few if any changes in the official world. The government had been practically in his hands for the last six or seven years: it would be his natural cue to avoid giving offence. Wessex he retained in his own hands. In fact, the Earldom of all Wessex was a novel post created for Godwine. But the appointment of Waltheof, the son of Siward, to the earldom of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire may probably be ascribed to this time.[5]

The news that King Eadward was dead, and that the day of his burial had seen Harold elected and crowned, flew on the wings of the wind to Rouen. 'The mad Englishman had given public opinion no time to come to a just conclusion, but, with the help of an unscrupulous faction, seated himself on the throne, on the very day of the funeral of the king of kings.'[6] William obviously had friends in England whose business was to keep him well informed. Without loss of time he convened a council to impart his intention of asserting his rights by force of arms. We say to impart his intention, because his chaplain frankly admits that both then and on other occasions many of his chief men regarded the enterprise as too arduous, and utterly beyond the means of Normandy.[7] And so it well might seem. In fact, we may be sure that if William had listened to his Barons he would never have crossed the Channel. But the Duke's mind was made up, and an embassy was promptly sent over to Harold.

An Embassy to Harold.

[1] "Haroldus vir maleficus sceptrum invasit"; Pertz, IX. p. 344.

[3] Freeman, *N.C.*, III. 54.

[4] See Ruding, *Annals of Mint*, III. Pl. xxiv. 11, and xxvi. 1,

[5] Waltheof appears as an earl in the course of 1066. Whether within the year or in the autumn of 1065 is uncertain.

[6] "Nec sustinuit vesanus Anglus quid electio publica statuere lugubri quo optimus ille humatus est . . . regium solium busdam iniquis faventibus"; W. Poitiers, 104. For pictorial l of the receipt of the news by the Duke, see *Roman de Rou*, II.

[7] "Tametsi complures majorum id ingeniose dissuaderent,

demanding the fulfilment of his engagements.[1] This was a necessary preliminary to any declaration of war, or commencement of hostilities. William was careful to keep himself in the right in the eyes of the world. Neither his message nor the exact answer to it have come down to us, but we may readily assume that Harold would point out that the Crown of England was not his to promise. The bestowal of it rested with the Witan of England, and they had given it to him.[2] Whether, as against the honour of the Saints by whose relics he had sworn Harold could venture to represent his oath as nullified by the circumstances under which it had been extorted from him seems doubtful. On such points the conscience of the age was timid.

Council at Lillebonne.

Harold's attitude being thus defined, William, after consultation with the inner circle of his confidants, convened a grand Provincial Council of his Barons at Lillebonne, to secure their co-operation, and commit them to his enterprise. Feudal law gave him no right to call for their services over-sea. Again it is clear that onsiderable opposition manifested itself; but again, as usual, William's etermination carried the day.[3] The Norman Barons having been brought nd to his scheme, and definite pledges of support given, and, moreover, recorded on parchment[4]—William was careful in all matters of business—preparation for war began in earnes Ships were laid down, volunteers called for, and stores of arms, , and munitions collected.[5]

arations War.

William's breadth of view realized the importance of securing moral as material support; and here the talents of his confidant Lanfranc, the Prior of Bec,[6] stood him in good stead. The Duke's account of his quarrel with Harold was industriously circulated: William was the late King's heir, his next of kin, his Harold was a mere intruder, a perjurer, a blasphemer. Being sworn man, he had violated every engagement entered into To support these charges and enlist sympathy, envoys were the principal courts of Europe. The right hand of fellow- out to Tostig, who was brought from Flanders to Normandy.[8] or treaties of defensive alliance were opened with Germany

cy nc.

; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 238.

, *sup.*; Eadmer, p. 8; *R. Rou*, II. 123, 124. The writers who se to marry William's daughter as part of Harold's obligations, also cting that on one ground or another. Eadmer thought that it was man, who had contracted for the hand of a daughter of Harold,

II. 299); *R. Rou*, II. 125–135. The latter represents William s chief agent in bringing the Barons to terms.

rever." [5] W. Poitiers, 106. [6] See *Id.*, 97; Orderic, 494.

. statuit . . . consanguineus meus Rex Edwardus";

again 145; H. Hunt., A.D. 1066; *Hist. Ramsey*, 178.

, 285.

and Denmark.[1] But Lanfranc's great stroke was securing the approval of the Papacy. Gilbert, Archdeacon of Lisieux, was sent to Rome, and succeeded in representing the contemplated attack on England as "a missionary enterprise" for the reformation of the Church of England[2]; that is to say, for bringing it into closer relations with the See of Rome. It was on this ground clearly that the great Archdeacon Hildebrand persuaded Alexander II. to give the blessing of St. Peter to William's cause, and to send a consecrated banner "to hallow the cause of fraud and usurpation."[3] To the professional soldiers and adventurers to whose swords William really looked for success it is needless to say that the spoils of England were the golden bait held out.[4]

On the diplomatic field it does not appear that Harold attempted to cross swords with the Duke. Even at Rome he allowed the case to go against him by default. His ideas of policy were limited by the Four Seas.

In fact, he had to begin with making sure of England. The greater part of the country was with him,[5] but the Northumbrians, a materia exception, had not given in their allegiance. Harold faced the difficul by a journey to the North, taking with him Wulfstan, the much-respec Bishop of Worcester, who, as already mentioned, had for some t administered the See of York, as *locum tenens* for Ealdred. The visit successful, the Northern people being won by the unwonted sig Royalty, and Harold's pleasant manners, and he return London for Easter (April 16) acknowledged King of a land.[6] It was probably during this progress that forsaking his old love, Eadgyth "Swanneshals" (*Swanneck*), ceme alliance with Eadwine and Morkere by marrying their beauti Ealdgyth, the widow of Gruffudd, son of Llywelyn, late King Wales.[7]

Harold King of all England.

[1] W. Poitiers, 107. For the state of affairs in Germany, then under t the young King Henry IV., see Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 307, 308. The att mark, however, clearly remained doubtful; Poitiers, *sup.*

[2] So William's chaplain, "Non tantum ditionem suam et gloriam ritus Christianos partibus in illis corrigere intendit"; W. Poitiers, 108.

[3] Freeman. "Vexillum velut suffragium Sancti Petri, quo primo co invaderet adversarium"; W. Poit., 107; Orderic, 493; W. Malm (p. 299). For Hildebrand's action in the matter see his own letter (2 William, in which he admits that he was blamed by many of his bre such bloodshed; Bouquet, XIV. 648. This makes it clear that really taken in by William's sophistries. For an exhaustive revi campaign see Freeman's *N. C.*, III. 266–286, 305–322.

[4] "Viri pugnaces . . . Anglicæ prædæ inhiantes"; O *Hyda*, 291; Freeman. [5] "Paulo minus totum."

[6] W. Malm., *Vita Wulfst.*, *Angl. Sacra*, II. 253; Chron. C

[7] The date of the marriage is uncertain. For the fact se 228, ed. Thorpe); W. Jum., 285, "pulchram Aldith"; *N. C.*, II. Append. J.J.; and III. Append. F.

From the time of Cnut onwards London had more and more been taking rank as the capital and seat of government, Winchester becoming, as it were, the jointure-residence of widowed Queens. At Westminster, therefore, Harold held his first and only Easter feast, and with it probably the usual Easter Gemôt. Preparation against the impending storm of war must have supplied ample matter for serious discussion. Two ecclesiastical appointments, however, were probably made at this time. The abbacy of Ely had fallen vacant towards the close of the late reign, through the death of Abbot Wulfric, described as of kin to the Confessor (*cognatum*). Stigand had been allowed to take the administration of the affairs of that as well as of other abbeys into his own hands.[1] It was now taken from him, and one of the monks, by name Thurstan, described as a man of good character and fair education, was appointed Abbot.[2] The Abbey of Abingdon had lost its head about the 22nd January (1066) through the death of Abbot Ordric. One Ealdred, again a member of the House, was appointed to succeed him.[3]

Easter at Westminster.

Ecclesiastical Appointments.

In connexion with these affairs we may notice an effort made by Harold come to terms with Bishop Gisa, who had taxed him with appropriating ds that had been given to the See of Wells, and, in particular the townships of Congresbury and Banwell. The only extant charter of ld confirms Gisa in all his rights of soc and sac, but makes no ce to the disputed lands in question.[4] From Domesday it appears th Congresbury and Banwell had been in Harold's hands T.R.E. the latter was held by the Bishop at the time of the Survey.[5]

week come and gone, the hurley-burley began. First the poke out, giving as it were a sign to warn the nation of coming On the 24th April a great comet appeared, and, for a whole the southern hemisphere with its tail. Writing after the event, ers of Europe agreed that the downfall of the English dynasty early foretold.[6]

later (May) William shot his first bolt, despatching Tostig m the Côtentin, that is to say, presumably from Cherbourg, a roving commission to harry the English coasts[7] and te a diversion. Tostig crossed over to the Isle of Wight, e he had estates,[8] and obtained money and provisions

. abbatiam de Ely . . . in sua manu tenuit"; *Hist. Ely*, ce et Latine sufficienter edoctum"; *Hist. Ely*, 515.

482. "Exteriorum præposituram agens." Freeman, *N. C.*, III. No. 976.

Hunter's *Ecclesiastical Documents* (Camden Soc., 1840), 15–18. sa one hide in Congresbury, keeping the rest for himself. See Append. Q.Q.

W. Jum., 285; Orderic, 492. The foreign writers represen tnight. [7] W. Jum., *sup.*; Ord., 493.

but nothing more—nothing certainly to induce him to stay there. Moving Eastwards, he levied contributions at various places till he came to Sandwich, where he must have made some little stay, long enough at any rate for the report of his being there to reach Harold in London, and for a report of an immediate attack by Harold to reach Sandwich. Tostig then sailed on again, taking with him a reinforcement of Sandwich boatmen, 'some thanks, some unthanks.'[1] His next appearance was in the Humber, where he did a deal of damage on the Lindsey shore. Here, of course, Tostig had no right to expect friends, and Eadwine and Morkere soon brought the Northern fyrd to the rescue. Tostig was again driven off, and his men began to desert him. With sixty vessels he was said to have entered the Humber; with twelve smacks he was fain to seek shelter at the court of his sworn brother, Malcolm Canmore of Scotland.[2]

He Retires to Scotland.

So far Tostig's efforts apparently had come to nothing. This must have happened about the end of May. For nearly four months Tostig remained lost to the ken of our English chroniclers, who supposed him to be buried in Scotland,[3] sitting there idly, waiting on Providence, till, i fact, Providence did send him a new ally, and a fresh equipment the struggle against his brother. This *Deus ex machinâ* was no other t the adventurous King of Norway, Harold Hardrada.[4] the ripe plum had not quite dropped into Tostig's mou its own accord. Finding, doubtless, that the Scots we prepared to undertake a war with England, either on his account o own, he had gone over to Norway to tempt the unquenched amb the last and greatest of Wickings.[5] According to one account, first application was made to his cousin Swein son of Estrith, Denmark.[6] But this lacks confirmation. The Norse King, ho dazzled by the prospect of rivalling the deeds of Swein Tiug Cnut. In the scramble for England why should not he stand an Earl of Wessex or a Duke of Normandy?

Harold Hardrada.

Norse armaments in those days did not take long to get r rada called out his men; had his son Magnus proclaimed I

[1] i.e., *Some willingly, some unwillingly.*

[2] Chron. C and D. [3] So Chron. C and Florence.

[4] It is a curious fact that the English and Norman writers almo speak of Harold 'Harfager,' confounding the later Harold with th whose fame seemingly overshadowed that of all other Norse H gives Harold "Hardrada" his proper name.

[5] W. Jum., *sup.*; Orderic, 493; Saga of H. Hardrada, Lain

[6] Saga, *sup.*, 78. The writer thought that Tostig went to No from Scotland, so that Denmark would lie on his way. This S worthless as history; but for the events of this year it is cle access to better materials than usual. His dates are right, identified.

Regent in his absence, and so, about the end of August, sailed from the Sulen Islands at the mouth of the Sogne Fiord.[1] He touched in Shetland and Orkney, then subject to his suzerainty,[2] and carried off as auxiliaries the Earls Paul and Erling, sons of the great Thorfinn, who had died about two years before. Sailing down the East coast of Scotland,[3] he put in at the mouth of the Tyne, with Tostig in his company.[4]

Descent on England.

Whether Tostig came back from Norway along with Harold or before him does not appear. If they had parted they must be taken to have effected a junction before entering the Tyne.[5] Tostig would never venture to attack Northumbria single-handed. The numbers of their combined forces are given as 200 or 300 ships.[6] Even if we could trust these figures, we should require to know something of the size and character of the vessels.

Hardrada's plan was to penetrate Yorkshire by sailing up the Oose to York, the old Scandinavian system, and so his next landing-place was "Kliflond," evidently Cleveland, meaning probably the mouth of the Tees. Again they touched at "Skardaborg"—Scarborough—where they rned the town, carrying off much booty, and so on to "Hellorness"—lderness—and round into the mouth of the Humber.[7] Sailing up the e (Usa) the invaders finally landed at "Richale"[8]—Riccal—on the ank of the river above Selby, but some ten miles below York. From oint they advanced by land along the road to York, with the river on their left. So they marched as far as Fulford,[9] that is to say, Gate Fulford, about two miles from York. There, on Wednesday, 20th September, they found themselves confronted orces of the country, under Eadwine, Morkere, and perhaps [10]

ment te d.

d follows a slight and narrow ridge between the river on one w Moor on the other side. The Moor, apparently little better p, was parted from the road by a ditch. Across the road, iver and the ditch, the two armies drew out their lines face n they engaged the English left next to the ditch proved nd drove back the enemy. Victory seemed to incline to Harold Hardrada, sounding the charge on his left, next ch also was his strongest wing, turned the scale, driving the ditch, where numbers were drowned. So at least

; Saga, *sup.*, 78–82. [2] Adam of Bremen.
n. [4] Chron. C (September).
nicle seems to imply that they met in the Tyne; but the English Tostig's trip to Norway, and the Saga and the Norman writers n Scotland.
Chron. D and E.
; Flor. [8] Florence. [9] Symeon.
ter, however, does not mention Eadwine, so that perhaps he altheof, but he gives Waltheof his right title.

says the Saga, if its account may be trusted.[1] But that the English, after a successful beginning, were ultimately defeated, and that they lost many men by drowning, either in the river or the ditch, is admitted by the English account, and may be taken as certain.[2] The invaders remained masters of the field, but none of the English leaders fell.

Defeat of the English.

What followed is involved in doubt. According to the Abingdon Chronicle Harold entered York; but the Saga admits that the castle held out: and all are agreed that negotiations for a peaceable settlement were entered into; that hostages were exchanged; and that Harold retired from the city, taking up his quarters outside.[3]

Neither party would be anxious to force the fighting. The English were probably looking for succour from the South, and Hardrada would not want to use force if other means would do. So matters went on, the invaders discussing terms of submission or alliance with the natives[4] till the following Sunday (24th September), when Harold, the English King, marching through Tadcaster, entered York.[5]

Of Harold's movements since the month of May we have but o account,[6] and that tells us that when he heard of his brother's appe ance at Sandwich he began to call for ships and men, and that he w down to Sandwich in person to take charge of the force.[7] But, as u 'it was long ere man might gather it.' However, when all was Harold took the ships to the Isle of Wight, while the land-fy stationed at different points along the coast.[8] So remained 'all summer and all harvest'—say all J August—and so on till towards the 8th September. then was all their meat (*victuals*) agone, and then them nane m holden ne might.' The allowances brought by from their districts, whether in money or kind hausted; they could not be allowed to plunder; their legal ter was at an end, and so they had to be dismissed. It was a With William's armament confronting him on the opposite mouth of the little river Dives, fully equipped, and only w first fair wind to cross the Channel, poor Harold had to d and allow them to go off to their respective homes; some N some West. It was maddening, but perhaps with a natio

Forces Mustered, and Disbanded.

[1] Laing, III. 84.

[2] Florence; Chron. C. Henry of Huntingdon adds that the b of the city was still shown in his day. [3] Florence, Chron

[4] On this point compare the statement in the Life of Wulfsta that at the last Tostig won back the Northumbrians to his side.

[6] Chron. C., translated by Florence. [7] "*Lith.*"

[8] For this see also Orderic, 500, and W. Poitiers, 107.

[9] "To Nativitas Sanctæ Mariæ," Chron.; rendered Nativitate."

militia it could not be helped. Nevertheless the social system which, under such circumstances, could not rise to an extra effort must stand condemned. Again, it does not appear that Harold, in all those weeks, made any attempt to deal a blow at his adversary by attacking his flotilla at its moorings,[1] a reflection on the naval enterprise of the English of the time. However we must admit that in those days a hundred miles of open sea was a good deal to face; and as we shall find that the wind blew from the North all the time, Harold might have some reasonable anxiety as to his power of getting back again if he did venture across the Channel. On that point he had experiences of his own to go by. Thus, after weeks of idleness, the force was disbanded. The ships were taken back to the Thames, but, it would seem, not without loss, several being lost on the way. Harold himself rode back to London, there to be greeted with the news of the landing of Tostig and Hardrada in the North. Glad, perhaps, after those weeks of weary inaction, to have at last a foe to grapple with, the King gathered a hasty force and started for York without the loss of a single hour.[2] It is probable that the fyrd had not been wholly dispersed, because two men, incidently noticed as having followed Harold in his march to York, were Thegns, the one from Essex, the other Worcestershire,[3] neither of whom could have been summoned from in time to join. Probably the leading gentry, with their household men, had kept round the King in case of need. We are told that he travelled to York 'days and nights';[4] the distance would be some 200 miles. For this forced march all were probably mounted.[5] How long they took we cannot say, because we do not exactly know when the news of the landing first reached Harold. The break-up in the Tostig is only vaguely dated as towards the Nativity of the Virgin, the 8th September, clearly implying that it took place some-time that day. Harold, therefore, might well have been in York the 12th or 15th September. Even the latter date would allow nine days for his preparations and march to Tadcaster.

The landing of the invaders in the Tyne, again, is dated still more vaguely as happening about the time when the English fleet got back to

English and Norman, are absolutely silent on this point. Mr. Freeman does make out some naval operations, but the only real bit of evidence he adduces is an entry in *Domesday* (Essex, II. 14*b*) to the effect that a certain Godwine "fuit in navale prœlium contra Willelmum Regem," and that he died on the return. The man is not stated to have been wounded, so that the entry does not necessarily imply anything more than that he had served in the ship-fyrd. Freeman, III. 426.

[2] Chron. D. [3] Chron. C. [4] Chron. C. [5] Florence, citing *Domesday*. [4] Chron. C.

[5] Florence, citing *Domesday*. [4] Chron. C.

[5] Florence, citing *Domesday*. [4] Chron. C.

[

the Thames.[1] If so we must suppose a first warning to have been heralded from Bamborough, a place that the Norse armament could hardly pass unseen.

Whatever the time taken on the march, Harold reached Tadcaster on Sunday, the 24th September.[2] We are then told that he arrayed his "lith," a word that we must take as meaning his army.[3] Whether he really entered York that night or not may be doubtful, but we have difficulty in believing that with the prospect of battle on the morrow his men could resist the temptation of pushing on another ten miles for the sake of a comfortable night in the good city of York. Anyhow, on Monday morning, September 25, Harold, reinforced no doubt by the men of York, marched out of the city to attack the enemy. These were not with their ships in the Oose, but encamped on the river Derwent some eight miles to the North-East of York. What took them there does not appear.[4] Perhaps they were foraging, perhaps collecting horses, the great desideratum for a Scandinavian march through the interior. At the moment they were expecting a peaceable embassy from the natives, t discuss terms and exchange hostages, when, all unawares,[5] the King England was upon them. A slight rise in the ground at Helmsley the road from York, would conceal his approach till he was within a and a half of Stamford Bridge. That would give the invaders scant to arm or get ready in.[6] Their men, therefore, or such of them as on the right bank of the stream, were promptly withdrawn to the further bank,[7] a movement probably not effected without some co and consequent demoralization. Of the battle the Saga of Hardrada gives us a most pictorial account, with speeches and w The English are represented as fighting on horseback, the Nor arrayed in circular formation, two deep, with shields locked the leaders being in the centre, as in the modern hollow square. rank would have their spears grounded, the rear rank their sp

Harold at Tadcaster.

Movements of the Forces.

[1] Chron. C.

[2] The Chronicle (C) after bringing Harold to Tadcaster on the Sund the Monday he 'went out through York,' etc. ("for thurh ut Eofer condensing the narrative, says that on the Monday, "veniens Eb the Norsemen at Stamford Bridge.

[3] Thorpe and Freeman render the word "lith" as fleet; but a ma craft in the Wharfe seems really absurd. If the passage is to have be taken to apply to the army.

[4] The reason given in the Chronicle, namely, that they had g to receive hostages from all Yorkshire, is not very intelligible.

[5] So expressly Marianus Scotus, the Irish writer, then living "Araldus Rex Anglorum . . . quum Araldum imparatum ejusdem rei invenisset bello occidit"; Pertz, V. 559; Freeman Saga, Laing, III. 86.

[7] "Cedere, sed non fugere . . . Ultra flumen repulsi

This detail is valuable as a description of Scandinavian tactics of the thirteenth century, when the Saga, in its present form, may have been compiled.[1] Probably the description applies equally to their tactics of the eleventh century; but as an account of the battle of Stamford Bridge this narrative must be entirely rejected. The English at that time never fought on horseback, and the story ignores the river and the other few facts that may be considered clearly established. These are that the main action took place on the left or further side of the river, where local tradition still shows the Battle Flats.[2] But it is also certain that the fighting began on the right bank, because the one incident of the action that impressed itself alike on the memories of those who witnessed and of those who heard tell of it was the heroic stand made on the bridge by a nameless Norwegian champion, who, for some time, singlehanded, held the planks against the English. Within the sweep of his battle-axe no man would venture; against his armour arrows were plied in vain. At last an Englishman, creeping under the bridge, speared him from beneath.[3] The final struggle is described as long and desperate, but it ended in the annihilation of the invaders—Norsemen, Scots, Flemings, Tostig, Hardrada, and all. Years afterwards their unburied bones whitened the ground.[4] A considerable force, however, given by the Saga as third of the whole, had been left to guard the ships, under the Norse younger son Olaf, a Norse Bishop, and the Orkney Earl Paul. be rid of them without further trouble, Harold allowed these, few fugitives who had joined them, to sail home in peace.[5]

A Norwegian Hero.

Annihilation of Hardrada and his Army.

d and his victorious host, way-worn and battle-weary, returned o feast and rest awhile.[6] But alas, poor King! fate had 'little n store for him. His return to the South could not be safely delayed a single day. How long he ventured to linger at York does not appear, but sufficient data seem to exist for lacing his return to London about the 5th October.[7] That days after Stamford Bridge.

5-93; Snorri Sturlasen lived 1178-1241.

thought that the whole battle was fought "begeondan thære brycge," *contra* H. Huntingdon. The course of the road shows that the have stood a little above the present one.

n Chronicle (C), where Mr. Earle tells us that the passage is added orthumbrian dialect. The incident is also given from different , *G. R.*, s. 228 (p. 281), and H. Huntingdon.

body of Tostig, however, was recovered and buried at York; His widow, Judith, was remarried in 1071 to Welf IV., son of e founder of the younger line of the House of Welf, Dukes of the Hanoverian Kings of England; Lappenberg, II. 281. n. C and D; Florence. In my views of the battle of Stamford yself in accord with Mr. Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 360-376.

ry.

ut by Mr. Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 733, with which I agree,

As Harold's return from the Isle of Wight to London had been followed by the news of Tostig's landing in the North, so now his homeward ride must have been spurred by the awful intelligence that four days after the fight on the Derwent Duke William had safely landed his armament at Pevensey.

Tostig had done William's work most thoroughly. In racing parlance, he had "made the running" for him most effectually. His appearance on the English coast in the spring had served to bustle his brother, and hurry him into premature action. His campaign in the North had enabled William to effect his crossing without molestation.[1] Lastly, his death relieved the Duke of an ally who, when he was no longer needed, might have become troublesome. The whole thing was perfect.

except in thinking that Harold could not have lingered at York till October 1. Huntingdon's statement that Harold received the news of William's landing at York on a day anterior to the date of William's landing, is no warrant for holding that Harold rested at York long enough to receive the news there. If he did it was the greatest piece of negligence of which he could be guilty.

[1] So Orderic points out.

CHAPTER II

HAROLD II. (*continued*)

A.D. 1066.

Campaign and Battle of Hastings—Death and Burial of Harold

William's Preparations.

THE course of William's preparations had run smoothly and successfully, events concurring singularly in his favour. His connexion with Flanders made his border safe on that side.[1] No "official" part in the expedition was taken by Baldwin V., but volunteers were allowed to enlist. Chief of the Flemish auxiliaries was Gerbod, afterwards for a short time Earl of Chester. Count Eustace II. of Boulogne, the brother-in-law of the Confessor, embraced William's use with ardour. He had private grudges of his own against the House Godwine and the English to avenge.[2] On the other hand the King of s could not be otherwise than hostile. The Duke of Normandy was dy much too strong.[3] But Philip I. was under age, and Baldwin of ers was acting as his guardian. However much the French Barons wish to thwart William's plans, they could not venture on any overt Maine was now William's own, having been conquered by him, as al- ated; while Anjou was distracted between two contending brothers, and Fulk, successors to their uncle Geoffrey Martel. In Brittany, rtune favoured William. Count Conan, the son of Allan, Wil- ner guardian, sent an insulting message, threatening hostilities, on William to restore the Breton lands in his possession. went on an expedition against Anjou, and died there while ssion of the town of Château-Gonthier.[5] His death was so oison was suggested, and so opportune for William that even eemed inclined to give him credit for having had a hand the most substantial body of auxiliaries that joined Wil-

stile interchange of messages between William and Baldwin (styled lleged in the *Roman de R.*, II. 137-139.

., under A.D. 1051. [3] "Trop est fort."

II. 135-137, *q.v.* for an alleged interview between William and ttle more historical than the account of the communications with

e Count's chamberlain, who held lands both of him and of infected Conan's gloves, bridle-reins, and hunting horn with took effect the chamberlain took refuge with William, but his

liam's banner came from Brittany, under the lead of Allan Rufus.[1] With him went Ralph of Gaël,[2] better known in English history as Ralph of Guader, afterwards Earl of Norfolk. But it appears that from all parts of ancient Gaul, from the Alps to the Atlantic, possibly even from beyond the Alps, William's *prestige* and William's liberality attracted adventurers and soldiers of fortune, most valuable recruits in the hands of one who could rule and lead them. Conspicuous among these was Aimery, Viscount of Thouars in Poitou, a man who proved of great assistance to the Duke.[3]

Paid Auxiliaries.

Of the men of his own allegiance the chief mentioned as actually joining the expedition were, first, William's two half-brothers, the sons of Arlette, by Herlouin of Conteville, whom she married after Duke Robert's death. These were Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and Robert Count of Mortain (*Moritolium*). With them we may place Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances. Among the lay barons were Ivo, son of Guy of Ponthieu; William, son of Richard Count of Evreux; Geoffrey, son of Rotrou Count of Mortagne (*Moritonia*); Robert of Meulan, eldest son of Roger of Beaumont[4]; William fitz Osbern, Walter Giffard, Ralph of Tosny,[5] Hugh of Grentemesnil,[6] William of Varenne,[7] Hugh of Montfort[8] (the constable), William Malet,[9] Humphrey of Tilleul.[10] To this list perhaps we might add the name of Roger of Poitou, thirty of Roger of Montgomeri, the father staying at home.[11] The reader will notice that on this voyage of adventure the chief Norman Barons were content to be represented by their sons.

Chief Norman Followers.

Nor did William's prudence neglect measures for the government of Normandy during his absence. That was entrusted to Matilda with Roger of Beaumont and other sage elders to advise her.[12] Certain ecclesiastical affairs also are recorded; but

Matilda Regent.

[1] *Roman de R.*, 142; Geoffrey Gaimar, *M.H.B.*, 828, and note. The this Allan the surname of "Fergant," which was that of his cousin and became Count of Brittany and married William's daughter Constance. S II. 271, note Pluquet. Gaimar also confounds Allan Rufus with the Co

[2] *Roman*, 247.

[3] See W. Poitiers, 106; W. Jum., 286; Orderic, 494; *Roman de de Bello Hastingensi*, *M.H.B.*, 861. This account of the campaign 1068 by Guy Bishop of Amiens. See also generally Freeman, III.

[4] Beaumont-le-Roger (Eure), a place named from him.

[5] Eure, near Gaillon.

[6] Now Grand-Mesnil, near Lisieux.

[7] "De Garenna," now Bellencombre, on the northern Va place took its name (Seine Inférieure). [8] Montfort-sur-Risl

[9] See W. Poitiers, 132; Orderic, 501; Guy of Amiens, 866.

[10] Ord., 512. There are four places of the name of Tille Eure, one in Seine Inf.

[11] See Sir H. Howorth, *Academy*, 17, 24, June, 1882.

[12] W. Poitiers, 106.

might not be altogether unconnected with the war. On the 18th June Matilda's convent of the Holy Trinity at Caen was conse-
Holy Trinity, Caen. crated, and little Cecilia, eldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess, dedicated to God's service.[1] The establishment of two monasteries—the one for monks, the other for nuns—was
St. Stephen's, Caen. the penance imposed on William and Matilda for the irregularity of their marriage, as already mentioned. Three days before William's foundation of St. Stephen's had received Lanfranc as its first Abbot.[2] In contemplation of the Duke's adventurous enterprise, both he and Matilda would wish to stand well with Heaven. Unfortunately we shall hear that the site of St. Stephen's had been forcibly wrested by William from the lawful owner.[3]

Towards the middle of August everything was ready, and the whole armament gathered at Dives,[4] at the mouth of the river of the same name, a little to the East of Caen. The shipping filled the harbour,
Armament at Dives. while the hosts were encamped on surrounding heights. As the Norman knights fought on horseback, the number of horses to be transported was great. The footmen appear to have been well equipped with missile weapons, bows, cross-bows and slings.[5] With respect to the choice of the port of embarkation the spot was no doubt ideal, but we must also point out that according to our calculations [illegible] must have been keeping watch with his fleet in the Isle of Wight at least a month before, and that the mouth of the Dives may have been selected as the Norman harbour with the widest expanse of water between it and the English fleet.

As respect to the strength of William's force, we have in a portion of [illegible] already given to the public endeavoured to illustrate the worthlessness of chroniclers' estimates of numbers. We have shown that an exaggeration to the extent of ten times the ascertainable figure is not uncommon.[6] The current estimate of [illegible] many placed it at 50,000 men and upwards.[7] One-tenth of that would satisfy our ideas of what was at all likely: 10,000 men we

[illegible]r in *Gallia Christiana*, XI., "Instrumenta," 59, extracted Freeman,

[illegible]Part of Matilda's church still remains. St. Stephen's was not finally [illegible] It is described as "almost intact"; *N.C.*, III. 109, 382.
[illegible]1087.
[illegible]month at Dives, a fortnight after that at St. Valery, and finally [illegible] 28th September. That brings the muster on the Dives to about [illegible] Malm., *G.R.*, s. 238 (p. 299), "mense Augusto," only he makes [illegible]ery, ignoring Dives; so too the *Roman*.
[illegible]balistis armatos"; Ord., 501. "Innumera multitudine fundi-[illegible] etc.; Florence, I. 227.
[illegible]k, I. 261, II. 398.
[illegible]6; Orderic, *sup.*

should consider beyond credibility. Edward III. never shipped 10,000 men across the Channel. Henry V. and Edward IV. just succeeded by the greatest efforts in making up such a num[illegible] once, and once only, in each reign.[1] The reader must be left to decide whether he believes that the resources of a Duke of Normandy of the eleventh century could equal, not to say exceed, those of a King of England of the thirteenth or four[illegible] teenth centuries.[2]

Again we shall find that William's entire force could be shipped with[illegible] the limits of a short October day, and again unshipped in the same sp[illegible] of time. At Harfleur, in 1415, three August days were required for[illegible] landing of Henry's 8,000–10,000 men.

Of William's fleet 3,000 sailing ships was the current estimate.[3] W[illegible] however, honestly admits another report, according to which, taking craft and small, sailing vessels, boats, and skiffs, the grand total onl[illegible] to seven hundred less four.[4] Of the shipping it has been pointed the best were but open boats with one square sail.[5] We might the Bayeux Tapestry[6] clearly shows that the naval architecture of had not yet evolved the idea of the rudder on the stern-post, being evidently steered by a long oar over the "starboard board) quarter, like the old Wicking ship in the museum at C[illegible]

A whole month, say from August 12th to September 12th detained in the Dives by northerly winds and bad weather

Foul Winds.

the Duke's patience, as the whole force had t[illegible] at his expense, all foraging being strictly forb[illegible] action on the part of Harold during all this time we hea[illegible] the despatch of some spies, apparently foreigners, h[illegible] William's preparations. One of these having been cau[illegible] the Duke, he sent him back to Harold with a cor[illegible] telling him not to waste his gold on spies, as he wou[illegible] he, William, was about. If within the space of a y[illegible]

[1] Namely in 1417 and 1475: *Lancaster and York*, [illegible] Henry V. did not take 10,000 men across the Channel; *I*[illegible]

[2] Normandy was a rich province no doubt. Henry [illegible] obtained from the Norman Estates contributions rather [illegible] from the English Parliaments; but Normandy was a c[illegible] force. We could hardly rate the resources or Normand[illegible] those of England at the same time. If so, much less c[illegible] eleventh century as equal to the England of the fifteen[illegible]

[3] W. Jum., 286; *Roman de Rou*, II. 145.

[4] "Ke nès, Ke batels, Ke esqueis"; *Roman, su*[illegible] but he does not allege, nor does it seem possible [illegible] could have been on the expedition.

[5] Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 381.

[6] For the date, etc., of this piece of work see [illegible]

[7] W. Poitiers, 106; Ord., 500.

have been driven from his last foothold in England, he might hope to spend the rest of his days in peace.[1]

At the end of the month advantage was taken of a westerly breeze to remove the armament to St. Valéry, in the estuary of the Somme, a place outside the limits of William's proper dominions, but under the sway of his vassal, Count Guy of Ponthieu.[2] William probably wished to get into a fresh country for provisioning army; but besides that it is impossible not to connect the move to St. ry with the break-up of the English fleet, which by this time must left the Isle of Wight. The English coast being clear, William would ally bring his ships to a point where the crossing would be short and The change of station, however, was not effected without consider- ss, partly by desertion, and partly by shipwreck, so precarious was igation of the times. To conceal his losses William ordered the at came ashore to be buried as privately as possible.

Removal to St. Valéry.

in at St. Valéry the north wind blew,[3] and more rain fell. In William's efforts his men were getting discouraged. At last re- course was had to prayer for a favourable wind, and a grand rocessional function was arranged to secure the intercession the local patron saint. The ark or shrine containing the léry[4] was taken by the clergy from its resting-place in the p in state in a convenient place out of doors. The whole rought up, man by man, to 'offer' as they marched past. the ark was buried with the pieces of silver showered

er relented, and the south wind blew. Not a moment board. By dint of great exertions, and with endless bustle, if our accounts can be trusted, everything d by nightfall,[6] and the whole fleet loosed from its But as William did not want to reach the English ey were ordered to anchor awhile,[7] until he gave

iter appends remonstrances by the Norman Barons against incident really occurred early in the year.

u extends only as far as the Somme. From the Somme

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" ter quinque dies"; Guy of Amiens, *sup.*

oman R. St. Walaric, or Valery, "was a saint of uch to evangelise the still heathen parts of Northern

Roman, II. 146; W. Malm., *sup.*, p. 300.

miens.

altum sint deductæ paululum noctis conquiescant noctu post quietem navibus," etc.; W. Poitiers.

ordered his fleet to anchor in mid-channel, as

the signal by blowing a horn and hoisting a lantern at his mast-head. The signal having been given, all started, and effected the crossing, apparently without incident. But William's ship outsailed the others to such an extent that when daylight came he found himself at his destination, off Pevensey, but out of sight of the rest of his fleet. Heaving to, he utilized the time by partaking of a comfortable breakfast.

In Roman times the mouth of the Pevensey Avon must have bee navigable right up to the walls of the fortress, which are still subsistin

Landing near Pevensey.

At the present day the river is much silted up. In what st it was in the year 1066 we cannot say, but whether the ri was closed or not we take it that William would find either side of the bay a large expanse of shingly beach, free from ro where small craft could land with ease. As we hear of his moving once to Hastings without crossing any river, we may assume that h embarked, not at Pevensey itself, on the West side of the Avon, the opposite bank of the river[1] (Friday, 29th September[2]).

Tradition had it that the Duke on landing stumbled, and fe hands and face. His followers seemed perturbed by the o William quickly turned the incident another way. 'By the s God,' said he, 'I have taken seizin of England.'[3] Troops *matériel* having been landed, a rough fortification was th planks and timbers brought from Normandy for the purpo also were sent out, and returned with the joyful news that

[1] "Prope castrum Pevenesel dictum"; *Chron. Battle Abbey*, *Christiana*, 1846).

[2] The date is not free from doubt, but the point is not very mate of Poitiers nor William of Jumièges give any date. The Worces the Duke came into Pevensey on Michaelmas Eve ("on Sce M Guy of Amiens, who perhaps wrote as near the time as any o wind changed on Michaelmas Day,—

"Festa dies Michaelis erat celebranda pe
Cum pro velle tibi cuncta Deus tribuit.

The account of the embarcation follows. Perhaps by "cel to be celebrated." Orderic says "exercitus III. Kal. Oct. fretavit nocte qua memoriam sancti Michaelis . . . But "nocte" by rights should mean Michaelmas Eve (= 2 Chronicle says that William came to Hastings on Michael 'Pevensey' for 'Hastings,' as it is quite impossible th Hastings on the day of his landing. Malmesbury and give the landing as made near Hastings. The best w to be to hold that William sailed on the 28th Sept. too Lingard. Mr. Freeman takes the 28th Sept. as

[3] *R. Rou*, 151, 152. The Duke's word has rathe bury has another, probably an earlier version, accor men who called out, 'Duke, thou holdest Engl *sup.*, p. 300. So too the *Chronicle of Battle Abbe*

[4] *Roman*, 149.

away in the North, fighting Tostig and the King of Norway.[1] Under these circumstances William resolved to remain on the coast to watch the course of events, and ascertain the dispositions and temper of the English.

Advance to Hastings.

But, as apparently he had landed on an open beach, he moved on without delay to Hastings, where again a fortified stronghold was at once established, probably on the hill still marked the ruins of the later castle.[2] The site was a good one, commanding roads East and West, and especially the great North road leading to don. The soldiery, so long kept within bounds, could now be freely oose upon the country. Apparently they did the work of destruction thoroughly, carrying off not only boys and girls, but even grown-up en, as slaves, and burning whatever they could not remove.[3] These s were part and parcel of war as then waged, but the ravages in this ay have been intended to force Harold to speedy action. Twenty ter much of the country round Hastings was still described as l desolate.[4] We hear of a *reconnaissance* undertaken by William with an escort of only five and twenty men. Returning to e found the Sussex roads so bad that he preferred to dismount foot.[5]

we have seen, probably returned to London about the 5th am being still at Hastings. News of the victory at Stamford en forwarded to the Duke by the Staller, Robert son of friendly message advising him to act cautiously, as the ving round the victorious Harold. William thanked him t assured him that he could never be afraid of a Harold.[6] n to call for fresh levies from the moment of his hear- ding.[7] On reaching Town he held a council, and with monk in the name of the King and Witan of England Normandy. The message, only known to us from it really was sent, was rather patronizing in tone, oy, ordering him to give back all his spoils and go out of regard for old friendship, no further com- would be demanded.[8] William again, according

Amiens, 857–859; *Roman*, II. 147–149.
b.; Chron. D.
Guy of Amiens, *sup.*,—
terram, vastat et igne cremat,
flammis depopulante domos,
ducit pueros captasque puellas,
viduas, et simul omne pecus."
Bayeux Tapestry.
man; Ellis, I. 314. [5] W. Poit., *sup.*
, *Roman de R.*, II. 157, 158.

of Poitiers gives quite a different message, con- Harold that William had been originally named

to the same Norman writer, was ready with his answer. He was no boy, but a full-grown man, gravely demanding his rights as Eadward's heir. Harold had perjured himself and broken the bonds of friendship by usurping William's inheritance. To talk of ordering him out of the country was raving nonsense.[1] If Harold wished for peace let him again become the Duke's 'man,' and he should have all his father's lands.[2]

A monk from Fécamp, however, Huon Margot by name,[3] was entrust with a more formal answer. According to the Bishop of Amiens, w wrote soonest after the events, the message was a simple demand for surrender of William's inheritance as recognised by Harold himself. Bishop, however, adds an allegation, for which William could hardl responsible, that Harold had gone to Normandy as bearer of a sword Eadward to the Duke.[4] The Duke's chaplain gives a more ela response, with allegations that William could not possibly have ve to make, as that his nomination by Eadward had been made advice and consent (*consilio*) of Stigand, Godwine, Leofric, and that all these had sworn to accept William as Eadward's succe to guarantee his succession, Wulfnoth and Hacon had been p hands[5]; and that Harold had been sent over to Normand to swear allegiance in person. Clearly in this matter there to the audacity of Norman invention. The message as re chaplain ended with an appeal to judicial decision, accord either of the Normans or of the English, as Harold mi lastly, the question might be settled by a single combat rivals.[6] If William did really challenge Harold to s have been the first case of a proposal of the sort in E

William's Position.

the various reports of these interchanges t terest is their agreement in representing first on his nomination by Eadward, and oath of allegiance to himself.

It would seem that Harold was already on hi

the Confessor's heir; though he proceeds to argue that tha revoked by the grant in his own favour, p. 112. Both message come from Harold; *contra* the *Roman*, whose re

[1] "Quod monet ut redeam furor est, dementia summa

[2] Guy, 860, 861. [3] *Id.*; W. Poitiers, 11

[4] No other mention of this sword or of a ring, also l the Confessor to William, is to be found.

[5] For the impossibility of this see above, I. 496.

[6] W. Poitiers, 113–126. Malmesbury copies Po reference to the Pope; *G. R.*, s. 240. For furth messages see *Roman*, II. 159–164, where, howeve is very fairly stated, p. 162.

[7] The judicial combat, of course, was impor duel between Cnut and Ironside was a mere my

[8] "Heraldo appropinquanti."

when William's envoy was brought before him. When asked for his answer he writhed his neck doggedly, and said, 'We are coming, we are coming.'[1] When further pressed, he raised his eyes to Heaven and said, 'To-morrow the Lord shall decide between us.'[2] *Poor Harold!*

Six days was all the time that Harold stayed in London,[3] and of those days perhaps one was given to a pilgrimage to Waltham, his own foundation, a last visit to seek for ghostly help at the shrine of the Holy Rood that gave him his war-cry.[4] Six days all that Harold allowed for the mustering and organizing of forces, posed to be drawn from the South-Eastern half of England—say from districts South of the Humber and East of a line drawn from thence to Bristol Channel and the mouth of the Exe.[5] North and West of those limits Harold's writs ran not. Eadwine and Morkere, to their eternal disgrace, stood selfishly aloof. Harold had saved them from the jaws of destruction; he had rescued them from er of the Wicking; but they had not the decency to contribute contingent for the life and death struggle between England and [6] The most Northerly support that reached Harold came from under the Sheriff Mærleswein.[7] But to what extent even the in the above limits were adequately or at all represented in must be considered quite uncertain. His precipitancy sup- distance with the best excuse for not appearing. The dates elves. The issue was fought out on the fifteenth or sixteenth e of William's landing. Three days might be allowed for Harold. Supposing his summonses to have been issued ne to three days more would be required for the notices s to whom they were addressed. Thus from nine to t would remain for getting ready, marching off to else the trysting-place was fixed, and from thence

Harold's preparations.

Eadwine Morkere aloof.

retorquens"; Guy, 862. "Pergimus continenter
rœlium)"; Poitiers, 126.
ccounts, that seem to fit in very well.
500.
25, 26. For the war-cry see *Roman*, II. 213.
rosse sovent crioent,
. . . .
osse est en engleiz
nte croix est en franceiz."
been Halig-ród?
, II., 201, 202, apparently made up without further
e districts comprised in the earldoms of Harold, his
e cum suis certamini subtraxere"; Florence.
llis, *Domesday*, II. 185. Gaimar, a native of
metrical history of the country, *L'Estorie des*
1150.

again to the field of battle. Under these circumstances we hardly require to be told that Harold appeared on the heights above "Santlache" [1] with a very moderate force, and that not half his men had joined him.[2] In fact none but those who were comparatively near, quite willing, and perfectly ready, could come up in time. But if the numbers were small the quality of the troops was probably very good, consisting of Thegns and their retainers, the retainers of the ecclesiastical Houses,[3] and the Household carles of the King, his brothers, and the Bishops. We may again venture the suggestion that had not the fourteen 'ships' been paid off in 1050 or 1051,[4] the result might have been very different. On the other hand we are told that a body of auxiliaries had come from Denmark [5]; but of their actual numbers or performances not a word is recorded. Of his English subjects the men of most note mentioned as responding to Harold's call next after his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine, were Leofric, Abbot of Peterborough; Ælfwig, Abbot of the New Minster Winchester (Hyde Abbey), said to have been Harold's uncle; Esegar the Staller, Sheriff Portreeve of London; Mærleswein, Sheriff of Lincolnshire; and Sheriff of Berkshire.[6]

But if Harold, flushed with his success at Stamford Bridge, and at the reports of the devastation in Sussex, would not give time for men to join him, much less would he listen to any question of tactics—though time would be all on the side of the nation. The question of delegating the immediate command to Gyrth, keeping himself in reserve, and not hazard England's future on one

[1] For this name (given by Orderic as "Senlac," 501, 505) see *Abbey*, 20, 21. The first half of the name I cannot explain, but is still in use, meaning a damp hollow or rut (Jamieson); and the and below Battle Abbey are still known as the Upper and Lo the local chronicle the name appears to be extended to lands the road and town, but not to the site of the Abbey itself.

[2] "Licet . . . bene sciret . . . mediam pa convenisse quam citius tamen potuit in Suth-Saxonia formidavit"; Florence. So too Chron. E., "ear than th *all his army came*); and again Geoffrey Gaimar, p. 827, the *De Inventione*, 25, 26. "Præter stipendiarios admodum ex provincialibus habuit"; W. Malm., *G.* also alleges that Harold had made himself unpopular by booty taken at Stamford Bridge.

[3] It is remarkable that of the few persons reco having taken part in the battle, some twelve in all half were either churchmen or tenants on church and 729. [4] See above, I. 450.

[5] So Poitiers, 107, 128. [6] See Freeman, II

[7] W. Poitiers, 127; W. Jum., *sup.*, copied by ence to Harold's oath, in which Gyrth was not i command. The *Roman* adds a further step u the country in advance, to starve out the inv

But Harold's trust was in the righteousness of his cause, his bodily activity, and his personal courage. Of any further strategy or requirements he knew nothing. Satisfied that he could dispose of William as he had disposed of Tostig and Hardrada, and probably afraid of the popular outcry at the devastation of Sussex, at the end of the six days he posted down to the coast, continuing his march after nightfall, so that an alarm was carried to the well-informed Norman mp that a surprise or a night attack might be expected. William tily called in all foragers and brought his men to arms.[1] But Harold templated no night attack. On the contrary, when near the site of the present village of Battle,[2] about seven miles from Hastings, he encamped for the night in a wood by the roadside [3]; in fact in the outskirts of the forest of Anderid. What his purpose may een we cannot say, as William came down on him the first thing in rning, before he had time to indicate any plan.

Harold Marches to the South Coast,

Encamps Senlac.

m's anxiety to bring matters to a speedy issue was unmistakable. ping his men under arms all night, as soon as day broke he ordered them out to attack the English without further parley or delay.[4] Before starting, however, he attended Mass, communicating in both kinds, as was still the Roman practice. he had with him, as already mentioned—we might say the d the other to pray—namely, his brother Odo (*Odes, Eudes*) d Geoffrey of Coutances, besides lesser clergy, so that tions would not be wanting. Lastly, William hung round rm some of the relics on which his adversary had sworn he relics of the Saints whose honour he was now come done, he took the road, evidently the existing road, to need not be reminded again that even in those days pense with roadways.

doings on the side of the English, Malmesbury and ey spent the night before the battle with drink and g for our benefit the formulas in use in drinking

ld not listen to, much less attempt to execute. See also

Jum. Another rumour, equally unfounded, was that o attack the Norman shipping; *Id.*, Orderic; and Guy

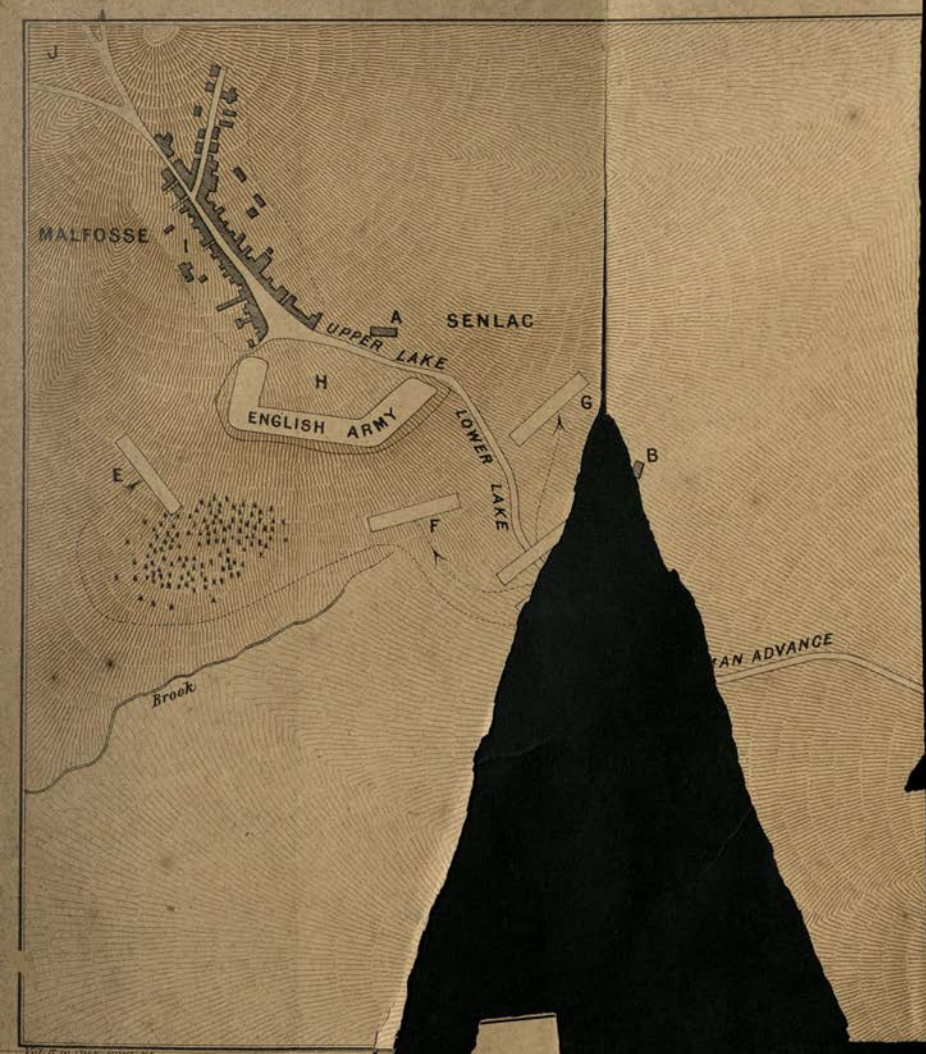
qui nunc Bellum nuncupatur festinans, etc."; *Chron.*

mass of stuff, partly expanded from Malmes- ld and Gyrth, leading to a quarrel and blows ance; then messages and offers from William, the

s abalienaverat sibi," etc.; W. Poit.

PLAN OF BATTLE OF SENLAC OR HAST

14TH OCTOBER 1066



A
B
C St... Later Abbey a...
D Win... English Army
I Van... ge of Battle
2 Centre... mp overnight.
3 Rear.

healths, and the calls of the toastmasters.[1] These give us an interesting peep into the interior of an Anglo-Saxon banqueting hall, but to accept them as historically applicable to the hasty bivouac in the Forest of Anderid we should require better evidence than that of Norman writers, neither of whom was present or ever saw anybody who had been present.[2] In fact it is unfortunate that for the whole campaign, and everything connected with it, we have to depend on Norman authority. The English writers were too profoundly humiliated and mortified at the result to go into details. They would have buried the whole subject if they could.

The English Camp.

On either side watch had been kept on the movements of the enem The Duke's advance was reported to Harold by men who described Normans as an army of priests, their faces were so clean-shaven. Ha assured his informants that the foreigners were no shaveling priests good fighting men.[3] On reaching the heights above Telham, W would get his first view of the English.[4] As he descended from the marked by the present windmill to Starr's Green his adversarie come fully into view, on the opposite side of the little valley marked by the present railway.[5] At first, we are woods were seen gleaming with arms.[6] That would North of the village of Battle,[7] where the ground considerable height. Soon, however, the English were seen p from their wooded heights, and pressing along a narrow isthm land, now the High Street of Battle, to take up a position or jutting promontory, lower down, in front of them, and adj

Position of the English.

The crest of this eminence, round which the road make offer a plateau of one quarter of a mile in breadth, by half an irregular parallelogram. The ground then was bar

[1] "*Bublie* crient è *weissel*
E *laticome* è *drencheheil*
Drink Hindrewart è *Drintome*
Drinc Helf è *drinc tome*"; p. 1

[2] William of Malmesbury may have been born about 109 later.

[3] W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 239; Bayeux Tapestry. The Bi long hair of the English; "Milities unctis depexa capillis,"

[4] "Perveniens ad locum collis qui Hechelande dicitur, etc. Hechelande, or Heathland, is associated with Telh contiguous; *Chron. Battle*, 3, 18, 19. "Pervenientes Hastingarum contra illum collem in quo erat Heraldi Giles, *Scriptores Rerum Gest. Will. Conq.*, London, time of Henry I.

[5] See plan. [6] "Plenum telis nemus."

[7] This name was given to the later abbey and vi ubi pugnatum est exinde BELLUM usque hodie vo contemporary.

[8] "Et non cultus ager asperitate sui"; Guy,

and only marked by a hoary apple-tree.[1] East and West the hill strikes out long spurs, defined by ravines to the North and South. On the North the slopes on each side of the isthmus are very steep, and would protect the English rear.[2] On the South, fronting the Norman advance, the slope is more easy. On the flat top, marked out by the walls and precincts of the existing Abbey grounds, the English, as we take it, established themselves in very dense formation.[3] On this latter point all the writers are agreed. We are told that the English were so closely packed that the very wounded and dead could not sink to the ground.[4] This of course must be taken as a figure of speech, but it points to a formation many ranks deep. The front rank is formed of mail-clad warriors, their shields closely locked. Of the general shape of the formation the writers tell us nothing, but the Bayeux tapestry, in its representation of the first stage of the battle, clearly depicts a triangle, the Normans attacking on two sides, and the English archers shooting through the break at the angle. It has been suggested that the English were formed as a wedge.[5] But a wedge would not suit the nature of the ground. A wedge, or triangle, could not coincide with the parallelogram of the plateau, but would leave a level footing of open to be gained by the enemy. We would suggest that the English, adapting their lines to the ground they had to defend, formed themselves practically as three sides of a square,[6] so as to hold the plateau, their rear being left open as sufficiently protected by ground and in fact unassailable. Harold and his brothers took their place in the centre, on the highest point of the ground, the spot being afterwards marked by the high altar of the memorial abbey church. There stood the Standard or Dragon of Wessex,[7] with the King's

Their Dense Formation.

apuldran."

poitiers, 131, where he says that even at the end of the day the ... not be turned (as our plan shows): "aciem quam difficillimum ...

...er cum rege suo collem quo nunc ecclesia consistit præoccupan- ... That the ground occupied by the English was small clearly ...o says that it was too small, and that many deserted in con- ... loco constituti fuerant Angli de acie se multi subtraxere." ...the crest, and not the slopes of the hill, as supposed by Mr. ...ed in the *Brevis Relatio*. "In illo spisso agmine quod erat ...montis summitate," p. 7.

...64; *Roman*; Baudri of Bourgueil (*Mémoires de la Société* ...XXVIII. 199).

[5] Lappenberg. English formed as three sides of a square, surrounded ...ith three entrances, one on each side (de treiz partz ...168. I reject these fortifications; but again Wace ...n three several points, p. 213.

...uo regis Haraldi signum quod Standard vocant, ... *Chron. Battle*, p. 8. The Dragon clearly ap- ...mall flags.

personal banner, a Fighting Man richly embroidered.[1] All fought on foot, the mounted men sending their horses to the rear.[2] As against cavalry, and in fact against anything but a great superiority in missile weapons, both situation and formation were perfect.

With respect to a much disputed question we find no sufficient authority for holding that the English position was protected by earthworks, palisades, or fixed defences of any sort. The only writer who introduces them is Wace in the *Roman de Rou*; his statements on the subject are inconsistent with each other, while neither he nor any other authority gives any incident of the action in any way implying their presence.[3] On the contrary, we hear of the English as repeatedly breaking out of their ran and then rejoining them, without impediment; the Normans, on the ot hand, gaining ground inch by inch.

On the heights fronting the English position, William halted to cons the situation,[4] and set his troops in order of battle. Donning his ar somewhat hastily, he found that in the excitement o moment his shirt of mail had been put on wrong sid front. Other men, we are assured, would have been by such a portent, but William only laughed, and assured his a that there was no ill luck in the omen.[5] Arranging his troops three divisions of them, a centre and two wings, each of these prising three ranks of different arms, namely, the front rank, c light-armed foot, the second rank of heavy-armed foot,[6] and t of heavy-armed cavalry. The light-armed men of the fro effectively armed either with bows or cross-bows,[7] the cross

William's Order of Battle.

[1] "Vexillum in hominis pugnantis figura," etc.; W. Malm., *G.*
"K'il fist sun estandart dréciez,
Et fist son gonfarron ficiez," etc.; *Roman*, II.

[2] Guy, 863: "Hostis, equo abjecto, cuneum densatur in un gueil, l. 405.

[3] Wace begins by asserting that Harold enclosed the inter sides with earthworks, with an entrance on each side. "Clore treiz partz leissa treiz entrées," 168. Of these we hear no m carded at once as utterly incompatible with a late arrival over pation of a battlefield in the morning in sight of the enemy. movable wall of shields, window shutters, or other woodwo fuz, p. 205, where *fenestres* must not be confounded with joined together like hurdles (cleies) without any openings. on he says: "D'escuz è d'aiz (planks) s'avironerent," p he speaks of "lices," lists, or palissades protecting the Henry of Huntingdon is plainly a mere simile.

[4] "Intuentes Anglorum exercitum"; *Brevis Relati*

[5] "Terreret alium loricæ dum vestiretur sinistr "Loricam inversam"; W. Malm., *G.R.*, s. 242. 196; *Chron. Battle*, 3. The *Brevis Relatio* disti halt on the hill fronting the English.

[6] "Firmiores et loricatos."

[7] Ba

attached to the centre division, the archers to the wings. The threefold division of the Normans points to a corresponding formation on the other side, certainly not to a two-sided formation such as a wedge would offer.

The Duke, surrounded by his most doughty champions, took post in the rear of the centre division. On his right and left hands rode his two half-brothers, Odo and Robert. The Bishop wore the armour of a layman over his canonical vestments, but carried no sword. A sword would shed blood, which was forbidden, so the Bishop wielded a club, a weapon that might do good service without bloodshed. Over the Duke's head fluttered the banner of Normandy, carried for the occasion by Toustain, or Thurstan fitz Rolf, surnamed The White. The honour by rights belonged to Ralph de Tosny or Toeny, but on this day of days he declined a distinction that would hamper his freedom of action in the forefront.[1] By whom the papal banner was borne does not appear. Probably it would be left with the clergy in the rear,[2] on the hill towards Starr's Green. The auxiliaries on the wings, the Normans in the centre. Allan Rufus of Brittany commanded on the left, and apparently Eustace of Boulogne on the

respect to the equipment of the forces, in point of defensive there was little difference between the Normans and the English. The heavy-armed on either side, whether on foot or on horseback, carried long shields, rounded at one end and pointed at the other, like boys' kites; their body-armour of ring-mail shaped as a jumper or jerkin, a close-fitting sleeve-vest, with ending at the knee, the two garments, perhaps, being com- On their heads they wore conical helmets of iron with [4] All the Norman heavy-armed carried spears, the ng straight, heavy swords of the Scandinavian type. The mour.[5] The English were armed partly with spears, t light hatchets of the tomahawk type, but long-handled dman's felling axe, clumsy but formidable weapons, iour could avail.[7] Swords and dagger-knives (*bills*) light-armed carried javelins, the *gar* or *ætegar* of efore; also stoné axes or stone hammers, primitive

Roman, II. 195–198.
V. Poitiers speaks of the Pope's banner as "prævio"; but

) Galli, dextram petiere Britanni; Dux cum Normannis
Roman, 199.
65.
ith plates—a clear error, p. 191. It also gives "ven-
r invention.
pennibus," W. Malm.
ry, of which a full-sized facsimile is exhibited in
See also C. Oman, *Art of War*, 10, 20.

weapons not yet passed out of date. These apparently were used as missiles.[1] Of crossbows on the English side we hear nothing, and but little of bows and arrows.[2] In fact their weakness in this arm was probably a main cause, and the only excuse to be offered, for their defeat. Their axes also had this defect, that as they required both hands the man could not cover himself with his shield when striking a blow.

Before giving the final signal for action[3] William briefly addressed his men. We are told that the speech produced an excellent effect; but as the chronicler (William of Poitiers) admits that he did not hear it himself, and that he only received an imperfect report of it, we may content ourself with the epitome shewn on the Bayeux Tapestry. 'Here the Duke urges his men to bear themselves manfully and wisely against the English.'

For Harold also a speech was composed by the Norman *trouvère* who we have often quoted. The one point was an exhortation to his follow to do exactly what they did not do, namely to keep their ranks unbrok rather like a hint suggested by the event.

About the third hour of the day,[6] *i.e.* 9 a.m., William launched his against the living castle on the heights of Battle. The three di

Battle of Hastings or Senlac.

attacking from three different sides, had somewhat tasks before them. The right wing would advance in instance along the road, to attack, and if possible out English left. Deploying to the right from the road, they would to wind round the eastern spur of the hill, to find on the farther East of the present parish church, slopes so steep as to be una mail-clad infantry, not to say by cavalry. The centre deploy from the road, would have a fairly even gradient up to the left, however, would have the most arduous duty to fulfil: th to make a circuitous flank march up and across rathe with a jutting knoll or hillock in their way, to the w Battle hill, and so up its slopes to the English right. to their left and rear would probably be hardly noticed.

[1] "Jactant cuspides ac diversorum generum tela, sævissima imposita saxa. Iis veluti mole letifera statim nostros obrui equipment of the fyrd was clearly very primitive.

[2] Baudri of Bourgueil thought the bow new to the Englis

[3] "Dux igitur in procinctu bellico jam armatus convoc universos monet"; *Chron. Battle.*

[4] "Ut preparent se viriliter et sapienter ad prœlium for full-blown speeches will find them in Henry of Hunt 187–191; and the *Chronicle of Battle.*

[5] "Ke tuit ensemble se tenissent,
Et ensemble se defendissent;
Quer se d'iloc se departeient,
A grant paine se rescovreient"

[6] W. Poit., 137; W. Jum., 287; Orderic; *Ron*

[7] See plan, and *Roman*, 218. The existing

As the troops were moving out a Norman juggling minstrel, who had gained the name of Taille-fer (*Cut-iron*), probably from some feat he was in the habit of exhibiting, asked for and obtained leave to break a first lance with the English. Gaily singing a lay of Roland, and Oliver, and Charlemagne, he rode up the height, tossing his sword in the air, and again catching it by the hilt as it fell. English skirmishers having come out to meet him, he ran one through the body with his lance, cut down a second one with his sword, and then, overcome by superior numbers, succumbed.[1] The Normans consoled themselves for his loss by the thought that their side had struck the first blow.[2]

First Blow struck, "Taillefer."

Pressing stoutly from all sides up the hill, the Normans attacked the English shield-wall.[3] "*Dex aïe*" (God help us) was their cry, while the natives answered with shouts of "*Halig-Rod*" ('Holy Rood') and "*God Eall-mihtig*," (God Almighty).[4] Not an inch of level ground had they left for the Normans to set foot on. Closely posted on the brink of the plateau, they showered javelins and hammers on the heads of their assailants; while, independently of vantage ground, their superior strength and stature gave deadly force to their blows.[5]

Normans attack the Hill.

William had hoped to carry the day with his infantry, without engaging his cavalry,[6] but he soon found that all the three arms of his force must be sent to the front. Even so the Bretons and others on the Norman left were unable to hold their ground. Overwhelmed with missiles, they wavered, broke, and finally fled. A portion of the English right, unable to resist the temptation, left their position and followed them down the hill, driving many of them into the little stream running along the low ground in their rear.[7] The disorder spread to the Norman centre, and the whole line fell back. The Duke himself was unhorsed, and the cry was raised that he was slain. Bishop Odo threw himself across the line of the fugitives, while William, roughly unseating an auxiliary, a

noticed in the acounts of the action, and was probably of later
s; it is therefore omitted from the plan.

cor audax. . . . Incisor ferri mimus cognomine dictus";

"Taille-fer ert cil apelez,
Joglere estait hardi asez";
G. Gaimar, 827; H. Hunt.

extat eis"; Guy, *sup.*

ungere parmis"; Guy, 863, 864. "Conserta ante se
G.R., s. 241. See also the Tapestry and the quota-
[4] *Roman*, 213, 225.

rioris loci opportunitate, quem sine procursu tenent,
alidissima corpulentia"; W. Poit., 128.

ilire Quirites Occursu belli, sed sibi non licuit";
Roman, 218, 219; see also plan.
Orderic, 501.

Mansel, mounted his steed,[1] and hastened to the rescue. Throwing his helmet back, he shouted aloud, 'Here I am, alive, and, please God, we shall win yet.' The flight having been arrested, the tables were quickly turned on those of the English who had ventured too far down the hill in their pursuit; they were surrounded and cut off. Not a man escaped, but a good many of the invaders had lost their lives in the brook.[2]

Encouraged by this success, the Normans reformed and returned to their attack on the English position. But the living wall, in spite of some gaps, still shewed a front substantially unbroken.[3] The man who attempted to break in was hurled out again[4] or lost his life. One advantage of the native position on the plateau was this, that the Norman archers had nothing to aim at except the shields of the front-rank men, the near ranks being covered by them and out of sight. William directed his men to aim over the heads of the front ranks, so as to allow their arrows to fall among the masses in the rear.[5] By one of these dropping shots, as we may suppose, Harold lost his right eye, was incapacitated for further part in the struggle. Sup himself in his agony on his shield, he still kept his p fully by the standard.[6]

Renewed Attack by the Normans.

Harold disabled.

But still William made no head-way. After a second determi of uncertain duration he was driven to the conclusion that h offence were not greater than those of the English defenc unless the English could be lured from their vantage ground h win. Taking a hint from the earlier incidents of the day, he try the effect of a feigned retreat.

A feigned retreat, of course, is a hazardous experiment,

[1] Guy, 865. He places the incident later, but it seems to belong action. But his account here is not to be depended on in itself. H retreat before the real retreat, and he makes Gyrth fall in a har with the Duke after killing the Duke's horse. The incident moreo lines further on with an unknown man, one son of Helloc (filius I This might be genuine, but no other writer knows anything of su Gyrth and William. Gyrth was found dead beside the standard.

[2] W. Poitiers, 129, 130; Orderic, 501; *Roman*, 218, 220; incident is misplaced in point of time; and H. Huntingdon is confounded with the feigned retreat. So too Baudri of Bo

[3] "Patuerunt in eos tamen viæ incisæ per diversas par *sup.* There is no reference to any palisade here.

[4] "La gent englesche *ut* (out) s'escrie"; *Roman*, 217.

[5] H. Huntingdon, 203; *Roman*, 221. This fact sho posted on the slopes.

[6] So the *Roman*, 222, and H. Huntingdon, 203, 204; between the wound from the arrow and Harold's death killed outright by the arrow. Guy of Amiens and Willi represent him as merely overwhelmed in the final Orderic represent him as killed (occubuit, peremptu in fact he was only placed *hors de combat*.

confessed that William risked it under circumstances exceptionally favourable to the manœuvre. On his left the thing would be impossible. Retreat there would bring his men into the brook.[1] But on his right a retrograde movement of 400 or 500 yards would bring his men to the bottom of the valley with the opposite hill at their backs, and the Hastings road on which to reform and renew the struggle with the ground all in their favour. The English, destitute of cavalry, would be unable to take any decided advantage of the short critical period of downward retreat. The result was entirely successful, a portion of the English again bursting wildly from their ranks, to be met and overwhelmed in the bottom.[2] If the feigned retreat was executed by the Duke's extreme right along the road, the English would be taken in flank by the Duke himself.[3]

William Feigns Retreat.

"In vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird." So thought the Preacher. We, however, positively groan with humiliation when we hear the transparent trick could be repeated; and that again our ...dy, undisciplined ancestors, incapable of profiting by experience, ... into the open trap.[4] But even after this third disaster we are ...old that the English were not routed, and that their main body ...t was still formidable, still in possession of a site that could ...d.[5] From this we may infer that the successive parties that ...e ranks were not really very numerous, otherwise these losses ...ended the day.

...ss it is clear that the struggle now entered upon a new ...ken though the English phalanx might seem to be, it could ...onger hold the whole area of the plateau. The Normans ... now able to establish a footing there, and to carry on the ...on more equal terms. In fact, the English appear to ...ed to a purely defensive attitude, the attitude of a ...hog, their missiles being exhausted, while the Normans, ...e, hacked at them wherever they saw an opening.[6] To ... could be but one issue. At last William ordered a ... the central point marked by the standard. Accord-

...864; *Brevis Relatio*, 7, 8; and W. Malm., *G.R.*, s. 242, ...he real retreat, the feigned retreat, and the later *Malfosse*

... to say that the Duke's own division took no part in the ...?

...si"; W. Poitiers, *sup.*

...et quam difficillimum erat circumvenire"; *Id.* Wace ...in till past nones (3 p.m.): "Si ke none trespassa." ... final assault on the hill.

...a, quam altera pars incursibus et diversis motibus ...; *Id.*

ing to the Bishop of Amiens, Eustace of Boulogne, Ivo of Ponthieu, Hugh the Constable, and Walter Giffard led the assault. At last the English gave way. The shield-wall was broken, the standard beaten down. Harold fell beside it,[1] while the relics of the native force were driven bodily down the slight reverse slope, doubtless past the existing Gate-house, on to the neck of the isthmus. The reader will remember that the isthmus is now represented by High St. Battle, or the "Upper Lake."

Downwards the English were driven, but not for far, nor was the contest altogether ended yet. After a few yards of descent from the Gate-house the ground rises again towards the North, the ascent becoming somewhat steep at the end of the village.

Last Stand of the English.

Here the English masses, arrested by the hill, halted, and once more turned to bay. The Norman cavalry, pressing on in hot pursuit, swerved from the bristling pikes, and turned, apparently, to the left, t fall headlong into the head of the western ravine, which, i the shape of a *couloir* or ditch, comes within a hundred yar of the roadway. Brushwood and undergrowth masked the pitfall of treacherous *Malfosse*.[2]

Eustace, who led the pursuit, thinking that enough had been done prepared to stay his hand in face of this check. He was turning and sounding the retreat, when William met him, and sternly orde to the front. The Duke would hear of no cessation till the last se of resistance had been crushed. While the two were parleyi failing light, the Count received a blow between the shoulders him from his horse, with blood flowing from his mouth a Under the Duke's own eye the bloody work was kept up, sunset[3] the last of the English had been trodden under foot

[1] Guy, 866, 867; *Roman*, 278, 279; H. Hunt., 203, 204. To leaders Bishop Guy assigns a share in the death of Harold, Giffard fi leg. This may be romance, but it seems to dispose of the story i William dismissed from his service the man who had cut off Haro hardly give credit to one of his heroes for a deed that William had says that he never heard who had killed Harold, p. 279, but he ha Harold's leg, 278. That Harold fell at the end of the day, attested by the Ely writer; Gale, III. 516.

[2] "Rediit fugientibus confidentia nactis ad renovandum ce tunitatem prærupti vallis," etc.; W. Poit., 134. "In pro naturali telluris hiatu vel forsan ex procellarum concavat vaste patens . . . dumis vel tribulis obsitum . . . cavit. Quod quidem baratrum . . . Malfosse hodie 5. The Normans might have gone headlong on eithe Western ravine best answers the above description. M on the East side of the road. Conf. the rather confus William of Jumièges and Orderic, *sup.*; and W. Malm. of the incident seem exaggerated. Orderic, 502, actu mans who fell there as 15,000, far more than the total of the worth of chroniclers' figures.

[3] 5′ 8″

Some sought hiding places in the woods; those who had horses galloped off along the London road.[1] Some seven hours the battle must have lasted, say from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m., if not later.[2] Harold's two brothers were found beside him, doubtless killed in the same final charge.

On the heights of Senlac the loose, primitive Anglo-Saxon polity collapsed with a final crash. The system so often tried and found wanting had received its death-blow. The catastrophe gave final proof that under existing circumstances the nation was too self-willed, too undisciplined, too much sunk in the ruts of insular conservatism to be able to turn the fine natural qualities of its people to account. Whatever our racial sympathies, we cannot regret a result destined to convert a sluggish country, paralysed by feudalism, localism, and Home Rule, into a compact, well-ordered kingdom, able not only to defend itself at home, but so in due time to prosecute a great and glorious Imperial career abroad. The victory was a signal triumph for the Normans; or rather for their ke; as to his generalship and his unflinching purpose the result was ly due. Three horses were killed under him.[3] On the English side gher merit than that of dogged courage and tenacity can be claimed; at much their enemies could not refuse them. 'They were ever ready eir steel, those sons of the old Saxon race; the most dauntless of At the time the result would doubtless be claimed as final proof periority of that cavalry on which Continental armies had come [5] So far as any tactical lesson is to be derived from the day, ther look on it as bearing witness to the effectiveness of the and to the advantage of fighting in open order as against lid columns. But the result was too plainly due to want of leadership on the part of the English to be taken as a text her moral. The Normans themselves when looking back ere astonished at their own success. It seemed perfectly

Baudri, 487: "Bellum clademque diremit nox."

the words "jam inclinato die" with reference to the state of ish had been driven from the plateau, p. 133. Guy says that d come when the victory was gained. "Vesper erat jam mbram, Victorem fecit cum Deus esse Ducem," 867. So too 828. Florence extends the time "ab hora diei tertia usque

[3] W. Poitiers, *sup.*

ura semper in ferrum prompta fuit, descendens ab antiqua um hominum"; W. Poit., 134.

fantry to cavalry as the mainstay of armies between the William the Bastard, see C. W. C. Oman, *Art of War* ickly moving troops to resist barbaric incursions, began further impulse from the appearance of the mounted

amsey, 179. See also the shields of the English on f arrows.

miraculous.[1] If the English had not left their ranks they could never have been dislodged.

Hostis
Qui nisi desiperet intemerandus erat.[2]

Nine months and nine days Harold had filled the coveted throne of England.[3] Even hostile pens admit that he was a tall, handsome man, upright and courageous; of pleasant manners and ready speech[4]; a good specimen of the English gentleman of the period; one who, under other circumstances, might have ruled with credit and success, but who was in no way fitted to cope with William of Normandy, either as soldier or politician.

Harold as a King.

Harold's remains were sent by William to Hastings, to be privately buried by the sea shore, so that no man should say, "Here lies Harold." Gytha offered untold gold for the body of her Royal son; b the Duke was resolved to allow no halo of sentimental reg to gather round the shrine of his fallen enemy.[5] We told that Harold's features had been mutilated beyond recognition, and he wore no royal insignia, but that his body was identified by other m Of any real difficulty in identifying the body there is no word, an could be none; as the exact spot where he fell was conspicu known to everyone.[7] Nevertheless, from the simple statem Harold's features could not be distinguished, romance quickly sp charming legend that the late King's naked remains lay on the lost among the piles of the fallen, till rescued from oblivion b the discarded Eadgyth Swanneshals.[8] The story boldly goe

Burial of Harold.

[1] "Miraculo Dei." See *Hist. Ely*, Gale, III. 516. The writ authority of men who were there—"Franci qui interfuerant."

[2] 'Unassailable but for their folly.' So Baudri of Bourgeuil, 406, gent opinion of the time.

[3] So Florence, who thus corrects his own date of the Battle of H which would make up nine months and sixteen days.

[4] "Erat enim multum audax et probus, toto corpore pulcherri et affabilis omnibus"; W. Jumièges, 287. See also the passa *wardi*, 408, 409, already cited; and the tract *De Inventione*, points of view, the three accounts are agreed. The caut writer of the *Vita* attributed to Harold does not seem quite the Hastings campaign, unless we consider that to have exh of precipitancy and caution.

[5] W. Poitiers, 134; Guy, 867; Orderic, 502. William of removing Harold's body.

[6] "Ipse carens omni decore quibusdam signis, nequa castra Ducis delatus"; W. Poit., *sup.*

[7] See William of Malmesbury, *G.R.*, s. 267, where, "In eo loco principalis ecclesia cernitur ubi inter co inventus fuisse memoratur."

[8] "Editham cognomento Swanneshals"; *De I*

body, when discovered, was taken, with William's full leave, to Waltham, and honourably buried there, where no doubt a tomb, represented as his, was shewn for ages.[1]

Harold married Ealdgyth, daughter of Earl Ælfgar, and widow of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, of North Wales (killed 1064). The marriage, as we have seen, was celebrated after Harold came to the throne, and probably at Easter-time; so that a child of that union could hardly have been born as yet. But Harold, nevertheless, had a grown-up family. Three sons—Godwine, Eadmund, and Magnus—took refuge in Ireland,[2] where apparently they died. A fourth, Harold by name, found shelter in Norway, at the court of Magnus, son of Harold Hardrada.[3] A fifth son, Ulf, may have been the son of Ealdgyth, and born, presumably, after his father's death. He fell into William's hands, probably in 1070, when Chester was reduced. At William's death we find him a prisoner in Normandy, to be finally set at liberty by William's son, Duke Robert.[4] Two daughters also are named, Gytha and Gunhild, who received in Denmark by Swein Estrithson. Of these, Gytha is said to have married Wladimir of Russia, "progenitor of an illustrious

His Issue.

APPENDIX A TO CHAPTER II

The Bayeux Tapestry

ting piece of embroidery is worked on a strip of canvas nineteen inches ut 226 feet long. It gives a series of pictures, representing the course of arold's trip across the Channel in 1065 to his death at the battle of ork following the popular Norman version of affairs. The correctness of armour, which belong to the eleventh century, and not to any subsequent s antiquity. The tradition ascribing it to Queen Matilda is of recent nown in the fifteenth century. Among the limited number of persons nvas we have three obscure individuals put forward by name—Wadard, The only thing otherwise known of these men is that they appear ants of Bishop Odo. The natural inference is that the work was his people, and doubtless intended for the decoration of his newly eux (consecrated in 1077). The Tapestry is still kept at Bayeux. aved, but a full-sized *facsimile* may be seen in the South Kensington See the Appendices to the first volume of Lingard's *England*, and Freeman's *Norman Conquest*.

PPENDIX B TO CHAPTER II

yth Swanneshals and Harold's Corpse

other refutation than to be given as told by the original er (*De Inventione*, 29–30). Osgod and Ailric or Æthelric, 'had followed Harold from afar to see the end,' went to beg Duke readily granted their request, saying that any man King, no matter by what title, ought to be buried as a

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Harold's Queen, which in Latin becomes "Aldgid"; this chapter.

W. Malm., *G.R.*, ss. 260, 329.

Lappenberg, II. 304; Freeman, *N. C.*, IV. 754.

King, and that he purposed giving Harold a place of honour in the memorial church he was about to build. The Canons, however, pressed to be allowed to take Harold to Waltham. When they came to search the field of battle, they were unable to identify the corpse, till Osgod went back to Waltham, and fetched Eadgyth, who at once recognised the remains of her fallen love. The body having been identified and removed, was carried in procession, with Normans as well as Englishmen in attendance, to Waltham, *viâ* 'Battle-Bridge.' (*Ad Pontem Belli*, qy. Battle-Bridge in Essex, six and a half miles East of Billericay?) Now with respect to any possible intervention by Eadgyth, who must have been at a distance, we need only point out that, according to the authorities whom we are bound to consider paramount, Harold's body must have been taken from Battle at the latest two days after the action, namely, on Monday, October 16th, when William and all his men went back to Hastings. That the Waltham clergy had a tomb which they shewed as that of Harold cannot be doubted (*De Inventione sup.*). It was shewn down to the time of the Dissolution (Freeman, III. 318). Lines supposed to have been inscribed on it are extant (see these *De Invent.*, p. 45). The writer of this tract, who was born about 1119, and wrote after 1177, had been present as a boy at a third Translation of the remains. He is very indignant at the rival legend—"written apparently to prove that the great King was not buried at Waltham"—(*De Inv.*, XXX.), according to which Harold had escaped, lived as a hermit on Dover cliff, and finally died at Chester a good hundred years after the battle. (For this tale see *Vita Haroldi*, Michel, *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, II. 143).

For the burial at Waltham the earliest authority seems to be William of Malmesbury (*circa* 1125), who took the report that William had refused Gytha's gold to mean that he had given the body for nothing, and so buries Harold at Waltham (*G. R.*, s. 2[illegible]). The French life of Eadward the Confessor (*circa* 1245) follows him (p. 155). Wace ([illegible]) understood that Harold was buried at Waltham (*Varham*), but did not know how he got there. The reader must decide for himself whether he thinks it more likely that William Malet executed his orders so carelessly as to allow the body to be [illegible] carried off, or that the pious zeal of the Canons of Waltham found a body to do [illegible] that of their lost founder and King.

CHAPTER III

WILLIAM I.,[1] 'THE BASTARD,' OTHERWISE 'THE CONQUEROR'

Born 1027, autumn?;[2] Crowned 25th December, 1066; Died 9th September, 1087

A.D. 1066–1067

Interregnum—Devastation of South-Eastern Counties round London—Submission of the English—Coronation of William—Royal Progress and Eviction of English Land-owners

ON the day after the battle (Sunday, 15th October) William rested on the field, burying his dead. Leave to do likewise by their dead eely given to the English,—to all, that is to say, except Gytha, who, dy mentioned, in vain offered its weight in gold for the body of her [3]. From the Senlac heights William returned to Hastings hoping for overtures of submission from the English. He might, as his chaplain tells us, have proclaimed himself King, and assumed the regal style without further ado; but, as one who he came with a lawful claim on England, the prudent Duke a step that might have prejudiced his position, and exhibited ht of a usurper. Five days he stayed at Hastings to receive nobody came in. The country could not all at once impotence. Finding that he might have to take ulterior sures to drive the English to the wished-for conclusion m began to move slowly eastwards. At Romney he to wreak his vengeance on the people of the place, who an squadron that had landed there by mistake.[4] The over. There, as he had been led to expect, the Duke of fugitives gathered together in hope of protection h seemed 'impregnable' in its site.[5]

celebrated fortress the Roman lighthouse-tower r with a chapel whose structure seems also to Traces of Anglo-Saxon work, probably due to

he name appears as "Willelm," much as the name is es ent day. The Latin writers of the time give the same Wace, writing a century later, in French, call him

W. Poit., 137; W. Jum., 287; Ord., 502.
p. 868; W. Jum., 287; Ord., 502.
tur"; W. Poit.

Harold[1] or his father, also remain; what these amounted to we cannot say. But the officers in charge were not prepared to stand a siege, and so they promptly opened negotiations for a surrender, if, in fact, they had not anticipated William's arrival with offers of submission.[2] These offers were accepted, and the Duke took peaceable possession of the castle, turning all Englishmen out of it. But meanwhile the skirmishers of his army had fired and sacked the town on the beach below. William condemned the act as a breach of truce, and ordered proper compensation to be made to the sufferers. Eight days William rested at Dover, strengthening the works.[3] The importance of securing the landing place for England was obvious; and for passenger traffic from the earliest times Dover had been the landing place.

Surrender of Dover.

Meanwhile the leaders of the nation, on hearing of the defeat and death of Harold, were hurrying up to London. Of submission to William not a question was raised; but for effectual re sistance the Witan were unable to agree on the initial ste of the choice of a leader. The two Archbishops, Stigand and Ealdred, a the citizens of London, representing the national party, declared 'Child' Edgar,[4] the undoubted heir of the House of Cerdic. Ead and Morkere professed themselves willing to support the Ætheling without doubt, his election was carried in the Witenagemot.[5] nothing further was done. Under the circumstances of the time n hour should have been lost in setting the seal on Eadgar's elec crowning him King. The first Sunday, at the latest, should have w the hallowing sanction without which his position would be Harold had had himself crowned on the very day of his electi election had taken place on the day following the death of his But on the present occasion nothing whatever was done bey vote inviting Eadgar to ascend the throne of Covert obstruction barred all progress. ' should have been furthered so were they e day letted and made worse.'[6] We may accept the expl Malmesbury, who tells us that the two Earls were p each on his own account. Why might not a grandson

Election of 'Child' Eadgar.

Covert Obstruction.

[redacted]

[1] William of Poitiers ascribes the fortifying of Dover to Ha

[2] So Guy of Amiens, *sup.*, where he asserts that the men way to Romney. [3] W. Poit.; Guy; Orderic, *sup.*

[4] "Eadgar cild"; Chron. D and E. The epithet must h it is put in correlation with the titles of Eadwine and Mo by *clito*, the usual rendering of *æthelíng*.

[5] Guy of Amiens is clear as to the election: "In stat electus"; "habet Lundonia regem." He distinguishes *burhgemôt* (*vulgus*) and the *Witenagemôt* (*senatus*), "Edgarus quem Angli quondam post mortem Harald

[6] Chron.

King as well as a son of Godwine? They came of a bigger family. Some of the bishops also are said to have stood in the way of Eadgar's hallowing, but who the obstructive prelates were, or what their motives may have been, does not appear.[1] Parties were clearly all at sixes and sevens. Eadgar had no territorial backing, nor strength of character to make up for the want of it. At a later period he is described as a good-looking man, well-bred, and pleasant of speech. Of the spirit of travel and adventure we shall find him by no means destitute, but he was not a man of the sword.[2] Finally it would seem that the two Northern Earls retired from London,[3] leaving the uncrowned King-elect and the citizens to make the best of it.[4] They had already sent their sister, the Lady Ealdgyth, Harold's widow, to Chester, out of harm's way.[5]

The Two Earls Retire from London.

On the part of these young men a certain jealousy of Harold and his family might be excused. We could understand their objecting to the promotion of one of Harold's sons. But for opposition to a return to the national dynasty, no apology can be offered. However weak Eadgar may be seemed, union of forces offered the only prospect of escape from ruin. retirement of the two Earls—if they did retire,—was simply an act of al treason.[6]

this time, however, England South of the Thames had to a consider- xtent passed into William's hands. From Dover he had moved Canterbury. Dysentery, brought on by irregular living, had his army. Many had to be left behind, and not a few had died. cements were coming over.[7] On the other hand, the men of

an makes the natural suggestion that the foreign bishops (of whom William ne) may have favoured William, at any rate to the extent of urging ance was useless.

ciosus, lingua disertus, liberalis et generosus . . . sed dextera segnis"; So Florence and Malmesbury, but see below, next note but one.

ercise of Royal authority is recorded of Eadgar, namely, the con- elected Abbot of Peterborough *vice* Leofric, who had died of nlac; Chron. E. (Peterborough), A.D. 1066. William was very entually accepted Brand with a peace-offering of forty marks of . D; Flor.; W. Poit., 139; W. Malm., *G.R.*, s. 247.

e two Earls from London is only mentioned by Florence and immediately afterwards follows the Worcester Chronicle in orkere, with Eadgar (still designated as 'child'), Ealdred, and et William at Berkhampstead. If this was the case the two with London. But William of Poitiers, who should have sserts that they gave in their submission after William's Hallows, Barking), where he was laying out the Tower there might be a confusion (either way) between the rs and the "Beorcham" (Berkhampstead) of Florence. haplain's statement inspires confidence. Freeman and

Kent had lost all spirit of resistance. William's "politic severity . . . at Romney, and his no less politic lenity at Dover," had done their work.[1] Before he had got any way from Dover envoys from the 'metropolitan' (*i.e.* ecclesiastically metropolitan) city of Canterbury met him with hostages and oaths of allegiance. Next day William encamped at a place which has not been identified, but which is styled by the chaplain *Ad Fractam Turrim*.[2] Here William himself fell ill. We are told that he insisted on resuming his march next day.[3] But the effort was more than he could keep up, as it appears that he was detained in or near Canterbury for a whole month.[4] Of this check in his advance the unfortunate English could take no advantage; but the Duke did not allow the time to be wasted, as parties were sent out in all directions to harry the country, unless bought off by submission and tribute. Among other places Winchester, the old capital, now the jointure-residence and possession of the Lady Eadgyth, sister of Harold and widow of the Confessor, received a visit. Out of deference to Eadgyth, whose sympathi might be divided, the mission was directed to assume as far as possibl peaceable aspect, sparing her property, and confining themselves polite request for 'such submission and tribute as other towns had giv Both were promptly conceded by the Lady and her people.[5]

Canterbury Submits.

William ill.

Raids and Requisitions.

Having recovered from his illness, William resumed his march, m along the old Roman road towards London. The city is again de as wealthy and populous, administering its own m affairs, strong in its walls and its river-site, and now with fugitives.[6] But William had no more intentio siege to London than he had in the war of Maine of laying Mans; his plan in either case being to isolate and starve o surrounding it with a wide belt of desolation. Still he mi the effect of a nearer approach, and the Bishop of Amien account, we might say an unblushing account, of intrig gardus," evidently Esegar the Staller, the Sheriff of Middl of course, had the military command in London. severely wounded at Battle,[7] and had to go his rounds i made overtures to him to the effect that all that he of King, and that if that were conceded Esegar should Esegar advised the citizens to take William at his w sent to conclude an arrangement. But William, too old a fox to be taken in an open trap. He f over the envoy, who returned to assure the Lond

Advance on London.

[1] Freeman. [2] 'Broken Tower,' Poitiers.
[3] *Id.*, 138, 139; abridged by Orderic, 502. [4]
[5] Guy, p. 868. [6] Guy, *sup.*
[7] "Locus ubi pugnatum est exinde BELLUM usc

be content with nothing short of absolute submission.[1] The story is worth repeating, if only to show the Bishop's estimate of William's diplomacy. Whether true or not, the Duke advanced to Southwark, harrying and destroying as he went. A party of knights, who were sent on in advance, had a skirmish with the English, defeating them, and driving them in; and finally storming their works and burning the whole suburb of Southwark.[2]

Devastation of the Country.

But William did not attempt to force the crossing of London Bridge. Adhering to his plan, he marched in leisurely fashion up the right bank of the Thames, through Surrey and Berks, to Wallingford, where an undefended bridge and ford gave free access to the left bank of the river.[3] There appeared the supple Stigand with a first tender of allegiance.[4] It might have been supposed that now William would march straight to London. Not so. Persevering in his merciless tactics, determined not to force the current of events, but to allow the ripe apple to fall gently into his mouth, he took a wide sweep round to Berkhampstead, in Hertfordshire, at a distance of thirty miles from London.

By that time Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Surrey, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex had been more or less laid waste.[5] A few more days would have brought Essex within the devastated area. But William's work was done. The magnates assembled in London, sensible that the struggle could have but one issue, appeared at Berkhampstead and made their submission. They 'bowed (*bugon*) to William) for need, when the most harm had been done.'[6] Thither came 'Child' to disclaim his inchoate title; thither came Archbishop Ealdred, the saintly Wulfstan of Worcester, and other Bishops; thither came 'the best men' of London, and thither, according to one account, Earls Eadwine and Morkere.[7] They came not only to give in their personal adhesion, not only to swear oaths and deliver hostages,[8] but also, as representing the Witan of England, to make a formal offer of the Crown.[9]

The part attributed to William on this great occasion is very remarkable. His chaplain tells the story. The whole end and meaning of his rise from the first had been to assert his claim to the

men"; W. Poitiers. Skeletons of fifty bodies were found in a Road this summer (1896). I know not if they might be

m., 288; Orderic, 503.

ndensing the narrative, brings all the magnates to Walling-
orence.

Chron. D and Florence.

; W. Malm., *G. R.*, 247. With respect to Ead-
rum . . . qui Rex fuerat constitutus."

Throne of England. Personally no man could be more truly despotic, or less constitutionally-minded, than the great Bastard. His own will was the only law he knew. But, as a sagacious leader of men, he had gathered either from instinct or experience the value of a seeming deference to the opinion of others. When the exact end of his ambition was offered to him he affected to hesitate; he asked his followers if he ought to accept the tempting offer pressed upon him. Of course the military Gemôt could give but one answer, but the curious thing is that that answer is put into the mouth, not of one of William's own barons, but of an auxiliary, Aimery of Thouars. In this we may possibly see a reflection of the fact that the Duke's own vassals did not altogether relish the prospect of the increased authority that he would gain by the assumption of regal style. We have already seen that they had only entered into his scheme under the pressure of his imperious will. The desired assent, however, having been given, William condescended t accept the proffered Crown,[1] and gave the kiss of peace to Eadgar and h companions, apparently the first occasion on which the kiss was given on English soil.[2] It would seem that William added a voluntary pledge 'that he would be to them a good (*hold*) lord.' But for all that we are tol plundering never ceased.[3]

Feigned Reluctance to Accept it.

The army now advanced to London, but William would not trust h self within the walls till a stronghold of some sort had been prepare his reception,[4] doubtless on the site shortly to be occupied by the en fortifications of the Tower of London. For the coronation Christm by that time hard at hand, was fixed.

Of the proceedings of that memorable day no official reco preserved; but the extant notices are sufficient to show that th must have conformed to the ritual, which w lished in the days of Eadgar, and which again and again on future occasions. The the Tower to Westminster, a regular incident of subseq may date from this time, as William was probably site afterwards occupied by that fortress. The ch Peter's Westminster, the scene of Harold's cor months before, and again the consecrating Prin dred of York. Stigand the contumacious, Stigan Pall from a schismatic Pope, Stigand who could r his friend Harold, or even to consecrate his Mi

The Coronation.

[1] W. Poitiers, 143.

[2] Guy, 871; Orderic, 503. I know of no earlier ins history. To this day kissing between men, unknow Continent.

[3] Chron. D.; Flor. "Per fidei speciem propriu
Et juramentis perfida cor
He is silent as to the plundering.

[4] W. Poit.

be allowed to lay hands on William, the bearer of the Apostolic banner. The festivity—for such a coronation day is always held to be—must have seemed in the eyes of every true Englishman but a grim and dismal one at the best, but the actual circumstances of the day invested it with unexpected horrors. Norman cavalry kept guard round the Minster, perhaps a necessary, but still an ominous precaution.[1] The final procession must have been formed at the Royal hall or palace near the Abbey. Monks led the way, then came the clergy, then the prelates, the King coming last, supported by two Bishops—by two Archbishops we are told—but that seems a mistake.[2] The King having taken his place in the church, and the *Te Deum* having been sung, the appeal to the people followed in due course. But of William's subjects some spoke French, and some spoke English. Accordingly the constitutional question, 'Will ye have this man for your king?' had to be put in the two languages, in English to the English by Ealdred, and in French to the French by Geoffrey the Bishop of Coutances. Shouts of assent rang through the Minster. But the soldiers outside, unaccustomed to English cheering, and misunderstanding its import, began to lay about them. We are even told that, with truly Norman thirst for rapine, they began to fire the neighbouring buildings. These might perhaps include temporary structures connected with the unfinished abbey itself.[3] The Minster was soon emptied of spectators. Even the minor clergy fled. But the higher clergy, trembling withal, kept their places. William himself, who perhaps alone trembled before, was perceptibly affected.[4] But, with whatever haste and trepidation, the service proceeded. The coronation oath was duly administered and taken,[5] and William left the Minster a crowned anointed King, invested with the Rod and the Sceptre of mercy.[6]

A Panic.

equis præsidio dispositi"; W. Poit., 144; Orderic, 503.
niens, but he was not present, and might be mistaken. Mr. Petrie
st have seen the *Ordo Ad Regem Benedicendum*.
as still uncompleted, a state of things that must be considered not
t probable, the soldiers might fire the hoardings and scaffoldings at
he description of the building given by the writer of the time of
what it was in 1066; *Vitæ Ædwardi*, p. 90. Cathedrals were
n as the choir was built.
ium trepidantes ante aram perstiterunt, et officium consecra-
ter trementem vix peregerunt"; Ord.
oath as "Se velle sanctas Dei ecclesias ac rectores illarum
populum sibi subjectum juste et regali providentia regere,
e, rapinas injustaque judicia penitus interdicere." The
and *Memorials Dunstan*, 355) was shortly To keep
; to put down all robbery and wrong-doing; and to
nce omits the last clause. The Worcester Chronicle
he would keep the people as well as any King before
mention of the oath at all.
W. Poit., *sup.*; Guy of Amiens, 872; Orderic;

William, if not in any honest sense the elect of the English, was now undoubtedly in fact their lawful King, with all the resources of government at his disposal—a most important matter when we consider that the greater part of England was still quite unsubdued.[1] As for the relations of the invaders and the natives, they could not possibly be cordial, but for resistance the time had not yet come. On the contrary, submissions kept coming in thickly. Eadwine and Morkere, if they had not made their peace before, certainly made it shortly after the coronation. We are told that William was then at Barking in Essex, a few miles from London, superintending the works at the Tower. Other submissions which must be placed at this time were those of Waltheof, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, the son of Siward Digera, the old Earl of Northumbria; of Copsige, the former lieutenant of Tostig, to whom the Norman writers give the style of Earl (*comes*); of one Thurkill "*de Limis*";[2] of a Siward, and an Ealdred,[3] unknown bearers o historic names, who, with other magnates of lesser note, all came forward declare themselves William's 'men.' We are told that William graciou accepted this homage, treating them with all honour, and 'restor their possessions.[4] But it is clear that they were prudently detain court, as virtual prisoners and hostages for the good behaviour o followers. The custody of their persons would, in itself, give W considerable hold on the Midland and Northern districts of the

Further Submissions.

On the organization of his new government William entered wit usual energy and systematic purpose. In the first days after the tion important arrangements were made[5] for restoring peace an securing the due administration of justice, enforcing discipline a soldiery, officers as well as men,[6] and throwing open highways an for trade and traffic. The hours of drinking in alehouses wer regulation, and disorderly establishments suppressed. In W all self-indulgence was dereliction of duty; but attention work for his interests, was what he expected of his follower time, he never shirked work himself. Thus at this time, w do, we hear of his administering justice in person. In with we are assured that he never condemned any

Chron. D.; Florence. A new crown set with costly stone occasion; the gold was said to have come from Arabia Arabia?); Guy.

[1] For a disquisition on William's position at this period s

[2] Orderic.

[3] Siward and Ealdred are described as "filii Edelgari soris). They might be descendants of Uhtred by Ælf their pedigree has not been made out. Both Siward, appear in *Domesday*; Freeman, *N. C.*, IV. 21.

[4] "Reddidit cuncta quæ possiderant"; W. Poit.,

[5] "Multa disposuit." [6] "Milites mediæ nob

would be wrong to spare.[1] But for all that, we take it that he made capital punishment much more common than it had been before.

Curia Regis.

The Court of King's Bench (*Curia Regis*) may have been started now, as an analogous institution was already known in Normandy[2]; while the courts of the Constable and Marshal may fairly be referred to this same period, as we have express mention made of courts martial for dealing with military offences.[3] Of the measures taken by the King at this time we hear that some were intended 'for the welfare and dignity of the city.'[4]

Charter to the City of London.

From this we may infer that his well-known charter to the Londoners may have been issued as early as this time. In this interesting document, simply worded in plain English, the King greets William the Bishop, Gosfreth the Portreeve (sheriff), and all the burghers of London, French and English; and briefly tells them that his will is that they be worthy of ll the laws that were in the days of King Eadward; that each child be his ther's heir; and that he will suffer no man to offer them any wrong. od keep (*gehealde*) you.'[5] If the charter was granted at this time it es that already a foreigner had been appointed to rule the city.[6] in hand, however, with these measures went other work of a different ter, such as castle-building. It is worthy of notice that from the t the Tower was intended for an instrument of government, the one purpose it was destined to subserve. We are frankly told that s built to crush the dangerous insubordination of the Londoners.[7] ther castles that quickly sprang up in various places doubtless had r purpose.

he spoils of the vanquished English had to be disposed of. The Battle had already placed a vast amount of land at the King's disposal. This was divided between himself and his chief ollowers,[8] the new lords apparently taking over the lands at e rents and with the rights accruing to the previous owners. the take-over included the hand of the daughter or the edecessor. One important modification in land-law, how- posed to have been introduced at once, namely that

it nisi quem non damnare iniquum foret."
nd. [3] "Judices qui vulgo militum timori essent."
ivitatis commoda sive dignitatem"; W. Poitiers, 148, 149;

504, also 25 and 246 (Riley, Rolls Series No. 12); *Select*
s no attestations to indicate its date.
Walled Town, is strictly analogous to Sheriff, or Reeve of
s a county, the *status* of the two officers would be iden-

ac feri populi. Vidit enim in primis necessarium
; W. Poitiers, 150.
sday, passim.

all would hold directly or indirectly of the King, allodial tenure being abolished.[1] This would chiefly affect the position of the Earls, King's Thegns, and other great landowners, who previously had no over-lord.

The booty in money and valuables must also have been very considerable. Harold's hoards and those of his leading supporters had been secured,[2] and the districts overrun stripped of everything worth removing. But this was not all. However 'mild' William might wish to be to the good men who loved God and did his bidding,[3] he had no idea of sparing their pockets. We hear of a very heavy *geld*, amounting to a ransom, imposed at this time, so that such of the Englsh as were allowed to retain their lands in fact had to buy them back.[4]

Heavy Geld Imposed.

William's theory of his original rights would entitle him to treat all who had bowed the knee to Harold as rebels. Cnut, no doubt, under similar circumstances, had imposed a very severe tax; but that was to enable him to pay off and get rid of the bulk of his foreign army. William's exactions had no such object. The proceeds were applied in a way tend- ing rather to attract than to get rid of foreign help. The bulk of it kept for himself, but he also gave a fair part to his followers. Someth was said to have been given to the poor; but the Ch that is to say the Continental Church, received a most share. Pope Alexander II. was given a large sum in m jewels that 'would be prized at Byzantium,'[5] and, above all, the cher trophy, Harold's banner of the Fighting Man. Lesser offerings were to all parts of Gaul. The chaplain, who enlarges exultingly on this of his subject, assures us that 'a thousand churches in France, Aq Burgundy, Auvergne, and other parts' would ever bless the me King William. Besides money we hear of offerings of gold cups, j crosses, and vestments (*pallia*).[6] These suggest that Peter h

Gifts to Continental Churches.

[1] *Domesday*, *passim*; also F. W. Maitland, *sup.*, 151. For free village overlord before the Conquest see *Id.*, 141. The meaning of the term introduced by *Domesday* is far from clear; *Id.* 153. I would reckon as not held 'of' a lord (*de*), but only 'under' a lord (*sub*), *Id.*, 154, regard a merely personal connexion required by the law of Æthelstan, and not Above, I. 291, 513. Of course, occasionally, we find small lando the obligation of finding a lord. For the etymology of *allodiu* Norse *alda-odal*=old or heritable property, see Skeat, *Etym.*

[2] W. Poitiers, 146. [3] See Chron. E, A.D. 1087.

[4] See the contemporary Chron. D, "leide gyld on mannum of Poitiers, 146, "non modicus census." The later Chronicl gyld . . . and syððan heora land bohtan." 'They pa their lands' as if there had been two sets of payments. A ally to this period, so that we may fairly couple with th passage from *Domesday*, II. 360, cited by Mr. Freema terras suas." [5] "Ornamenta quæ Bizantium per

[6] W. Poit., 146, 147.

robbed to pay Paul, and that English churches and chapels had been mulcted for the benefit of William's spiritual allies.[1] Cnut as well as William courted clerical support, but those whom he sought to win over were the clergy of the national Church.

On one point of ecclesiastical policy William, for the moment, held his hand. Stigand could not be allowed to remain Archbishop; the King had determined on his successor. But Stigand was popular and influential, and so Stigand's case was prudently left to be dealt with in due time by the Papacy.[2]

With respect to the Tower, we need hardly point out the merits of its site—outside the city walls, but within easy reach of them; on the river, but below Bridge, so as to command the waterway and access to the Continent.

With all this work on hand, perhaps we should say in connexion with this work, William found time for a progress through his new dominions. His route is not indicated, but it must have passed through the South-Eastern counties, as he seems to have visited Winchester, and his journey ended at Pevensey. He would thus se the districts that had suffered most in the late campaign; but m's eyes were inured to such sights. Nor did he come with any g for past miseries under his wings. On the contrary, he came, rently, to exact the cruel penalty of defeat. He came to superintend in person the eviction of the old owners, and the installation of the new ones. We are told that no man ventured to cross h; probably not. But we do hear of crowds of pitiful suppliants, with their children, begging for mercy, till even William's heart ved to compassion, more especially for those of the humbler class.[3] blest classes might be the least guilty in his view, but they would ose best entitled to commiseration. Their legal position would rially affected by the change of landlords. Their duties would the same as before. But the families of the former owners emselves threatened with absolute destitution. *Domesday* in point—that of the widow of Godric, late Sheriff of Berks, considerable position, who had fallen at Senlac. His l upon Henry of Ferrers (*Ferrières*).[4] Of all the

Royal progress.

Evictions.

(Michel, *sup.*, and *Monasticon*, VI. 56) details the treasures , but there is nothing to show whether the spoliation took below.

[2] W. Poit., 149.

occurrunt passim obsequentes. . . . Omnes ille clemen- ssimis plebem. Sæpe vultu miserantem animum prodidit, um supplices conspiceret aut egenos, matres animad- m liberis"; W. Poitiers, 150. This account must be

es near Bernay (Eure). He had been at Hastings;

dower that Godric's relict might have claimed of Ferrers, one paltry hide (120 acres) alone was conceded, and that on the degrading condition of keeping some of the King's hounds.[1]

In connexion with these evictions we are assured that whatever had been taken from the English to be given to the French had been taken justly.[2] The reader will form his own estimate of the probable 'justice' of the case, but we may give fuller credence to the statement that William's liberality extended to some of the English who had deserved well of him, and in particular to the Ætheling Eadgar. On the other hand, it should be stated that the confiscations were most sweeping in the counties visited by William, namely Berks, Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants. In Berks, Kent, and Sussex, scarcely an Englishman was allowed to retain anything.[3]

As already mentioned, William's progress apparently included Winchester, where he ordered a new castle to be built within the walls of the city.[4] There, as elsewhere, both in the new castles that were quickly rising up and in the old mound-forts[5] and strongholds, trusty foreigners were placed in command, with substantial garrisons of horse and foot.

In contemplation of a visit to Normandy, William had to make arrangements for the government of England during his absence. He was careful to divide the responsibility and the authority. These were halved between two Lieutenants. His half-brother Odo, the martial Bishop of Bayeux, would rule the South of England, say Wessex, while the North would be placed under the charge of William's trusty trencherman, William fitz Osbern, William the son of the Seneschal to whose devotion the Duke had owed his life in boyhood. But these Lieutenants were only given the direct administration of one county each. Odo was made Earl of Kent, with his headquarters at Dover; while the son of Osbern received the earldom of Hereford, with his headquarters in the city of Hereford, where a castle was being built.[6] Next in authority

The King, Chief Lieutenants.

[1] *Domesday*, 57*b*, cited Freeman. Even the one hide was kept back by Ferrers. See also *Domsd.*, 63*b*, cited *N. C.*, IV. 43.

[2] "Nulli Gallo datum est quod Anglo cuiquam injuste fuerit ablatum"; W. Poit., *sup.*

[3] See *Norman Conquest*, IV. 32, 38, 42, 63.

[4] "Guenta urbs," W. Poit.; Ord. Baron Maseres, Thorpe, and Lingard identify this as usual with Winchester, and so does Benoit the translator of William of Poitiers. Mr. Freeman identifies it with *Venta Icenorum, i.e.* Norwich. The data supplied by Poitiers are puzzling. He places Guenta fourteen miles from the sea, which agrees better with the distance of Winchester from Southampton than with that of Norwich from the sea; but he places Guenta on the East coast, and gives the command to William fitz Osbern. Again, there were walls but no castle within them at Winchester, while Norwich had a mound-fort but probably no walls. If the King visited the place—and he seems to have done so,—it must have been Winchester. See the plan of Winchester below.

[5] These, as distinguished from castles of masonry, were numerous enough. See Clark, *Mediæval Military Architecture*, I. 16–26. On the South coast alone there were Lewes, Bramber, Arundel, Old Sarum, all first-class works.

[6] W. Poit., 151, 152; Florence.

to these would stand Hugh of Grentemesnil, Hugh of Montfort, and William of Warenne. The first of these received the military command in Hants,[1] the second in Kent.[2] Warenne's sphere might probably be laid in Surrey, of which he was afterwards made Earl. Hastings from the first had been under Humphrey of Tilleul, brother-in-law to Grentemesnil.[3]

The return to the primitive system under which the authority of the earl was limited to a single shire was perhaps the most urgently needed reform of the time. Without it England would still have remained a mere loose bundle of earldoms, liable at any moment to be thrown out of gear, with a history before it parallel to that of Germany or France. The earldoms of Eadwine and Morkere had not apparently been meddled with as yet, but as the Earls were virtual prisoners in William's hands, their actions would be quite under control. But the old Bernician earldom, the modern Northumberland, conferred on Osulf, son of Eadulf, in 1065, was taken from him and given to Copsige.[4] As Osulf's name has not been mentioned in connexion with recent events, we may suppose that he had not given in any submission to William.

With respect to the counties not placed under earls, they would be administered by sheriffs, the King thus receiving the whole of the regalian dues which otherwise would have been shared with the earls.

[1] Ord., 512. [2] W. Jum., 289. [3] Orderic, 512.
[4] February. See below.

CHAPTER IV

WILLIAM I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1067, 1068

William goes over to Normandy—England under Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and William fitz Osbern—Attempt on Dover Castle—William's Return—Revolt and Reduction of Exeter—Coronation of Matilda—Repression of Movements in the Midlands and the North

IN the course of March, within three months of the time of his coronation, William sailed from Pevensey, taking with him as hostages the chief men who might have given trouble in his absence. Among these were the 'Child' Eadgar, Stigand, the Earls Eadwine Morkere and Waltheof, Æthelnoth Abbot of Glastonbury, 'and many other good men.' William also took over a large portion of his treasure—'all honestly gotten'—for safe deposit in Normandy.[1]

Visit to Normandy.

We may imagine the joy of William's meeting with Matilda. If he had a soft corner in his heart it was for his wife and family. His entry into Rouen was a real triumph, the whole population turning out to greet him. All regard for the Lenten season was thrown to the winds. Easter and summer-time were held to have come. Among the clergy Seculars vied with Regulars as to which should show most honour to their new King, a 'piety' that brought a manifold recompense[2] to the altars in the shape of more gold and more vestments. But, naturally, the offerings to William's own foundation of St. Stephen's Caen, outshone all others.

Reception at Rouen.

During William's absence affairs in the Duchy had run smoothly, thanks to the prudent management of Matilda and the aged Roger of Beaumont. Not an incursion had troubled their borders;[3] and William was not called upon to deal with any matter more arduous than the consecration of a new church, or the appointment of a new Archbishop. The Easter feast, April 8, was held with extraordinary rejoicings at the Abbey

[1] "Argentum atque aurum quod rectissimo jure acceperat"; W. Poit., 153-157; Florence; Chron. D. In connexion with the treasure amassed by William the chaplain notices the wealth of England as a corn-growing country.

[2] "Certabant . . . pietatem, . . . lucro multiplici," etc.

[3] W. Poit., 158-161; Orderic, 506.

of the Holy Trinity, Fécamp. The English hostages were objects of great interest. If the French were inclined to smile at their long locks, they could not but envy their good looks.[1] They also gazed with eyes of admiration on other trophies, such as mantles embroidered with gold by English needles, and cups of gold and silver wrought by English craftsmen. At the great banquet (*cœnaculum ingens*) all drank out of silver, or at least out of horn cups mounted with silver.[2]

Easter Rejoicings.

Here we may be allowed to point out that in the ill-furnished mansions of the Middle Ages plate held a position altogether different from that which it holds in the luxurious dwellings of modern days. In the inventories of the effects of Englishmen of rank down to the sixteenth century plate and armour are the only items of importance.

On the 1st May the King assisted at the consecration of a church dedicated to the Virgin at Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives[3]; and on the 1st July he attended the consecration of another church, also dedicated to Our Lady, at Jumièges. Archbishop Maurilius officiated.[4] That was his last official act. On the 9th of August he passed away.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Chapter of Rouen with one voice declared for the most distinguished churchman in the land, Lanfranc Abbot of St. Stephen's Caen. King, barons, and people approved of their choice, but Lanfranc declared himself unequal to the burden of the Primacy, insisting on the translation of John, Bishop of Avranches. To settle the matter, Lanfranc was sent to Rome, and in due time came back with the Papal confirmation and the gift of the *pallium* for Archbishop John.[5]

We cannot doubt that Lanfranc declined the see of Rouen in pursuance of a hint from William; we may also take it that his mission to Rome would embrace other matters besides the appointment to the Norman Primacy.

While William was ruling his native Duchy in peace and comfort, England was becoming more and more restive under the misgovernment of his Lieutenants. It is likely that the division of authority, by weakening the sense of responsibility on the part of the rulers, had left more opening for arbitrary proceedings. We are told that in spite of William's injunctions, they oppressed and insulted the English, treating them as mere conquered natives. Neither property nor female honour was safe. Indignant protests were raised; but neither Bishop Odo nor Earl William would listen

[1] "Curiose cernebant crinigeros . . . quorum pulchritudini inviderent," etc.

[2] W. Poitiers, 161.

[3] Orderic, 507. Dept. Calvados.

[4] *Id.*, W. Jum., 288. The church had been begun "seven-and-twenty years before," by the abbot Robert Stigand's predecessor on the Throne of Canterbury; *N. C.*, IV. 93,

[5] John was in a manner connected with the Ducal family, being descended from Sprota, mother of Richard I. William fitz Osbern was his sister's son, and Hugh of Montfort was married to a niece; Ord.; W. Jum., *sup.*

to any complaint, always supporting the foreigners, and putting down all opposition by force. 'Well worth the end when God will.' [1]

William's conduct in absenting himself during so many months has been criticised. But apart from personal inclinations it was clearly of paramount importance for him to retain his popularity and his hold on Normandy [2]; and he probably had no misgivings as to his power of keeping down the English. A darker purpose of provoking a hasty rising need not perhaps be attributed to him.[3]

The attempt to rule Northumberland through Copsige came to a speedy and tragic end. He made his way down to the North, and succeeded in ousting Osulf, who was driven to the hills and the forests as an outlaw. This proves that even beyond the Tyne William already could make his power felt. But Osulf soon turned the tables on his rival in true old Northumbrian style. Having gathered a band of men in circumstances as desperate as his own, he surrounded Copsige in his banqueting hall at Newburn.[4] Copsige managed to escape to the church, but it was fired over his head, a common device to escape the technical charge of violating sanctuary. Rushing out wildly, he was cut down in the very porch by the hand of his adversary (March 12). Not five weeks had he held the appointment. But Osulf in turn did not live out the year; he fell in the course of the autumn by the spear of a brigand whom he was attacking on horseback.[5]

Affairs in Northumberland.

The struggle in Northumberland was one between two English factions, one of them supported by King William. We next hear of a wild attempt at a rising of a popular character, undertaken in conjunction with a foreign ally. The locality was Kent, and the ally, of all men in the world, was the Count of Boulogne, Count Eustace II., the man whose misconduct in 1051 had begun all the troubles—Eustace, who in the previous year had led William's right. The men of Kent must have been in an evil case indeed when they thought of placing themselves in his hands. What he expected to achieve it is not easy to see; but apparently he bore William a grudge for some legal decision through which he had been deprived of possessions previously conferred upon him by the king.[6] That their earlier relations had been tainted with distrust is implied in the fact

Rising in Kent.

Eustace of Boulogne Co-operating.

[1] See Ord., 507; conf. Chron. D. The converse phrase, "Woe worth," is not yet forgotten.

[2] See this well put, *N.C.*, IV. 101. [3] Lingard, I. 222.

[4] On the Tyne, five miles N.W. of Newcastle.

[5] Symeon, *H. R.*, 198; and the Tract, *Id.*, 383. For the year see W. Poit., 164; Ord., 509.

[6] "Si rationes quæ ejus liti controversantur depromerem, Regis eum gratiam atque Regis dono accepta beneficia ex æquo . . . amississe plane convincerem"; W. Poit., 164. The writer adds that the "sententia" had been approved by both English and French.

that before allowing Eustace to join his army as an ally in the previous year, William had required him to leave a son as a hostage in Normandy.[1]

Attempt on Dover Castle.

So it happened therefore that the men of Kent, knowing of the breach between William and Eustace, suggested to the latter a joint attempt on Dover Castle. Eustace entered into the scheme, got ready, and, on receipt of a notice that the time was come, sailed over by night with a body of picked men, mostly foot-soldiers, as might be supposed under the circumstances. But the chroniclers, with a Continental predilection for cavalry, thought the fact worthy of notice. The opportunity for a *coup de main* had been seized when both Odo and Montfort were away on an expedition across the Thames. No time therefore was to be lost; but, on the other hand, the Kentish men could have joined in greater numbers if a siege could have been kept up for a couple of days. But Eustace had not the nerve for so sustained an effort. The men in charge of the castle having closed their gates, and held out against the first onslaught, the Count, after a few hours' fighting, sounded a retreat, just as he had done in face of the men of Dover itself in 1051, and as he would have done in face of the last English rally behind the Malfosse in 1066, if William would have listened to him. The garrison then sallied boldly on him, and chased his men pell-mell down the hill with great loss; some were hurled bodily over the cliffs. Eustace himself escaped to his ships, but he left a nephew behind him.

In conclusion we are told that William, with his usual politic self-restraint in dealing with men of influence, shortly made it up with Eustace, and restored him to honour.[2] The affair therefore from the Count's point of view was not altogether fruitless. On the English side the movers were doubtless the dispossessed landowners of Kent.

In the West a more spirited, if not a more hopeful struggle was kept up on the Welsh March, a district long inured to petty warfare. There a man prepared to defy the mighty Bastard appeared in the person of 'Child' Eadric, surnamed from his habits and bodily activity Eadric 'The Wild Man of the Woods.'[3] He was son of Ælfric, brother of the notorious Eadric Streona, and so the representative of an old historic family. He had not submitted[4] to William, neither had he been dispossessed, so that he still had considerable resources at

Fighting on the Welsh Marches.

[1] "Filium de fide ante bellum in Normannia obsidem dederat"; *Id.*, 163.

[2] W. Poit., 163; Orderic, 508; W. Jum., 289.

[3] Chron D.; "Edricus cognomento Guilda, id est silvaticus"; Ord., 506; Florence; "Edricus Wilde, quod est silvestris, sic dictus a corporis agilitate;" Walter Map, a writer of the time of Henry II., *De Nugis Curialium*, p. 79 (ed. Wright). Map gives a pretty legend of the marriage of Eadric to a wood-nymph. In *Domesday* he appears as Eadric "Salvage"; his estates were in Herefordshire and Shropshire; Freeman, *N.C.*, IV. 739.

[4] The statement in Orderic that he had submitted with Copsige and others seems quite unsupported.

his disposal. In his contumacious attitude he found himself exposed to the attacks of the Earl of Hereford and his men, supported by the obnoxious Norman settlers of whom we heard in 1051, namely, Richard Scrob, or of Scrob, and his son Osbern, surnamed Pentecost.[1] But Eadric, we are told, was successful in repelling all their assaults. Finally he enlisted the co-operation of the Welsh Kings Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, set up by Harold in 1064 under English protection. With their help he made a devastating inroad into Herefordshire, wasting the unhappy land as far South as the bridge of Lugg near Leominster.[2] The Welsh Princes might think themselves bound by their oaths to Eadward and Harold, if to them any justification were needed for an attack on English soil.

English Refugees Abroad.

But many Englishmen were leaving the country, some in quest of new homes, others in hope of returning through foreign help, as many an exile in past days had done.[3] Of the first class some sought refuge in Flanders, the standing retreat for Englishmen in times of trouble; some "turned to the home of their forefathers on the banks of the Elbe"; others again found shelter in the Scottish (Irish) cloisters of the Continent. Not a few bold spirits travelled out as far as Constantinople to take service under the Emperor of the East. They were settled at first at "Chevetot" ("Kibotus, on the sea of Marmora, near Helenopolis"), to be subsequently employed by Alexius Comnenus I. against Robert Guiscard and the Normans of Apulia. With the Greek Varangian Guard, previously recruited from Scandinavia, a lasting connexion was now established.[4] Those in search of political alliances would naturally turn to Denmark or Norway. But the latter kingdom was divided between the peaceable sons of a restless father, namely Magnus, and Olaf, surnamed Kyrre ('The Tranquil'), the successors of Harold Hardrada. They had enough to do at home. In Denmark Swein Estrithson still held rule. Nephew of Cnut and cousin of Harold, he had much connexion with old England, to which he might have laid claim under the alleged agreement of 1042. But he was not prepared to strike an immediate blow, and so for the time he too "abode in his breaches."[5]

Affairs in Scandinavia.

William Returns to England.

With reports of risings and conspiracies, and rumours of foreign alliances and intrigues, William felt called upon to return to England without further delay, although winter had now set in. Matilda was again left in charge of Normandy, their eldest son Robert, a boy just entering his teens, being nominally associated with her. Embarking by night at Dieppe, the King landed at Winchelsea

[1] See above, vol. I. 452. [2] *Circa* August 15th; Florence; Chron. D.

[3] W. Poitiers, 162, 163; Orderic, 508.

[4] "Usque nunc"; Orderic, *sup.* Lappenberg (Thorpe), *Anglo-Norman Kings*, 114, 115.

[5] See *N. C.*, IV. 119–123. For the diplomatic mission of Æthelsige, Abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury, and also of Ramsey, to Denmark, see *Id.*, 135, and Thorpe, 116.

on the morning of St. Nicholas' Day.[1] The English hostages of course came with him, also a Norman feudatory, one who had not as yet visited England, but was destined to found a mighty House, and leave an enduring name there, Roger Lord of Montgomeri,[2] and, in right of his wife Mabille Talevas, Count of Alençon and Bellême.[3] The Christmas feast was kept in London, William doing his utmost to conciliate the natives by affable and friendly manners, but in private he would warn his followers to watch their movements with constant suspicion.[4] From the English writers we hear again of the imposition of a heavy geld.

Christmas in London.

It is likely that during this Midwinter Gemot William made his first appointment to an English bishopric. Wulfwig of Dorchester had died apparently during the King's absence in Normandy.[5] Of course a Norman would be named to succeed him; the man chosen was Remigius or Rémy, late Almoner of Fécamp, a man whose zeal had provided a ship for the great expedition. His promotion therefore was natural; but the strange thing was that the man selected to consecrate him was Stigand, Stigand the schismatic, whose offices had been eschewed by English Prelates, by Harold, and by William himself the year before. It would seem that the Conqueror felt more anxious to win English support at the close of 1067 than he did at the close of 1066. Anyhow the time for degrading Stigand had not yet come, and so William temporised, and allowed him to lay hands on the elect of Dorchester.[6]

Again it is likely that at this time William may have filled up the earldom of Northumberland, doubly vacant by the deaths of Copsige and Osulf. The date of the appointment is not given, but we are told that after the death of Osulf one Gospatrick went to King William, and for a large sum of money bought the office, to which he had claims by birth. To have sent a Norman there would have been useless. Gospatrick was a man of high connexions, and belonged to the old stock, his mother, Ealdgyth, being the daughter of Earl Uhtred by his third wife, the daughter of King Æthelred.[7]

Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland.

Of the state of England at this time we hear that the districts that had

[1] 6th Dec. So expressly Chron. D and E; conf. Orderic, 509. "Sexta nocte Decembris" in the latter, when William embarked, must be taken as the vigil, as he adds that he landed next morning.

[2] Calvados? diocese of Lisieux; Freeman.

[3] Ord., *sup.*; *Roman*, II. 198, note; also *N. C.*, II. 194. [4] Ord., *sup.* [5] Florence.

[6] Freeman, *N. C.*, III. 380, IV. 130, citing the later profession of Remigius to Lanfranc, given Giraldus Cambrensis, VII. 151. In the *Registrum Sacrum* the appointment of Remigius is placed in 1067, and so must have happened late in the year.

[7] Symeon, *H. R.*, 199, 384. Gospatrick's father was Maldred, son of Crinan, presumably Crinan, the lay Abbot of Dunkeld, father of Duncan King of Scotland, so that Gospatrick must have been a Scot, and brother of Duncan; Sym., *sup.*; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 394, 419. The latter explains the name Gospatrick as Gwas Patrick = *Servant of Patrick*. The new Earl was doubtless the "Gaius Patricius" mentioned as going with Tostig to Rome in 1061. He was stated to be of kin to the King; *Vitæ Ædw.*, 411.

been overrun by William, or were held in check by his garrisons were submissive enough; but that the West was in arms, and that the far North, wont to pay little regard to the authority of its former kings, paid none at all to that of King William. His attention had to be directed in the first instance to the lands beyond the Exe, the old West Wales, where the attitude of the people was not simply sullen, but actively defiant.

Disaffection in the North and West.

Devon and Cornwall apparently had sent no contingents to Senlac, neither had they been visited by William's troops.[1] Their resources therefore were unimpaired. In Exeter Gytha, Harold's mother, had found a refuge; the family possessions in the neighbouring shires were considerable, and the country Thegns had gathered round her in strength. Some of her family, her unmarried daughter Gunhild, perhaps some of Harold's sons and daughters, may also have been there.[2] The city itself was, for the times, rich and populous, and strong in its fortifications, dating originally from the times of Æthelstan.[3] These had been strengthened with battlements[4] and towers. No dealings of any sort had been held with William. High and low were resolved to keep out the foreigners, and to establish, for themselves at any rate, a position of practical independence—local Home Rule. Every preparation for defence had been made. The neighbouring districts had been invited to join a sort of Western League. Even foreign merchants happening to be present were pressed into the service.

A Western League.

In the buoyant enthusiasm of these proceedings we may surely trace the working of the Celtic blood that ran in the veins of the Western men.

Of course William was duly apprised of what was happening at Exeter. He had also a special ground for indignation in the cruel treatment to which some Norman soldiers, who had been driven by stress of weather into the river, had been subjected.[5] Nevertheless he began with his usual politic moderation, simply sending to inquire if the men of Exeter were prepared to take oaths of allegiance to him as their King. Their answer was that they were not prepared to swear allegiance to him, or to admit him within their walls; but, as if to tempt him by the offer of a compromise, they said that they would render to him the established regalian dues issuing from the city, thus accepting him as over-lord, but not as King. William answered that he was not in the habit of accepting

[1] The submission of the Abbot of Glastonbury would seem to mark roughly the Western limit of William's influence in 1067.

[2] *i.e.* Harold's natural children. See above 36, and *N. C.*, IV. 142.

[3] Of course the walls must have been repaired since the demolitions by Swein "from the East gate to the West gate" in 1003; above I. 354, and Florence.

[4] *Pinnas*, more commonly *pinnacula*, whence "pinnacles."

[5] "Militibus crudeliter et contumeliose illuserant"; Ord. 510. No further detail is given.

subjects on such terms, and straightway marched an army down. We are told that on this occasion he first ventured to employ the swords of Englishmen. On the way they were let loose to overrun and harry the possessions of their countrymen in Dorset.[1] When the army was within four miles of Exeter the magistrates, or other leaders,[2] thinking better of it, went out to sue for peace. Finding that nothing less would be accepted than absolute submission, they promised it, and delivered hostages. But the lesser townsfolk, taking counsel of their patriotic ardour, refused to submit, and closed the gates. The King in great wrath came up to reconnoitre with five hundred horse. Finding the walls manned, he ordered up the rest of his force, and, by way of a warning, put out the eyes of one of the hostages in the sight of all the people. But the people would take no warning.[3] A regular siege ensued, which was pressed by William for eighteen days.[4] At the end of that time, finding that the King was gaining on them, and that their walls were undermined,[5] the men of Exeter accepted the inevitable. Young and old, with the clergy in procession, went out to beg for mercy. William, who probably did not want to incur fresh odium by unnecessary shedding of English blood, accepted their submission, and forgave their misdeeds. Life and property would be respected, but probably a ransom would be exacted. Of course he took military possession of the city, but we are told that he placed strong guards at the gates to prevent any irruption of disorderly bands in quest of plunder. A site for an inner stronghold within the walls—the existing castle—was immediately fixed upon, the work being left to be carried out by the governor left in charge, namely Baldwin of Moeles in Normandy, and of Okehampton in England, being a son of William's kinsman and early guardian Count Gilbert of Eu and Brionne.[6] Gytha, with her ladies and her suite, escaped, to find a refuge in one of the Holms, the islands in the Bristol Channel off the Irish coast.[7] Eventually she made her way once more to Flanders, to end her days at St. Omer.[8](?)

William Marches to Exeter.

Siege of the City.

Submission.

[1] For the state of the Dorset towns, Shaftesbury, Wareham, Bridport, Dorchester, at the time of *Domesday*, see *N. C.*, IV. 151.

[2] "Majores." [3] Orderic, 510. [4] Chron. D.

[5] In William of Malmesbury the collapse of part of the wall is treated as miraculous ("divino . . . auxilio . . . ultro decidens"), a punishment for an offensive insult to the King offered by one of the men on the wall ("nudato inguine, etc."); *G. R.*, s. 248. If the latter part of the story had been true Exeter would have fared badly.

[6] Orderic, *sup.*; *N. C.*, IV. 161; and for Count Gilbert, II. 192. Exeter Castle was placed on a height at the North end of the town, and called by the Normans Rougemont, from the colour of the soil. For the fortifications see the plan, *N. C.*, IV. 152; and Clark, *Military Archit.*, II. 44. For Count Gilbert see also below, 108, Appendix.

[7] "Bradan Reolice."

[8] Chron. D; Florence. The Worcester chronicler, taking the simple popular view of the matter, treats the surrender of Exeter as a mere 'betrayal' (geswicon hæfdon)

A march through Devon and Cornwall ended the campaign. We are told that whatever resistance was met with was easily overcome; but the destruction that befell Barnstaple and Lidford would seem to show that those two boroughs were "special scenes of resistance." The army was then disbanded, and William returned to Winchester in time for Easter (March 23).[1]

Subjugation of the South-West.

The subjugation of the South-West was followed by further confiscations on a sweeping scale. If the Cornish Thegns offered little resistance, their submission profited them little. The earldom of Cornwall, a new creation, was conferred upon William's brother Robert, already Count of Mortain, in Normandy. With the earldom he received most of the land in the shire. "Hardly any other landowners appear except the Crown and ecclesiastical bodies." The position thus created for Earl Robert became a lasting appanage of the Royal Family. In Devonshire a certain number of Englishmen retained their lands, but the greater part of that county and of Somerset was redistributed. Norman churches, such as those of Rouen and Caen; Norman Bishops, such as Geoffrey of Coutances and Odo of Bayeux; lay Barons, such as Eustace of Boulogne, Ralph of Mortemer, Walter Giffard, and others of well-known names, all partook of the spoil. One lordship in Somerset became the freehold of the Church of St. Peter at Rome.[2] In these spoliations church lands were not respected, at least not when the churches had acted against William, or were specially connected with his enemies.

Further Confiscations.

England now seemed sufficiently settled to receive Matilda, the wife of a King but herself not yet crowned a Queen. A distinguished Embassy was sent to bring her over. In her train came Bishop Guy of Amiens, the poet-chronicler of the Hastings campaign. His work may have been presented to the King on this occasion. On Whitsunday (May 11) Matilda was 'hallowed to Queen' at Westminster by Archbishop Ealdred.[3]

But the year was not destined to end without further troubles. If William had made himself master of the South of England, subsequent events proved that as yet his effectual dominion did not extend to the North of the line of the Avon and Nen,—the line of the forts of Ostorius Scapula[4]—with perhaps the addition of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire and part of Herefordshire. He had not yet got rid of Eadwine and Morkere, who had been released from their attendance at court, probably because William was

Position of Eadwine and Morkere.

by the Thegns, and asserts that William 'promised well and ill performed.' The date of Gytha's death seems unknown. Her daughter Gunhild died at Bruges, 24th August, 1087; Freeman, *N. C.*, IV. 159.

[1] Orderic., *sup.*; Chron. D; Freeman, *sup.*, 162, citing Domesday.

[2] See *N. C.*, IV. 163–70.

[3] Chron. D; Ord., *sup.*

[4] See above, A.D. 50, I. 54, 62.

no longer afraid of them. But their disposition was very uncertain, while beyond the Tyne the allegiance of Gospatrick was equally doubtful.

With respect to the sons of Ælfgar, it is clear that apart from any personal qualifications of their own, the accidents of birth, youth, and wealth, coupled with the unique veneration commanded by the memory of their grandparents Leofric and Godgifu, had invested their names with very great popularity.[1] The eyes of all who hoped that even yet a stand might be made against the invader were turned towards them. We are told that prayer on their behalf was being offered up far and wide. Again we hear that William had paid great court to Eadwine, setting him over his brother's head, so as to give him authority over one-third of England, and promising the hand of a daughter. But the daughter was not forthcoming, and Eadwine in his indignation was preparing to rebel. If William really gave Eadwine authority over his brother's earldom it must have been with the object of sowing jealousy between the brothers. As for the marriage, William's eldest daughter at this time could not have been more than fourteen years old at most, so that delay was only natural. But we need not look to a matrimonial disappointment to explain Eadwine's action. If he had been the most shortsighted of men he must have seen that if William became master of all England his own position would sink to nothing. Accordingly we hear of a grand gathering of magnates supported by Bleddyn of North Wales.[2] We hear of an attempt to form a sort of Northern League. We have indignant protests against Norman oppression, and spirited resolutions pledging all to draw the sword in defence of their ancient independence.[3] North of the Humber the whole country was up, and the city of York, in spite of all the efforts of Archbishop Ealdred, had become an armed camp.

A Northern League.

The Northern League came to even less than the Western League of the winter. The old want of coherence and leadership again betrayed itself. William marched an army to Warwick and quietly established a castle there, in connexion doubtless with Æthelflæd's burh of 915.[4] The command was given to Henry of Beaumont, younger son of old Roger, a man destined to be the progenitor of a long line of Warwick Earls. It would seem that Eadwine and Morkere had an army at their backs, because we are told that when it came to the point they and theirs declined the issue of battle, and begged

William Marches to Warwick.

[1] Orderic, 511, and again 521, where Eadwine's good looks and his general popularity both with French and English are dwelt upon.

[2] Bleddyn became sole King of Gwynedd and Powys as the result of a battle fought at Mechain (?) in this year in which his brother and both their opponents fell, one Maredudd, son of Owain, becoming King of South Wales; *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut.*, A.D. 1068.

[3] "Pro vendicanda libertate pristina."

[4] See above, I. 272. The mound "still remains, but William's works have disappeared, perhaps displaced by the later castle"; Freeman, *N. C.*, IV. 190.

for grace.[1] William, who did not want to drive them to extremities, at once assented,[2] and so disarmed them very cheaply.

The King at Nottingham

Continuing his march Northwards without opposition, the King is next heard of as halting at Nottingham, to establish another garrison at that important position, at the point where the great highway to the North crosses the Trent. Eadweard the Elder had established two forts there to command the passage of the river,[3] but William's castle apparently did not coincide with either of these, being placed on the highest point of the rock occupied by the present town, at the junction of the Leen and Trent.[4] The command was given to William Peverel, a man of uncertain origin, but destined to leave a name of lasting association with the Derbyshire Peak,[5]

And York.

North of the Humber the King might expect to meet with some more substantial resistance than he had as yet experienced in the campaign. And so ultimately it came to pass. But for the moment the collapse in the Midlands had broken the spirit of the Northumbrians. Before William had come within sight of York he was met by an embassy tendering hostages and the keys of the city. But the King was not to be put off with any nominal submission. As at Exeter so at York he took possession, and at once began to secure his position by fortifying a castle. The site chosen was not within the limits of the original Roman walls, but still, we are told, inside the then city[6]; a statement fully borne out by *Domesday*, which tells us that one of the seven 'shires' of the city had to be cleared of houses for the works. In fact the castle was placed on the mound of the old Danish stronghold, in the angle between the Foss and the Oose, and on the left bank of the latter.[7] The acquisition of the historic city of York, populous and rich through its trade with Denmark,[8] carried on through the channel of the Oose, was William's "greatest conquest" since that of London. The keeping of the Northern Metropolis was entrusted to the faithful William Malet, who also therewith received the great post of Sheriff of Yorkshire.[9]

The King's stay at York witnessed the submission of some influential Englishmen. Archil, described as the greatest man in Northumbria,[10] a

[1] "E. et M. cum suis anceps prœlii certamen perpendentes gratiam Regis petierunt."

[2] At least, "specie tenus"; Orderic, 511.

[3] See above, vol. I., 275.

[4] For a drawing of Nottingham Castle in the sixteenth century see Clark, II. 336.

[5] A story given by Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. 436, makes William Peverel a natural son of the Conqueror. For his Keep on the brink of a precipitous cliff near Castleton see *Archæol. Journal*, V. 214, cited Freeman; Orderic, *sup.*, Chron. D.

[6] "In urbe ipsa."

[7] See Clark, *sup.*, II. 334, etc.; and the plan, Freeman, *N.C.*, IV. 202.

[8] In the time of *Domesday* York had still 1,607 houses. Allowing one family to each house and five souls to a family, that would give a population of 8,000 persons.

[9] Symeon, *H.R.*, s. 153; *N.C.*, IV. 204.

[10] "Potentissimus Northanhimbrorum"; Orderic. The name is here used in the old and larger sense.

man who certainly had vast estates in Yorkshire, came in and delivered his son as a hostage. Bishop Æthelwine of Durham also appeared to commend himself personally to the good graces of the Conqueror. He was utilised to establish relations with the King of Scotland.[1]

English Refugees in Scotland.

We have spoken of expatriated Englishmen. One band of personages, unable to endure the prospect of William's rule, had retired to the Scottish court. Among these were the Ætheling Eadgar, with his mother Agatha and his sisters Margaret and Christina, Earl Gospatrick, and Mærleswein,[2] late Sheriff, apparently, of Lincolnshire. He was the man to whom Harold had entrusted his interests in the North after the battle of Stamford Bridge. It was important therefore to counteract the influence that these men might exercise in Scotland; and the Bishop was commissioned to offer terms of peace.

Malcolm and William come to Terms.

Malcolm, we are told, had in fact been preparing to invade England, but on receiving William's overtures resolved to keep quiet. He sent back the Bishop with ambassadors of his own to pledge him to observance of William's terms, whatever they may have been.[3] But it is most unlikely that William should have complicated the situation by an ill-timed demand for homage, or that Malcolm should have jumped at the first suggestion to close with so distasteful a proposal.

Content with having so far settled affairs in the North, William now turned Southwards to make sure of the country behind him. His route passed through Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, to the East of his former track. In each place fortifications were set up or repaired, and garrisons established.

William Marches South.

Lincoln was a town of considerable importance, rich through trade by the river Witham, and boasting of eleven hundred and fifty inhabited houses.[4] The fortress of the time consisted of an irregular rectangle surrounded by earthworks partly piled on the older Roman walls, and enclosing less than half the old Roman camp (Lindum). The later Minster occupies the rest of the Roman camp. The ramparts were crowned on the southern side by two conical mounds. What William did is not clear. Probably he merely repaired the palisades, and cleared away any dwelling houses or other obstructions that had been allowed to grow up within the enclosure, or on the slopes of the ditches outside, a very common kind of encroachment. Certain it is that the 166 houses destroyed for the sake of the castle "were not removed to allow of the extension of its area," because "the Norman walls stand upon the English banks."[5] It is worthy of notice that the municipal government of Lincoln by its close corporation of twelve "lagemen" was not interfered

Fortifications at Lincoln.

[1] Orderic, *sup.* [2] Chron. D and E; Florence.

[3] "Nuncios suos ovanter remisit per quos Guillelmo Regi fidele obsequium juravit"; Ord. [4] W. Malm., *G.P.*, s. 177; Ellis, *Domesday, N.C.*, IV. 208.

[5] Clark, *sup.*, II. 189, etc., and the plan there.

with. William had no wish to remodel institutions unless they affected his personal interests. Analogous institutions at Cambridge, Stamford and elsewhere met with equal respect.[1]

Neither Huntingdon nor Cambridge equalled Lincoln in importance; but both had fortifications, of which we heard in 918 as wrested by Eadweard the Elder from the Danes. At Cambridge, as at Lincoln, the mound-fort (Castle Hill), dating presumably from 875, had been piled up in a corner of the old Roman camp (*Camboritum*). Again the additions made on the present occasion were probably but slight, but doubtless sufficient to make the works effectual for military purposes.[2] The reader will notice that England's defect was not so much the absence of strongholds, as the neglect to keep them in effective repair.

Huntingdon and Cambridge.

To William's conquests of the year Worcestershire and Gloucestershire may doubtless be added. At any rate we know that either then or in the next year they were linked under a Norman Sheriff, Urse of Abetot, a name at which we shudder involuntarily when we call to mind the malediction of Archbishop Ealdred, "HATTEST THU URS? HAVE THU GODES KURS."[3] We regret to be obliged to add that what provoked the anathema—doubt, less well deserved—was not the oppression of the widow, the fatherless, the stranger, or the poor, but the fact that Urse's castle at Worcester infringed on the monastic burying ground, the moat cutting off a corner of the cemetery.[4]

Worcestershire and Gloucestershire Reduced.

As narrated by the chroniclers, William's campaign of the summer of 1068 might seem a mere armed progress. But if we turn to other evidence we shall see that his march, if not stained by much blood, still scattered destruction, spoliation, and misery far and wide. We have spoken of the destruction of houses at York and Lincoln recorded in *Domesday*. The list of similar damages done elsewhere is a heavy one. At Gloucester thirty houses were dismantled to make room for a castle or otherwise.[5] At Cambridge out of a total of four hundred dwellings twenty-seven were sacrificed for the castle, fifty-three others being tenantless at the time of the survey.[6] In Oxford the destruction was "prodigious," and, in fact, such as to imply an unrecorded siege, "and a most devastating siege." Of seven hundred and twenty-one houses formerly paying taxes four hundred and seventy-eight houses were gone, leaving

[1] Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 205; see above I. 520; and Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, 211.

[2] For plans and a history of Cambridge Castle, see T. McK. Hughes, Camb. Antiq. Soc., 1894.

[3] '*Hightest thou*, i.e. *art thou called Urse? Have thou God's curse*'; W. Malm., *G. P.*, s. 115. Ealdred died in the next year (1069); *N. C.*, IV. 173-177.

[4] "Adeo ut fossatum cimiterii partem decideret"; *Id.*

[5] *N. C.*, IV. 173. [6] *Id.*, 221.

only two hundred and forty-three still taxable.[1] The confiscations of land were on a still larger scale. In Warwickshire one Thegn, and one Thegn alone, Thurkill of Warwick, son of Ælfwine formerly Sheriff, was left in possession of a large estate, perhaps the largest left to any Englishman. He must have made his peace at an early date. Besides him only two or three other natives are found retaining "fragments" of their property.[2] In Leicestershire, again, but two or three landowners of the smallest class were spared.[3] The Nottinghamshire gentry fared better. There a remarkable number of King's Thegns retained their estates.[4] In Yorkshire large grants of land were conferred on William Malet and others, his possessions being expressly stated to have been conferred upon him before the revolt of the next year.[5] Lincolnshire came off rather well, both as to country and boroughs, a considerable amount of land remaining in English or Danish hands. But alongside of these we have Norman grantees with well-known names, such as William of Percy, Walter of Eyncourt, Ilbert of Lacy, Ivo Taillebois.[6] In Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire the confiscations were again severe, but there is nothing to show whether the changes took place at this time, or in connexion with later struggles.[7]

While William was engaged in these operations the three sons of Harold, Godwine Eadmund and Magnus, of whom the reader as yet has heard nothing beyond the bare fact of their existence, made their appearance on the stage of history. Sailing with a fleet from Dublin, where they had found shelter at the court of King Diarmid, their father's old friend, they entered the Bristol Channel in the old Wicking style, prepared to treat the country subject to their enemy as hostile territory, just as their father and others had done before them. Harrying the coast as they went, they came to Bristol, and attacked the town. But the men of Bristol would have nothing to say to them, and beat them off. Moving down the coast of Somerset, they landed, perhaps, at Porlock, where their father had landed, again to find their countrymen arrayed against them. Eadnoth, who had held the office of Staller under Harold, having made his peace with William, came forward to do battle on behalf of his new master. A desperate engagement ensued, in which the victory was claimed on both sides, but Eadnoth was left on the field; while the invaders were able to complete their buccaneering harvest by further depredations on the unhappy coasts of Devon and Cornwall.[8]

Harold's Sons in the Bristol Channel.

Anarchic State of the Country.

With all the destruction and spoliation of the year; with numberless men of high and low degree turned out of house and home, and reduced to desperation, we cannot but believe

[1] *N.C.*, IV. 778. As the existing mound-fort at Oxford was clearly utilised by the Normans the destruction need not have been great. [2] *Id.*, 189, 780. [3] *Id.*, 197.
[4] *Ib.* [5] *Id.*, 204. [6] *Id.*, 215. [7] *Id.*, 222.
[8] Chron. D (given under 1067), Flor.; W. Malm., *G. R.*, s. 254. The Fitz Harding Berkeleys claim descent from Harding, son of this Eadnoth. See *Complete Peerage*.

that England was now reduced to a state of anarchy, a prey to every disorder, endured as well at the hands of her own sons as at those of the foreigners. Fire, rapine, and slaughter were rife, leading up to famine and pestilence.[1] Rough soldiers suddenly found themselves established as landowners and masters in the midst of a faithless and contemptible population, 'handed over to them by the wrath of God.'[2] The women were in the worst position, exposed to every insult. Well-born ladies pressed into the nunneries as their only protection from forced marriages or worse.[3] To diminish the burdens on the people we are told that William dismissed as many of his mercenaries (*solidarios milites*) as he could spare. Some of his captains also, either dissatisfied with their position, or finding themselves uncomfortable in England, away from their families, went home. Among these were Hugh of Grand-Mesnil and his nephew, Humphrey of Tilleul, the governor of Hastings.[4]

Birth of the King's Son Henry.

At some time in the course of the summer, after her coronation, Matilda presented William with a fourth son, a born Englishman, and a born Ætheling, Henry, first of the name, the future King. The attention paid to his education and his early turn for learning are noticed from the first.[5]

[1] Orderic, 512. The Abbot of Abingdon could not stir without a body-guard; *Hist. Abingdon*, II. 3.

[2] "Normanni furentes immoderate tumebant, et indigenas divino verbere pro reatibus suis percussos impie mactabant . . . putabant quod quicquid vellent sibi liceret"; Ord. 523.

[3] *Id.*, and Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 124. A question subsequently arose, when times became more quiet, whether these ladies were bound to take the veil for ever or not. Lanfranc kindly decided that they were not bound; *Opp.* I. 53; Eadmer, *sup.* For the state of England see also *Hist. Ely*, Gale, III. 516, and a letter from Pope Alexander to William (after 1070), calling on him to act up to his reputation as a good son of the Church, and protect the widows, the orphans, and the poor from oppression; *Opp. Lanfr.* I. 30.

[4] Ord. 512. Hugh, however, came back to England and became Sheriff of Leicestershire; *N. C.* IV. 232; Ellis, *Domesd.* I. 429. [5] May–Sept; Ord. 510.

CHAPTER V

WILLIAM I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1069, 1070

Risings in the North—Attempts of Eadgar Ætheling—Descent of the Sons of Swein Estrithson—Capture of York—Devastation of Yorkshire by William—Reduction of the Western Midlands—Hereward and the Danes in East Anglia—Inroad of Malcolm Canmore.

WILLIAM'S conquests in 1068 had apparently cost him little effort, and certainly had been marred by no reverses. The year 1069 was destined to witness a struggle of a more arduous and chequered character, but one bringing out only more clearly William's strength, and establishing his mastery upon a surer footing.

The year opened with a rather rash attempt to take possession of the unsubdued lands beyond the Tees, that is to say our counties of Durham and Northumberland. The earldom, left vacant by the retirement of Gospatrick, had been given to one Robert of Comines, otherwise Robert Cumin.[1] At the report of his coming the whole country was astir, men vowing that they would die rather than receive him. Bishop Æthelwine, understanding the hostile dispositions of his flock, sent a friendly message to the new Earl, warning him to keep at a distance. Robert, however, holding on undauntedly, and not even troubling himself to keep his men in order, boldly entered Durham. The Bishop entertained him in his Palace, while the others were quartered up and down the town. All through the long winter night the Northumbrians, tramping over wastes of snow, gathered together for an attack on Durham. At daybreak they burst in and massacred the foreigners in their beds. An attack was then made on the Palace; this assault being resisted, the buildings were fired, and burnt down over Robert's head. Only one or two of his followers escaped. Of course the Bishop was saved. The flames almost caught the West tower of the cathedral church, but St. Cuthberht once more intervened at the prayers of his votaries. The wind took a sudden turn to the East, and the Minster escaped.[2]

Robert of Comines, Earl of Northumberland.

Massacre of him and his Men.

[1] "Rodberto de Cuminis"; Ord. "Rodbertum cognomine Cumin"; Symeon.

[2] Wednesday, 28th January, 1069; Symeon, *H. D. E.* 98; *H. R.* 186; Ord. *sup.*; Chron. D.

From the Durham historian we next hear that one of William's captains (*ducem quendam*) was promptly ordered off to Durham to avenge Earl Robert's fate; but that, on reaching Northallerton, the party encountered such a cloud of darkness,[1] presumably a snow storm, that they could not see their way. A native having promptly volunteered the comforting explanation that the people of Durham had á St. Cuthberht, who would never fail them at need, the force turned round and went back again.[2] From another writer we hear that shortly after the Durham massacre one Robert fitz Richard, who had a command at York under Malet, was attacked by the English, and cut off with many of his men.[3] This Robert must have been out on some expedition, as the castle at York was still safely held by William Malet.

Norman Reverses.

Greatly cheered by these successes, the spirits of the English rose. Hopes began to be entertained of shaking off the cruel Norman yoke.[4] Eadgar the Ætheling, Gospatrick, Mærleswein, left Scotland, and, surrounded by North country Englishmen, came to York. The citizens at once admitted them, and joined hands in an attack on the castle. Thus pressed, William Malet sent a hasty message to the King that, without prompt help, he would be lost. William was not deaf to the appeal. Marching with all speed, he fell on the besiegers with overwhelming force and scattered them. Many were slain; many taken prisoners. The city was sacked, and St. Peter's Minster, 'and all the others,' plundered and defiled. But the Ætheling and other leaders once more escaped to Scotland.[5] Eight days the King remained at York to see to the establishment of a second fort, on the right bank of the Ouse, at Baile Hill. The command was given to no less a personage than William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford. That done, William was able to return to Winchester in time for Easter[6] (April 12). The reader will notice that, for the moment, he was content to leave Northumberland alone.

A Muster at York

Scattered by William.

An unsupported attack by local forces on the castles at York failed, and England remained seemingly in a state of peace for a couple of months or so. But rumours of impending invasion filled the air. The Danes were to come from the East, the Scots from the North, the Irish from the West, all to co-operate with one another, and, of course, to join hands with native risings, for a grand attack on Norman rule. The King thought appearances so uncertain that he sent Matilda back to Normandy, to devote herself to good works in the company of their son Robert.

Of the threatened storms, the first to burst was one in the South-West,

[1] "Tanta nebularum densitas." [2] Symeon, *H. D. E.* [3] Ord.

[4] "Fiducia . . . crevit contra Normannos a quibus videbant nimium vexari suos collegas et amicos"; *Id.*

[5] Orderic, *sup.*; Chron. D and E.

[6] Ord. *sup.* The Worcester Chronicle gives both castles as built in the previous year.

in the shape of a second desultory attack by two of the sons of Harold—which two we are not told. Sailing again from Dublin, with a fleet given as sixty-four or sixty-six vessels strong, they entered the mouth of the Taw in Devonshire. Landing with Wicking daring, but with something less than Wicking caution, they proceeded to harry the land with fire and sword. But sudden destruction came upon them unawares. One Brian of Brittany, a cadet of the ruling family who was serving under William, met them with a superior force, and in two successive engagements in the course of one day smote them with such slaughter that the remnant that escaped could just man two vessels. Seventeen hundred men were said to have fallen.[1] But Harold's sons again escaped to Dublin, to sink once more into obscurity. From this time forth history knows them no more, the very times of their deaths lost to posterity.

Harold's Sons Again.

Again for a couple of months the land, so far as we know, was left in peace. But towards the end of August the long-expected Scandinavian armament at last swooped down upon our shores. William had endeavoured to disarm the hostility to be expected from Swein Estrithson.[2] The loss of his cousin Harold might not be deeply felt by the Danish King, who regarded him as a usurper; but, as heir of the great Cnut, Swein had personal claims of his own to assert, and glorious memories of conquest to inspire him.[3] William's success could not fail to move him to envy. In the scramble for England why might not he come in for something? Why might he not, at any rate, restore a Danish throne at York? Still, apart from all that, grief for the loss of friends recently fallen in England,[4] and the instances of English exiles offering to subscribe money for the expedition, are specially mentioned as determining influences.[5] The command was given to Swein's two sons, Harold and Cnut, and his brother Asbiorn, a man in former days well known in England, where he had held an earldom before the Confessor's accession.[6] Two Bishops and three Earls are also mentioned among the leaders. The variety of nationalities represented in the force

A Scandinavian Armament.

[1] *Circa* June 24, W. Jum., 290; Chron D; Flor.; Orderic, 513. Mr. Freeman quotes from the Exeter Domesday references to nine manors wasted "per Irlandinos," which, if correctly identified, and all wasted on this occasion, would imply that the ravages extended to localities as far apart as Bideford, Launceston, Plymouth, and Axminster. If the numbers of the ships, and of the men killed, and of those that escaped, are to be trusted, 30 men=1 ship.

[2] See above, p. 5. For overtures to Swein since William's accession see *N. C.* IV. 135.

[3] Swein was son of Cnut's sister Estrith, by Earl Ulf, and he was brother to Gytha, wife of Godwine and mother of Harold. For Swein's views of Harold see Adam of Bremen, Pertz, IX. 344.

[4] "Ruina suorum qui nuper in Heraldi conflictu occisi fuerant." It is not clear to me to what these words refer.

[5] Orderic, 513. [6] A third brother was the murdered Beorn. See Lappenberg, II. 242; Id. *Norman Kings* (Thorpe), 129; *N.C.* II. 63, IV. 248.

suggests that it was essentially a Wicking enterprise on a large scale. Poland, Frisia, Saxony, even pagan Lithuania,[1] sent recruits. But the total force was only estimated at 240 ships,[2] only four times the force raised by the sons of Harold in Ireland.

As in the days of Hengist, so still, apparently, the approved landing-place for a Danish fleet attacking England was Kent, the voyage to that point being made along the Frisian and Flemish shores. The invaders first attempted to put in at Dover, but were beaten off by the Norman garrison. So again at Sandwich. At Ipswich they were able to effect a landing; but the country people gathered together against them, and drove them back to their ships with the loss of thirty men. Another plundering descent was made at Norwich, but there again they had to encounter one of William's officers, Ralph of Guader, or Wader,[3] who, after some fighting, drove them pell-mell into the water. These repulses of an armament which in the good old days could have landed where it pleased, and gone where it pleased, mocking the efforts of a tardy *fyrd*, speaks strongly for the government already established by William, and for the effectual character of his military precautions. Finally, about the first week of September, the fleet reached a friendly haven in the mouth of the Humber.[4]

They Enter the Humber.

They came not unexpected. Exile squadrons, with the 'Child' Eadgar, the ex-Earl Gospatrick, Waltheof the Earl of Northampton, Mærleswein, and other leading men on board had been lying off the coast in waiting for them. The entry into the Humber was made in concert. The Ætheling, rashly venturing to land on the Lincolnshire shore, was nearly cut off by Norman soldiers keeping guard upon the coast. When all were safely disembarked on the Northern shore, a march on York was resolved upon by acclamation.[5] Whether the ultimate aims of the Ætheling and of the Danish leaders were identical or not, for the moment, the one thing to be done was to master the common enemy, the Norman, and the place to be first wrested from his hands was clearly York.

When the news of the invasion first reached William he was taking his hunting in the Forest of Dean, beyond the Severn, on the borders of modern Monmouthshire. He sent a prompt warning to his men at York, adding that if there were need for it he would come in person. From this we may gather that after all he did not consider the situation very critical. William Malet, sharing the King's confidence, answered that he could do without help for a whole year.[6]

Joyfully the allies marched, horse and foot, to York, but not without

[1] "Leutecia," Ord.

[2] Chron. D; Flor. No trust can be placed in the figures except as relative estimates.

[3] For notes as to this man, whom the Worcester and Peterborough Chronicles (A.D. 1075, 1076) describe as English on his father's side, and born in Norfolk, see *N.C.* III. 751. His mother was a Breton.

[4] Orderic. Before the 8th Sept., Flor.

[5] Ord.; Chron. D; Flor.

[6] Orderic.

allowing time for friends to join them. The country people from far and near came in.[1] Besides the men already named we hear of Archil, of Siward the great grandson of Earl Uhtred, and of the four sons of Carl. This man, it may be remembered, was the son of Thurbrand, the murderer of Uhtred. Thurbrand was murdered in turn by Ealdred, son of Uhtred, while Ealdred in due course had fallen by the hand of Carl.[2] But for the time family feuds were allowed to slumber.

March to York.

The news of the landing of the Danish force, and the fresh prospect of horrors thereby opened up, was too much for poor Archbishop Ealdred. On Friday, 11th September, he died of sheer agony at York.[3] According to William of Malmesbury one of his last acts had been to anathematise William and all his posterity for the imposition of some cruel tax. William, we are told, was moved to send agents to mollify the Archbishop, but before they could reach York he had passed away.[4] Ealdred was apparently a man of strong character, an unscrupulous pluralist, but probably a fair specimen of the worldly-wise statesman-bishop of the times. He was laid in the Minster. His obsequies must have been among the last rites the fabric of the time was destined to witness. Eight days after Ealdred's death the building was burnt down (Saturday, 19th Sept.). The Norman garrison, in making ready against the coming assault, thought it prudent to fire some of the neighbouring houses which might have given shelter to the enemy. The flames spread and destroyed great part of the city, with the Minster.

Death of Archbishop Ealdred.

Two days later the hand of the avenger came down on the sacrilegious Normans. On the 21st September the allies reached York,[5] entering it, presumably, by the Fulford road. William Malet, still possessed by a spirit of undue confidence, thought fit to sally out of his castles to engage the enemy within the walls of the city,[6] and suffered a complete defeat. The whole of his garrison are reported to have been cut off, with the exception of Malet himself, his wife and two children, and a few others, who were saved for ransom.[7] On the side of the allies popular tradition assigned the chief meed of valour to the prowess of Waltheof.[8]

Defeat of William Malet.

[1] "Ealle tha land leoden . . . mid unmætan here" (*all the country-people . . . with a vast army*); Chron. D. [2] See above, I. 376, 420, 433.

[3] Florence; Chron. D; Symeon, *H. R.*

[4] *Gesta Pont.* s. 115, p. 253. The story looks like an amplification of the incident of Urse of Abetot. For a grand tale of William falling at the feet of Ealdred to deprecate a curse earned by the misdeeds of William Malet, see T. Stubbs, *Scriptt. Decem*, 1703; *N.C.* IV. 260. [5] Florence; Symeon.

[6] So Orderic, *sup.* [7] Flor.; Chron. D; Ord.

[8] See W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 253; where, however, the feat ascribed to Waltheof, namely, cutting down a file of Normans as they came out of a gate one by one savours of melodrama. Each man was beheaded at one blow.

With this success the efforts of the great coalition came to an end. Not an attempt was made to improve the opportunity, not a step taken to guard against the wrath to come. The Danes, Wicking-like, went back with their booty to their ships in the Humber. The English dispersed, each man to his own quiet home. The incapacity for any combined or sustained effort is as conspicuous as ever.

The Allies Disperse.

William was not at all prepared for the reverse at York. His fury knew no bounds.[1] Wild reports reached him that the enemy in vast numbers were coming to attack him. He did not wait to be attacked. Hastening to the scene of action at the head of a mounted force, he made for the Humber, where the Danes were established, between the Oose and the Trent.[2] At his coming they moved across the Trent into Lindsey. When, after a long circuit by land, he had come up with them there, they again eluded him by passing over to Holderness.

William Marches North.

Meanwhile isolated risings were breaking out all round the kingdom. In Wessex the men of Dorset and Somerset rallied for an attack on a castle newly built by Robert of Mortain. The site was known to the English as Ludgaresbury, being, in fact, the height on which the miraculous Cross of Waltham had originally been revealed. But in honour of the Norman fortress the hill had been re-named Montaigu or Montacute.[3] Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances came to the rescue from London, with forces swelled by levies raised at Winchester and Salisbury, and scattered the besiegers. Those who were taken were either butchered or barbarously mutilated.[4] Further West the men of Devon and Cornwall were stirred to attack the city of Exeter; while on the unsubdued Welsh March the men of Cheshire and Shropshire, led by the Wild Man Eadric, and supported by Welsh allies, were besieging a Norman garrison at Shrewsbury. From this we learn that a fortress of some sort had already been established on the heights of Pengwyrn.[5]

In these movements the bitter feelings of hostility everywhere excited by the Norman castle are apparent.

William ordered succour to be sent both to Exeter and Shrewsbury; in the one case seemingly under Earl William of Hereford, and in the other case under Brian of Brittany, of whom we have already heard in Devon. But in either quarter William's men had repelled their assailants before the succour came. Eadric was fain to retire after laying Shrewsbury in ashes; while the men of Exeter, who had had their lesson, held out man-

[1] "Securo Regi casus suorum nunciatur. Tam dolore quam ira conturbatur"; Ord.

[2] Chron. E; Ord. [3] Four miles West of Yeovil.

[4] For the havoc in Somerset see Rev. J. Bennett, *Somerset Arch. Journal*, XXV.

[5] The old name of the place before it passed into the hands of the English. See above, I. 215.

fully, and, at last, sallying on their countrymen, scattered them. Thus the slaughter of helpless fugitives was the only work left for the relieving parties to do. In these affairs we are told that the amount of blood shed was pitiable. The peasantry, whether in arms or not, were buffeted on either side, and subjected to every kind of oppression.[1] All regard for God's Law or the Laws of the Church was gone. But the worst was still to come. King William had not yet shewn what he could do when trampling on the ashes of rebellion.

From the parts of Lindsey we hear that the King moved to Stafford to repress disorders there. The state of the Welsh March might well call for his presence. In his absence the task of keeping watch upon the movements of the Danes was delegated to his brother Robert and another kinsman, Robert Count of Eu.[2] Between the contending parties the game of hide and seek was kept up till the Normans, surprising some of the enemy when banqueting ashore, managed to mingle their blood with their feast. Reports then came in that the Danes were again advancing on York, prepared to make a stand there during the winter.

When this news reached William he was watching events from the heights of Nottingham. Hastening to the rescue by way of Pontefract, he was arrested at Castleford by the swollen waters of the Aire.[3] The ford was impracticable, and ferry boats, for some reason or other, were not available. Some would have given up the expedition, but William would not listen to such faint-hearted counsels. Neither would he lend an ear to those who suggested the building of a bridge; the opposite bank was in the hands of enemies; the works might have given them an opportunity for attack, and, surrounded as he was by a doubtful population, the King dreaded the smallest appearance of a reverse. At the end of three weeks a bold explorer found a ford, presumably up the river, and the whole army passed over, thence, for some distance, threading their way through a wild country, along a track where two horsemen could not ride abreast.

Advance on York.

When York was reached no Danes were there. Again they had fallen back to the Humber. Leaving a detachment to watch their movements, and ordering the castles to be repaired at once, William then proceeded

[1] "Tam inermis quam armata plebs diversis infortuniis hinc inde miserabiliter concutitur."

[2] This explicit statement by Orderic contradicts the assertion of Florence that William made a tacit convention with the Danes at the expense of the English. For Robert Count of Eu see *N. C.* III. 116, 287, 380, etc. He was son of William, half-brother to Duke Richard II. See also below, 108, Appendix.

[3] "Ad Fracti-pontis aquam"; Ord. 514. The name Pontefract is said to have arisen from an incident that occurred after the year 1143 in connexion with a journey of Archbishop William of York; Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* If so this part of Orderic's work must have been written after that.

in person to make an example of the Yorkshiremen, who had dared to score a victory against him.[1]

From the Ouse to the Tyne and back, seventy-five miles each way as the crow flies, the King marched, professedly hunting out enemies from their lurking places, but, in fact, sparing neither man nor beast. Young and old, innocent and guilty, were butchered alike.[2] Every house, barn, and hovel was wrecked. Simple extermination was the object. In order that famine might carry off those whom the sword had failed to reach, every article available for human subsistence, all products of the soil, all corn, all cattle, the very implements of husbandry, were carefully destroyed.[3] On reaching the banks of the Tees William's men found a ready-made wilderness before them. The entire population had retired beyond the Tyne. On the 11th December Bishop Æthelwine and his clergy took up the 'incorrupt' body of St. Cuthberht, and, after four days' journeying, brought the Saint back once more to his old retreat at Lindisfarne. William's march halted at the Tyne. St. Paul's Jarrow, Bæda's church, was fired, but apparently the cathedral at Durham was spared.[4] We are told that the sanctuary was crowded with a squalid horde of sickly, starving wretches, incapable of flight.

The Land a Desert.

For nine years the country between York and Durham lay waste and untenanted, save by wild beasts and highway robbers. Townships and roadways were ghastly with unburied corpses.[5] The very atmosphere was polluted with effluvia. Of the survivors some sought support by 'selling their heads'; others, wandering in search of new homes, perished by the way.[6] A few endeavoured to cheat the famine by devouring horse, dogs, cats. Even cases of cannibalism were reported.[7] That this picture is not over-coloured is proved by the dry facts of *Domesday*. Seventeen years after the event, when the Survey was compiled, the greater part of the Yorkshire manors were still entered as 'waste.'[8] Nay, fifty years after the time, when William of Malmesbury began to write, the traveller could still groan at the sadness of the sights that met his eye—derelict fields, empty townships, crumbling towers.[9]

[1] Orderic, 514; the only account of all these events, except the reference to the presence of the Danes in the Chronicles D and E.

[2] "Reos innocuosque pari animadversione peremit"; Ord.

[3] Orderic, 514, 515.

[4] The relics of St. Cuthberht were brought back to Durham on the 24th March, 1070. The cathedral was purified from pollution, but no rebuilding is mentioned; Symeon, *H. R.* So too in the *H. D. E.* we hear that the only wrong done was the abstraction of the ornaments of a massive crucifix (the gift of Tostig), that had been left behind. William ordered restitution to be made.

[5] "Erat horror ad intuendum per domos plateas et itinera cadavera humana dissolvi"; etc.; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 154.

[6] Symeon, *H. R.* s. 154; *H. D. E.* p. 100.

[7] Florence. See also the brief summaries in Chron. D and E.

[8] See Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 292.

[9] *G. R.* s. 249.

Whether done from policy or pique the harrying of Yorkshire will brand the Conqueror's name with infamy to the end of time.

For his Christmas Feast William returned to the blackened walls of York. For the occasion the crown and other regalia, with a fitting service of plate, had been fetched from Winchester. The army apparently was left to camp out somewhere at a distance.[1] The Danes had still to be watched, nor had any of the native leaders fallen into William's hands, or made their submission.

Christmas at York.

Short as the respite was that he could allow his followers at York, time was found for the execution of some important charters. Allan Rufus of Brittany received the great Earldom and Honour of Richmond, so long associated with his family,[2] with all the Yorkshire estates of Earl Eadwine. Ilbert of Lacy had the lands on which the castle of Pontefract was destined to arise. "Another grantee was William of Percy, the founder of a great name. . . . Earl Harold's lands at Coningsburgh passed to William of Warenne." The "insatiable" Earl of Cornwall also had his share.[3]

Disposal of Yorkshire Estates.

Soon after Christmas the Danes were reported to be comfortably established in a fastness on the sea shore, surrounded with marshes, and only accessible by a neck of land some twenty feet wide. But at the approach of the Royal army they abandoned the position. William, determined, if possible, to get rid of these troublesome foes, made his way through a trackless country, where at times he had to walk on foot, to the mouth of the Tees. There he stayed a whole fortnight. During that time two important submissions at last came in. Waltheof appeared to do homage in person. Gospatrick, preferring to keep within the walls of Bamborough, took the oaths by proxy.[4] Both were reinstated in their earldoms, and Waltheof before long was honoured with the hand of the Conqueror's own niece, Judith.[5]

The King Advances to the Tees.

Submission of Waltheof and Gospatrick.

Here again we may contrast the policy of William with that of Cnut. The latter, if he apprehended trouble from a refractory magnate, made away with him. The proceeding was base, but it involved little bloodshed, and what blood was shed was that of the offending person. William spared the leaders, but massacred their followers. The fall of one conspicuous figure might cause an outcry, but torrents of plebeian blood could be spilled with impunity. Then the

Contrast of William and Cnut.

[1] "Dimisso exercitu in castris Eboracum pergit"; Ord. 515.

[2] "The charters are still at Nantes"; Lapp., *Norman Kings*, 135; Ellis, I. 366.

[3] Ellis, I. 442, 455, 465, 506; *N. C.* IV. 296–298. With respect to the name Percy Mr. Freeman would derive it from Percy in the Côtentin.

[4] Ord. *sup.*; Chron. D and E, A.D. 1070.

[5] Daughter of Ingelram of Ponthieu, Count of Aûmale, by Adelaide, half-sister (so W. Jum. 512), or full-sister (*N. C.* II. 614) of the Conqueror.

leaders, bereft of support, would be powerless. The same end was reached, but by very different courses.

Cut off from Northumbrian support, the relics of the Danish force now found themselves in great difficulties, tossed about by the winds and the waves, in straits for provisions, yet afraid to land. Southwards they moved as if homeward bound.

William Returns to York.

Returning from the mouth of the Tees to York in the midst of January, by a new way across the Cleveland hills through Helmsley, the Royal army suffered great hardships. The frost was intense; the heights buried in snow. Many horses were lost, but William's spirit kept his men up to the mark. One night he lost his way, and wandered about with six followers, not knowing whither he was going.[1]

After a brief stay at York, to give further instructions as to fortifications, and to settle other matters, William ordered his reluctant soldiers on another and a more trying expedition, the last of this wonderful campaign. All power of further resistance had been crushed out of Yorkshire, now reduced to a desert. But William had not settled with the men of Cheshire and the Welsh March, who had ventured to attack the town of Shrewsbury. There a corner of England still remained to be subdued. When the King's purpose was announced the foreign element in the army,

Mutiny of Foreign Mercenaries.

the men of Anjou, Maine, and Brittany, broke into open mutiny. They protested against the hardship of another march through wintry wilds. They pleaded the reported ferocity of the natives. They could not, they said, for ever follow a lord who was always planning new and unreasonable enterprises.[2] They demanded to be paid off. William, we are told, following the example of the great Cæsar, made no concession to their discontent. Taking the lead, he summoned all good men and true to follow him: weakly sluggards and timid poltroons might desert if they pleased. Of course all had to follow. William's march presumably led him through the Southern parts of the West Riding to the North of the Peak

Visit to the Welsh March.

highlands.[3] Again the way is described as till then untried by horsemen [4]; perhaps we should say by mail-clad horsemen riding on military chargers. We hear of high hills and deep valleys, of dangerous fords and swampy bottoms. Nothing is said of snow, but much rain was encountered, as would be natural on the Western side of the

[1] Orderic, *sup.* The writer makes the route pass through "Hangulstaldam" = Hexham. This could not be. Mr. Hinde has the credit of suggesting that Hamelac, or Helmsley, should be understood; *Hist. Northumberland*, I. 178, cited Freeman.

[2] "Domino semper nova et immoderata audenti."

[3] The later post road from York to Chester went by Tadcaster, Leeds, Huddersfield, Oldham, Manchester, Altringham, and Northwich. See Patterson's *Roads*.

[4] "Via equiti nunquam ante experta."

Island. William was ever to the front, often on foot, and helping others out of their difficulties with his own Royal hand. At last the army reached the good city of Chester in safety.[1] As we hear nothing of resistance by the townspeople, we may take it that none was attempted; yet Chester, with its old Roman walls, Æthelflæd's mound fort, and its municipal institutions to boot,[2] should have been one of the most defensible towns of the kingdom.

Of the ensuing military operations we hear nothing from our leading authority, beyond the bare fact that all hostile movements in Mercia were forcibly suppressed.[3] With our knowledge of William's mode of dealing even with unresisting enemies, that would be enough. But a later writer tells us plainly that Cheshire, Shropshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire were ravaged in like manner as Yorkshire had been ravaged; and that a dismal exodus of starving men, women, and children streamed daily past the gates of Evesham Abbey. In spite of all that Abbot Æthelwig could do to relieve their wants, five or six a day died of exhaustion at his doors.[4]

The Country Ravaged.

The measures for the settlement of Western Mercia included arrangements for the building of new castles at Chester and Stafford. Both apparently were to be victualled, if not also manned, by requisitions on the districts. The keeping of the forts, with the new dignity of Earl of Chester, was conferred on the Fleming Gerbod, brother-in-law to William of Warenne. Continuing his march Southwards, William finally halted at Salisbury (Old Sarum) to review his troops. The mercenaries, who were no longer needed, were dismissed with liberal rewards, the late mutineers being detained for forty days after their comrades by way of punishment. For Easter (April 4), William went on to Winchester[5] to hold a triumphant court as "full King of all England."

Disbanding of Mercenaries.

William, "full King of all England."

At whatever cost the land had been won. Whatever troubles might be in store for the Conqueror with natives or foreigners, his position as King could not be seriously challenged or imperilled.

But the famished land[6] was not yet quit of war. The Danes, whom we left in the winter in distress at the mouth of the Tees, had turned Southwards, to find a better reception among the men of the Fen country, to a certain extent a kindred people. In the Isle of Ely they established a camp, under the leadership

The Danes in the Isle of Ely.

[1] Ord. 515, 516.

[2] Chester was ruled by a sort of corporation of twelve *judices*, lagemen, or lawmen, like Lincoln, etc.; *Domesd.* 262*b*; above I. 520.

[3] "In tota Merciorum regione motus hostiles Regia vi compescuit"; Ord. *sup.*

[4] *Chron. Evesham*, 90–91, cited Freeman (Rolls Series, No. 29). The applicants for relief included men of rank reduced to beggary by the confiscation of their property.

[5] Orderic, 516, 522.

[6] "Thæs geres (*this year*) wæs micel hunger"; Chron. D, A.D. 1070 (given as 1071).

of Asbiorn and Bishop Christian (of Aarhus).[1] The rich Abbey of Peterborough then became the battlefield of contending parties. The abbacy at the time was vacant through the death of Abbot Brand, who had passed away on the 27th November, 1069.[2] The confirmation of Brand as Abbot is the solitary exercise of royal authority that has been traced to 'Child' Eadgar during his brief uncrowned reign, as already mentioned.[3] William had named as successor to Brand a Norman, one Turold, reported a very stern[4] man. He was a monk from Fécamp, whom William had already thrust upon the brethren of Malmesbury, a very worthy English abbot being turned out to make way for him. Turold behaved very tyrannically at Malmesbury,[5] and William, understanding that he was more of a soldier than a priest, vowed 'by the splendour of God' that he would find a field for Turold's talents, and sent him to Peterborough, where troubles were expected.[6] The lead in the alliance with the Danes, and in the opposition to Turold, was taken by HEREWARD, of East Anglian fame. With this man's name legend has been very busy, but all that seems clear about him is that he was a man of respectable position, who rented land from the Abbey of Peterborough at Witham-on-the-Hill, near Bourne, and at Barholme-with-Stow, both in Lincolnshire.[7] He also apparently at one time rented land from year to year under Ulfcytel Abbot of Croyland, but had been turned out for breach of the terms of his holding.[8] Some of the accounts make him nephew to Abbot Brand.[9] Banded with him were the monastic tenants, who felt confident that with the help of the Danes they could defy both Abbot Turold and King William. The monks, with a clearer perception of the

Turold Abbot of Peterborough.

Hereward in League with the Danes.

[1] Lapp., *Norman Kings* (Thorpe), 129. [2] Chron. E.

[3] See above, p. 40 note, and Chron. E, 1066. The wealth of Peterborough will be understood when we hear that Leofric, the predecessor of Brand, himself a nephew of Earl Leofric, had been allowed to hold the abbeys of Burton, Coventry, Croyland, and Thorney, along with that of Peterborough; *Ib.* The pluralities of the times were certainly shameless. [4] Chron. E.

[5] "Dum tirannidem in subjectos ageret."

[6] W. Malm. *G.P.* s. 264; Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 457.

[7] See the passages from *Domesday* given by Mr. Round, *Feudal England*, 159, etc. There is nothing definite to connect the East Anglian Hereward with the man of the same name who appears as holding land in Warwickshire (*Domesday*, 240, 240*b*, cited Freeman, IV. 805); nor is there any ground for holding that he had been outlawed before his revolt against William. *Domesday* only notices one 'flight,' clearly that from Ely in 1071. The name "Wake" given to Hereward by John of Peterborough and other late writers appears to have arisen in this manner. The Wakes, lords of Bourne, owning the land that once had been held by Hereward, pedigree-makers invented for them a descent through the female line from Hereward: he was then made lord of Bourne, and finally "himself a Wake"! Round, *sup.* 161.

[8] *Domesday*, I. 377, cited Mr. Tout, *Nat. Dict. Biography.*

[9] So at least the *Hist. Croylandensis*, attributed to Abbot Ingulf, a well-known forgery of the 13th or the 14th century; Gale, II. 70.

facts of the situation, were prepared to make the best of Turold, and when he reached Stamford with a little army of eight score men, 'fully armed,' they sent a sacristan to open friendly relations with him, and warn him that 'the outlaws,' *i.e.* Hereward and his 'gang,' were coming to attack the Minster. Sure enough on the morrow Hereward and the Danes appeared in force—coming by water—and attacked the town from the river. The monks resisting them, they fired the place and burnt it down, conventual buildings and all. While the flames were still raging they broke in the "Bolhithe" gate—the South gate of the monastery facing the Nen. The monks then begged for a truce, but the assailants, taking no heed of their prayers, invaded the church, and proceeded to ransack it, climbing up the steeple to carry off treasures secreted there. They took the gold crown from off the Saviour's head, the gold foot-rest from under his feet; also shrines of gold and silver, crosses, vestments, books, what not. The whole was sent for safe keeping to Ely. All this they did, they said, for the honour of the place, to rescue its treasures from foreign hands. Finally, the Danes, who were prepared to face Turold's attack, expelled the monks to have the place in their own hands. On the 2nd June Turold and his men appeared on the scene, the Danes apparently confronting him. But it would seem that Turold, along with his army, brought also authority from the king to divide the hostile forces by negotiating a separate treaty with the Danes.

Plunder of Peterborough.

Certain it is that the arrival of Turold was followed by the adjustment of a compact between William[1] and the invaders, under which they were allowed to carry off the spoils of St. Peter's Minster, on condition of returning home without further ado. Evacuating Ely, they sailed to Denmark by the old coast route. Two days they rested in the mouth of the Thames, and then disappeared. The chronicler consoled himself with the fact that the waves were said to have engulfed a good part of their ill-gotten treasures. On the other hand the week of their occupancy of Peterborough had brought about the destruction of the Minster itself, accidentally fired during a drunken orgy. The contents of the monastic cellars doubtless would offer every temptation for excess. On the 9th June Turold and his clergy retook possession of the smouldering buildings, and the daily services of the Church were resumed.[2]

Retirement of the Danes.

St. Peter's Minster Burnt.

The Ætheling Eadgar may be supposed to have returned to Scotland

[1] "Tha twegen Kyngas Willelm and Swægn wurðon sæhtlod." The introduction of the name of King Swein is an obvious error.

[2] See Chron. D (given under 1071), and Chron. E 1070; conf. Florence, A.D. 1069. The compact between William and Asbiorn, referred by him to the winter of that year, must be identified with the treaty undoubtedly executed in June 1070. The account given by Chron. E is followed by the late (13th century?) Peterborough writer Hugh "Candidus"; Sparke, *Hist. Angl. Script.* pt. 2, p. 47.

early in the year, when Gospatrick made his peace with the King of England. Without Gospatrick's protection he could not linger in Northumberland. His elder sister Margaret—the Sainted Margaret of Scotland—was then induced to give her hand to King Malcolm, "Ceannmor," if she had not done so already. But we are distinctly told that for some time she had resisted his suit, her own inclinations tending towards the monastic cloister.[1] Fortunately, however, for herself and for the country of her adoption she condescended to accept the duties of a wife and mother. The marriage proved in every way a happy one. Her influence on her husband and his people was all for good. She infused new life into the religion of the Scots. She introduced a happy disposition to copy English models. Her daughter lived to reconcile the English to the necessary Norman rule by linking the new Dynasty with the old.[2]

Malcolm Harries Teesdale.

But for the North of England the immediate consequences of the marriage were most dismal. Casting off whatever obligations he might have entered into with William in 1068, and assuming as it were the championship of Eadgar's rights, Malcolm proceeded to harry and pillage the little that William had spared, invading Teesdale from Cumberland. Advancing by the old Roman road through Appleby and Brough-on-Stanemoor, he would cross the Border.[3] From Stanemoor he came down to "Hundredeskelde," a place identified with Hunderthwaite in Teesdale.[4] Descending the Tees, he overran the northern outskirts of Cleveland, where William had been before him. Then, crossing the river, he invaded the patrimony of St. Cuthberht, pass-

[1] See Chron. D, A.D. 1067. J. Fordun in two places gives the year of the marriage as 1070, the fourteenth year of Malcolm's reign, but admits that some placed it in 1067 (1068). See his Chron. pp. 213–214. Symeon also, *H.R.* s. 156, places the marriage in 1070; but the passage seems a later addition, not altogether to be trusted. Malcolm was a widower, his first wife having been Ingebiorg, widow of Thorfinn, Earl of Orkney and Caithness; Skene, *C.S.* I. 414.

[2] By Malcolm Margaret became the mother of six sons and two daughters. Of the sons, three—Eadgar, Alexander I., and David I. came to the throne. Of the daughters, Matilda married Henry I. of England, and Mary married Eustace III. of Boulogne, their only daughter Matilda becoming the wife of Stephen, afterwards King; Ælred, *Decem Scriptt.* c. 367; J. Fordun, V. c. 16. The foundations of St. Margaret, her husband, and her sons were so numerous as to justify the remark that they were "sair saints for the croun." She brought the native clergy into relations with Rome and the outer world; imported clergymen of education; and in particular introduced Bishops with territorial Sees, the Bishops till then having been dependent on the Abbots, according to the Columban system. Her Life, by Turgot, Prior of Durham, is the only contemporary record we have for Scotland at this period, but it does not touch on public affairs. Printed, Hinde, Symeon, *H.R.* Appendix, 234. Another Life will be found in Pinkerton's *SS. Scotiæ.*

[3] "Erat enim eo tempore Cumbreland sub regis Malcolmi dominio, non jure possessa sed violenter subjugata." So Symeon, *H. R.* s. 156. This last allegation, however, was quite unfounded. [4] Hinde. 5¼ miles North-West of Barnard Castle.

ing through "Heortternisse," otherwise Hartness, or the district round Hartlepool, and so on to Wearmouth, where we are told that the church of St. Peter was burnt down in the King's own presence. Other churches are said to have been fired over the heads of fugitives who had taken refuge in them.[1] Both allegations, however, seem open to question, as Malcolm's aim so far appears to have been plunder rather than bloodshed. His disposition, however, was soon altered. We are told that while he was feasting his eyes with the sight of the burning church at Wearmouth, word was brought that Gospatrick had made a counter-raid into Cumberland, and carried off a quantity of booty to Bamborough. Infuriated at this reverse, Malcolm ordered his men to massacre all and sundry, saving only such as might be useful in slavery. Nay, more; the writer adds that babes and sucklings were tossed about on the points of spears in fiendish sport. The slaves carried off were so numerous that for years afterwards every petty household (*domuscula*) in Scotland could boast of one.[2] For the mere credit of humanity it is satisfactory to know that the passage in which these statements occur does not appear to come from the pen of the authentic Symeon, who must have been at any rate ten years old at the time, but from that of an unknown writer of the next century.[3] With respect to the destruction of St. Peter's Wearmouth, we have it from Symeon that only five years later the dismantled walls of the building were overgrown not merely with thorns and brambles, but with actual trees, implying a state of ruin of long standing.[4] It would seem, however, that when Malcolm came to Wearmouth he found there Bishop Æthelwine on board ship, prepared to abandon his See in despair. His intention, we are told, was to set sail for Cologne, but contrary winds eventually forced him to turn to Scotland, where he spent the winter.[5] This seems credible, but we cannot accept the statement that at Wearmouth Malcolm also found Eadgar, with his female relatives,[6] as if they had either lingered in England ever since William's advance in 1069, or had left Scotland to accompany Eadgar in his attack on York. Moreover the party are introduced to Malcolm as if he had never seen them before, though their flight to Scotland in 1068 had been already recorded in a passage of the text that seems original and trustworthy. In our view Malcolm was already married to Margaret.

Question of Scots' Barbarities.

[1] Symeon, *H. R.* s. 155. [2] *Id.* 155, 156.

[3] See Mr. Hinde's Preface to his edition of Symeon, I. xxix. (Surtees Society), and Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 422.

[4] *Hist. Dun. Eccl.* p. 115: "Succisis arboribus, eradicatis vepribus et dumis."

[5] Symeon, *H. R.* ss. 155, 156; conf. *H. D. E.* p. 105. [6] Sym. *H. R.* 155.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1070–1071

Ecclesiastical Affairs—Papal Legates in England—Degradation of Stigand and other English Prelates—Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury—Secular Legislation—Reduction of Hereward and the Isle of Ely

WITH England crushed and helpless, William could now turn his attention to civil affairs, and specially to matters ecclesiastical. A settlement of the land had been effected, but the Church had yet to be reformed. The two sets of measures would run on parallel lines. As the English landowners had been turned out to make way for Norman followers, so the English clergy, at least the higher clergy, would be weeded out for the benefit of foreigners, whose primary qualification would be devotion to the King's interests, and a readiness to comply in all things with his will.[1] By way of a prelude the year had already witnessed a sweeping act of spoliation verging on sacrilege.

William's Church Reforms.

As in the days of ancient Greece men placed their treasures in temples of recognised sanctity, so we hear that the English commonly kept their valuables in monasteries for the sake of safety. Probably the practice had increased during the troubles of the Conquest. William fitz Osbern had the credit of having called the King's attention to the fact. William took the hint, and during Lent[2] had the monasteries ransacked in search of lay deposits.[3] We must express a hope that the property of the men who had come into the King's peace was spared.

For the first and most critical step towards the accomplishment of his ecclesiastical schemes William had secured the co-operation of the Papacy, a clever stroke of policy so far as he was concerned, but one destined in time to give his successors no little trouble. The Easter[4] festivities at Winchester were honoured by the presence of no less than three Papal Legates, sent by Alexander at William's own request. The three were Ermenfrid Bishop of Sion in the

Papal Legates in England.

[1] See Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* p. 9. Eadmer, the follower and biographer of St. Anselm, doubtless reflects his opinion on this point. Conf. Florence, II. p. 5 (ed. Thorpe).

[2] 17th February–28th March, Ash Wednesday–Palm Sunday.

[3] Chron. D (A.D. 1071) and E, and Florence. [4] 4th April, Easter, 1070.

Valais, and the Cardinals John and Peter.[1] Ermenfrid was a diplomatist of standing and experience, already known to William. In 1055 he had been sent to him in Normandy to assist him to get rid of his uncle Malger, Archbishop of Rouen, who had opposed his marriage to Matilda.[2] In 1062 he had paid an unsolicited visit to England, to settle matters connected with the translation of Ealdred to the Northern Primacy, as already mentioned.[3] On the present occasion the Bishop and his colleagues were received by the King with every mark of respect, consulted on a variety of matters, and in fact treated as 'angels of God.'[4] It was William's custom to show himself to the people at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide wearing his crown.[5] The largest attendance of landowners and Magnates was always required, as a matter of policy, while the leading prelate placed the crown on the King's head.[6] The hands honoured with this prerogative on this occasion were those of 'the Cardinals' (*sic*), while their acceptance of the compliment was generally regarded as equivalent to a Papal confirmation of the ceremony already performed by Ealdred at Westminster.[7] On the Octave (April 11) a Council was held and business began. The first thing taken in hand was the impeachment of Stigand. William had temporized with him as long as it seemed expedient to do so[8]; but for his ends he required an Archbishop more fully in accord with himself than any Englishman could be. From a lay point of view Stigand's Primacy had all the sanction requisite for the headship of a national Church. But, as we have seen, his quarrel with the Papacy had damaged his position even in the eyes of those best disposed towards him. The charges brought against him were the old ones. He had held Winchester along with Canterbury: he had taken the archbishopric during the life of Robert, and officiated with his Pall: he had accepted a Pall from the schismatic Benedict X.[9] Stigand apparently made a spirited defence, appealing to his faithfulness to William, and challenging the authority of his judges. He was condemned as a matter of course, and deprived of all his preferment and possessions. According to William of Malmesbury the King had the effrontery to assure Stigand that he could not help himself; he was merely executing the orders of the Pope. The same necessity, doubtless, forced William to send the ex-Archbishop to end his days a State prisoner at Winchester.[10]

Council at Winchester.

[1] So Florence.

[2] See Freeman, *N.C.* III. 93–96, citing W. Malm., *G. R.* s. 267; Ord. p. 657.

[3] See above, I. 485. [4] Orderic.

[5] Chron. E, A.D. 1087; *Ann. Winchester*, A.D. 1073 (*Monastic Annals*, Luard, Rolls Series, No. 36); Freeman. [6] See Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, 292.

[7] Florence; Orderic, 516.

[8] See W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 23. According to him William had almost gone out of his way to show attention to Stigand. [9] Florence.

[10] "Quamvis ille se blande excusans preceptum papæ objectaret"; W. Malm. *sup.*; Florence. The charge of plurality might have been carried farther. According to the

The fall of Stigand involved that of his brother Æthelmær, Bishop of Elmham, his delinquency not being recorded.[1]

It would seem that in this same Council the worthy Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester had the courage to assert the rights of his See, and demand restitution of the lands abstracted by Ealdred when translated to York. Ermenfrid had been the guest of Wulfstan as Abbot on that occasion, but it does not appear that he had greatly favoured the promotion of Wulfstan to the bishopric. Anyhow, William and Ermenfrid were ready with their answer. The case could not be decided without hearing both sides. York was vacant; till the archbishopric was represented the matter must stand over.[2]

Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester.

The filling up of vacancies was deferred to another Council held at Windsor on Whitsunday (23rd May). Thomas, a Canon of Bayeux, and chaplain to the King, was named for the See of York,[3] vacant by the death of Ealdred; while Walkelin, another Royal chaplain, was appointed to Winchester, vacant by the deposition of Stigand. Next day, however, a fresh vacancy was created by the deposition of Bishop Æthelric of Selsey. The tribunal that condemned him was an ecclesiastical Synod held by Ermenfrid. We are assured that no canonical offence was brought home to him,[4] but as a matter of fact he had been consecrated by Stigand. Innocent as he was, William put him into ward at Marlborough. Possibly he may have given offence in politics. His See was given to one Stigand, the third of the name; while yet another Royal chaplain, Herfast, became Bishop of Elmham, *vice* Æthelmær.[5]

What with vacancies through death, and vacancies through deposition, by the end of the year 1070 only the two Sees of Worcester and Rochester retained native bishops—a few, but only a few, English abbots also remained.[6]

But the great appointment given out to the world at Whitsuntide was

History of Ely Stigand at one time had in his hands the abbeys of Ely, Glastonbury, and St. Alban's; Gale, II. 514.

[1] Florence. Mr. Freeman, however, points out from *Domesday* II. 195 that Æthelmær was, or at one time had been, a married man.

[2] Florence. For the abstracted lands, see above, I. 486.

[3] William of Malmesbury (*G.P.* s. 116) describes Thomas as a man of spotless character, fine presence, and pleasing manners; liberal to his clergy, a scholar and a musician; he composed many hymns. He promptly set about rebuilding the Minster, but it is doubtful if any of his work remains. He owed his education to Odo of Bayeux, who sent him to study at Liège.

[4] "Non canonice degradatur"; Flor. The Pope ordered his case to be reheard (Lanf. *Opp.* I. 30), but he was never reinstated.

[5] Florence. According to William of Malmesbury, Herfast had gone to Bec to study under Lanfranc, who found him so backward that he set him to learn his alphabet; *G.P.* p. 150. See also Lanfranc's remonstrance to Herfast (wrongly given as "Hereberto") on his secular mode of life; Lanfr. *Opp.* I. 47.

[6] The new Stigand was doubtless a foreigner, the name being "Norman as well as English"; *N.C.* IV. 344; Ord. 488.

that of Lanfranc, Abbot of St. Stephen's Caen, to the throne of Canterbury.[1]

Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lanfranc of Pavia was born about the year 1005, of parents in good position, and reckoned among the civic nobility.[2] He received the best education that Italy could give, his attainments including apparently a knowledge of Greek.[3] But his special subject was the Civil Law, of which his father may have been a practitioner before him. As a lawyer he showed himself an able and successful advocate, and his practice became large. But some change of circumstances, possibly some political revolution, drove him from Italy to seek a new home in Normandy.[4] Learning being at a low ebb in the Duchy, there seemed to be an opening for a teacher. About the year 1039 Lanfranc opened a school at Avranches, under the shadow of the cathedral church.[5] But within three years' time another change came over him, a change in the inner man, possibly the result of domestic bereavement. Lanfranc's marriage is nowhere recorded. Later, we shall find one Paul, Abbot of St. Albans, reputed Lanfranc's son.[6] From this fact it has been conjectured that at one time Lanfranc had been married, and that he took vows at the death of his wife. At all events he now resolved to forsake the world and enter 'Religion.' As a congenial retreat, he sought out in 1042 the humble Abbey of Bec,[7] recently founded by the celebrated Herlouin. His ability soon raised him to the dignity of Prior, Herlouin remaining Abbot. Through the attention drawn to it by the growing fame of Lanfranc, the young House made rapid strides in wealth and reputation, and the buildings soon had to be enlarged. Pupils again gathered round the Italian scholar.[8] We are told that retirement was still that for which he yearned. But Herlouin would not allow him to hide his light under a bushel, and required him to take an active part in the questions of the day. Thus in 1050 he attended the Councils of Rome and Vercelli, in which he stood forth as the opponent of the well-known Berengar of Tours. Master of a

His Early Practice as a Lawyer.

He Enters 'Religion' at Bec.

[1] "Cantuariensis cathedra . . . deposito Stigando decreta est Lanfranco . . . Regis et omnium optimatum ejus benivola electione"; Ord. 519.

[2] "Nobili parentela"; Milo, *Vita Lanfranci*, printed *Opera Lanf.* I. 291 (Giles).

[3] See W. Jum. p. 262; and Ord. 519.

[4] Dean Hook points out that between the years 1035 and 1039, the time of Conrad the Salic, when Lanfranc must have left Pavia, Italy was in a very disturbed condition. Orderic speaks of Lanfranc as "exulem" in Normandy.

[5] *Vita sup.*, where the writer expands the notices given at p. 282.

[6] So the St. Albans writer, M. Paris, *Vitæ Abbatt.* 49 (Wats); Hook, *Archbishops*, II. 80.

[7] Le Bec-Helloüin, Eure.

[8] The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives as among Lanfranc's scholars Ernost and Gundulf, successively Bishops of Rochester; Guitmund, Bishop of Avranches; William de Bona Anima, Archbishop of Rouen; and Anselm of Badagio, afterwards (1061) Pope Alexander II. The great Anselm, Lanfranc's successor, was at Bec with him, but not as his pupil.

flourishing theological school, and an acute logician, Berengar maintained that the true doctrine of the Church and of its earliest Fathers was that of the brilliant Irishman, the ninth century light, John the Scot—"Erigena." His teaching was that the Presence in the Eucharist was simply spiritual and symbolical.[1] But the prevalent current of theological opinion ran all in the opposite direction, and in favour of the rigid dogma of Transubstantiation.

His Controversy with Berengar of Tours.

It would seem that at Rome, Lanfranc, who corresponded with Berengar, was suspected of sympathy with doubtful views. What Berengar held Lanfranc at once made clear by producing a letter in which Berengar avowed the opinions of Erigena. As for himself, he declared himself on the side of orthodoxy.[2] Both at Rome and Vercelli, in 1050, and again in the second Lateran Council held at Rome in 1059,[3] Lanfranc's refutations of his adversary were held conclusive. But the controversy between them was lengthy and bitter.

Once, and once only, Lanfranc ventured to cross William's purposes. It would seem that in some way he had taken upon himself to condemn the Duke's marriage to Matilda, forbidden by Leo IX. William, who had shewn favour to Lanfranc, and taken him into his counsels, at once ordered him to be expelled from Normandy, and sent men to ravage the lands of Bec.[4] The supple Italian saw his mistake, and made the best atonement for it. When he went to Rome in 1059, he obtained from Nicholas II. the desired dispensation for the marriage.[5] In 1066 he was promoted to the abbacy of William's penitential foundation of St. Stephen's Caen. That the King had intended him for Canterbury, as early as the year 1067, when Lanfranc refused the see of Rouen, can hardly be doubted. To give greater weight to the present call, and deprive Lanfranc of any excuse for drawing back, Ermenfrid was sent over in person to make a formal offer of the vacant Primacy.[6] The intimation was laid before him in a Synod of Norman bishops and abbots. Of course Lanfranc protested, and begged for time, but nobody would listen to him. Herlouin, his former superior, who was still living, ordered him to go. Matilda and young Robert begged of him to go, and he went.[7]

His Attitude to William.

He Becomes Abbot of St. Stephen's Caen.

[1] See the letter of Berengar to Lanfranc, taxing him with presumption for differing from Erigena; *Opp. Lanfr. sup.* I. 17.

[2] *Vita L.* I. 288. [3] 13th April, 1059.

[4] *Vita Lanfranci*, I. 287, 288. The account in Malmesbury, who represents Lanfranc as banished at the request of Herlfast, because he had mocked his ignorance, is quite inadequate; *G. P.* ss. 24, 74 p. 150.

[5] *Vita*, 289. See generally Milman, III. 19–24; Hook, *Archbishops*, II. 73–95; Freeman, *N.C.* II. 115, 221; III. 101, etc.

[6] "Petitionem Ecclesiæ Dei (*i.e.* of Christ Church Canterbury) denunciavit"; Ord. 520. [7] Ord. *sup.*

His Consecration as Archbishop.

On the 15th August he received his formal appointment; on the 29th of the month he was consecrated at Canterbury.[1] At his entry to the city he was received with all honour not only by the monks of his own church, but also by those of the rival House of St. Augustine. Nine suffragans of Canterbury, among whom were the newly appointed Bishops of Winchester, Selsey, and Elmham,[2] joined in the hallowing. But with all the crowded attendance, and all the interest excited by Lanfranc's reputation, the ceremony must have been a dismal one at the best. Three years before the Church had been destroyed by fire,[3] and the rites must have been performed in some temporary make-shift structure. Writing to Alexander II., shortly after his consecration, he complains of the horrors by which he is surrounded; the harrowing cases, the losses, the perplexity caused by parties dragging him in opposite directions.[4] These were the troubles of the Church. As for the troubles of the land, the wasted fields and blackened homesteads, he is prudently silent.

Of the prelates who took part in the consecration of Lanfranc, the reader may have noticed that Thomas the Elect of York was not one. He alone of the newly appointed bishops had not yet been consecrated, and we cannot doubt that the delay was due to the contrivance of the King. He intended that Thomas should be consecrated by Lanfranc,

William's Church Policy.

and should make profession of obedience to Lanfranc. This was an entire novelty. By the constitution of Gregory the Great the two Metropolitans had been invested with equal and co-ordinate authority, the senior for the time being to have precedence. But the division of ecclesiastical authority might give trouble, and would militate against the complete unification of the kingdom that William aimed at. He wanted to rule one Church for all England, and to rule that through Lanfranc. When Thomas came to Canterbury, by appointment, to receive consecration, he was met with a demand of

Struggle between York and Canterbury.

canonical obedience to Lanfranc. Having refused to make the unheard-of profession, he was dismissed unconsecrated. The matter was then laid before the King in Council. There William found himself in a difficulty, the foreigners supporting Lanfranc, the English to a man siding with Thomas. To make a seeming concession, while really carrying his point, William suggested that Thomas should make the required profession in writing, and without reservation[5]; but that the precedent should not bind his successors without further

[1] Chron. A; Florence; Ord.; *Vita*, 293.

[2] W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 24; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[3] Namely, on the 6th December, 1067, the day of William's return from his visit to Normandy; Chron. D and E.

[4] "Tot molestias, tot tædia sustineo . . . perturbationes, tribulationes, damna," etc; *Opp. Lanfr.* I. 20; Hook.

[5] "Absolute, nulla interposita conditione."

investigation of the question. Thomas accepted the offer, and was then duly consecrated.[1]

Thomas having made his profession, Lanfranc proceeded to take the professions of his own proper suffragans, including those of Wulfstan of Worcester, and Remigius of Dorchester, who had to explain away as best they could their previous relations with Stigand.[2] In the course of the ensuing year (1071), both Archbishops went to Rome for their *Pallia*, Remigius also going with them. Lanfranc was treated with such honour that he received a second complimentary Pall from the Pope, in addition to the usual one.[3] On the other hand, we are told that Thomas and Remigius met with a cool reception, and were deprived of their episcopal insignia. Objection was taken to Thomas as being the son of a priest; while, apart from his consecration by Stigand, Remigius was taxed with having obtained his See through a corrupt bargain with William, and as a return for the handsome contingent that he had furnished for the Hastings campaign. The Papacy would enter a protest against laxity, even in the great William, but the protest would not be pushed too far.[4] Lanfranc interceded for his brethren, and procured the restitution of their rings and croziers.[5] Be this as it may have been, it is certain that Thomas, while at Rome, challenged the supremacy of Canterbury; nay, more, that he claimed to include in his Province the Sees of Dorchester, Worcester, and Lichfield—hardly the acts of a man in a doubtful position. After hearing much argument, Alexander prudently declared that the question was one to be decided in England, and by English churchmen.[6] But Lanfranc was not content with having settled the question for his own life-time. He was bent on settling it for all time. At Easter, 1072, after his return to England, he convened an ecclesiastical Synod at Winchester, and produced a string of "spurious or questionable letters,"[7] in which successive Popes had recognised various Archbishops of Canterbury, from Mellitus to Plegmund, as entitled to spiritual jurisdiction over the whole of Britain. Against all this documentary evidence Thomas had nothing to produce, and the case was decided against him. The final judgment

The Archbishops at Rome.

Further Synods in England.

[1] W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 25.

[2] *Ib.*; Chron. A and Latin Append. thereto. Wulfstan had refused to be consecrated by Stigand, but according to Florence, A.D. 1062, had taken the oath of canonical obedience to him; *contra* Wulfstan's apparent declaration to Lanfranc, extracted Freeman, *N.C.* II. 634 (Append. C.C). See above, I. 486. Remigius had been consecrated by Stigand. See his explanations printed Giraldus Cambrensis, VII. 151, and *Reg. Sacrum.*

[3] W. Malm. *sup.* and s. 42. [4] Freeman; see *N.C.* IV. 356.

[5] "Baculos et anulos." So W. Malm. s. 42. Thomas, however, as an Archbishop would have a cross, not a pastoral staff or crozier.

[6] W. Malm. *sup.* s. 25, and Lanfranc's own letter, *Opp.* I. 23. No reference is there made to any attack on Thomas or Remigius.

[7] See Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* III. 65, for the worth of these documents.

was uttered in another Synod held under the King's presidency at Windsor at Whitsuntide. The Archbishops of York were declared to be under the orders of the Archbishops of Canterbury 'in all matters appertaining to the Christian religion,' and their Province was defined as extending from the Humber and the northern limits of the diocese of Lichfield to the ends of Scotland, with Durham or Lindisfarne as a suffragan See.[1]

Declaration in Favour of Canterbury.

Among the prelates degraded at some time or other in 1070, must have been Æthelwine, Bishop of Durham, and his brother, Æthelric, ex-Bishop of the same See. Æthelric had been appointed Bishop of Durham in 1042, but had resigned in favour of his brother in 1056, returning to Peterborough, where he previously had been a monk. Unpopular at Durham, he was held in great respect at Peterborough, where he executed many useful works with money alleged to have been taken from Durham.[2] Like his brother, he may have been implicated in the Northern risings, but we cannot doubt that he was implicated in the resistance to Abbot Turold at Peterborough. Having been outlawed and arrested, doubtless after the retirement of the Danes in June (1070), he was sent to Westminster, where he died in prison (15th October, 1072), held somewhat of a martyr.[3]

Degradation of Bishops Æthelwine and Æthelric.

Against Æthelwine no sentence is recorded; his See may have been treated as vacated by his flight, which took place in the course of the year, as we suppose, during the Scottish inroad; but no successor was appointed till the following spring, when the King named one Walcher,[4] a Lorrainer, and a native of Liège. He is described as a man of good birth and education, ripe years, commanding stature, and blameless life, but not a monk—the only successor of Aidan save one who had not taken monastic vows. But, in spite of that defect, the Durham writer cannot withhold his meed of praise.[5] Walcher was duly consecrated by his Metropolitan, Archbishop Thomas. The ceremony was performed at Winchester. The widowed Lady Eadgyth was present. On beholding the Bishop-elect, she exclaimed, 'Lo! a goodly martyr!' Prophetic words, which gained her great credit.[6]

Walcher, Bishop of Durham.

[1] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 298, where the judgment is given with the signatures, including those of the King, Queen, and Hubert, a Papal Legate. See also *Id. G. R.* ss. 27–42, where the documentary evidence is given as sent by Lanfranc to the Pope.

[2] *Reg. Sacrum*; Sym. *H. D. E.* 91, 92.

[3] Chron. D; Chron. E (1069); Florence, 1072; W. Malm. *G. P.* 131. The Peterborough Chronicle, however (A.D. 1070), asserts that Æthelric excommunicated the evil-doers, meaning apparently Hereward and his men. That must have been before his imprisonment.

[4] "Ab ipso rege eligitur"; Sym.

[5] Sym. *H. D. E.* p. 105; W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 132.

[6] W. Malm. *sup.*; *Reg. Sacrum.* This must have happened in March, 1071, as Walcher was murdered 14th May, 1080, after an episcopate of nine years and two months; Sym. *H. D. E.* 117.

Walcher was then sent down to the North with all honour, and under royal escort. At York he found Gospatrick, the Earl of his diocese, waiting, by the King's orders, to take him on to Durham. On Mid-Lent Sunday (3rd April) he was formally enthroned.[1]

Legislation.

But the peaceful work of 1070 was not limited to ecclesiastical affairs. To this same year, the fourth of the reign, apparently, should be attributed the publication of a legal Code, given in French and Latin, and embodying the main provisions of the Law as established in the time of Edward the Confessor, with certain modifications introduced by William. We are told that this Code was based on the findings of juries empanelled in the counties to report on local custom, which the King wished to respect.[2] Of this code, styled the *Leges Willelmi Conquestoris*, we have already spoken as representing the state of the Law under the Confessor. The provisions seem to be taken from various earlier Codes, condensed and re-arranged; a few chapters are translated from the *Laws* of Cnut. Some new provisions are added to meet the altered circumstances of the times, but the distinctions between the customs of Wessex, Mercia, and *Dendlage* are carefully respected. The innovations are few, the most important being the well-known provision for the protection of the King's followers, under which, if a Frenchman was killed, the Hundred was bound to produce the murderer within a week under a penalty of 46 marks.[3] By the time of Henry I. it became the practice to assume that any person found dead was French, unless his native origin could be proved by a process termed 'Presentment of Englishry.'[4] Further, the King subjects delinquent sheriffs to double penalties—a wholesome measure—and we have two chapters, one relating to jettison from ships, taken from the Civil Law.[5]

Hereward's Camp of Refuge at Ely.

By the end of 1070 England, if not healed of her wounds, was at all events in the enjoyment of peace, and of a certain amount of order and security.[6] By the end of 1071 the last attempt at native resistance had been crushed. Eadric the Wild Man had submitted in the summer of the former year,[7] the devastation of

[1] Sym. *H.R.* p. 195.

[2] For the Code, see Schmidt, p. 322; Thorpe, I. 466. For the date and the empanelling of the juries, see the opening words of the so-called *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*. "Willleimus rex quarto anno regni sui . . . fecit summoneri, etc."; Schmid, 491. The *Legg. Ed. Conf.* are held by Liebermann to have been put together by a private individual, a Norman, 1130–1150. See his Tract on the subject (1896). The oldest MS. (Bodl. Rawlinson C. 641, f. 3) dates from 1180–1190; Lieberman; Stubbs. Another short Statute, unquestionably William's, refers to Edward's Law as confirmed by him with modifications; *Select Charters*, p. 81, c. 7; also in Schmid, p. 356, but a less correct text. [3] *Leges W. C.* I. c. 22; Schmid; Thorpe. "Murdre," *i.e.* A. S. morð, properly meant secret assassination; *Legg. Henr. I.* c. 92, s. 5.

[4] *Legg. H. I.* c. 92, s. 6. Blackstone (Stephen), IV. 140.

[5] *Legg. W. C.* I. cc. 2, s. 1; 37, 38.

[6] See the rather exaggerated account, Ord. 520, presumably taken from the lost part of William of Poitiers. [7] Florence.

the North-Western shires having cut the ground from under his feet. But the undaunted Hereward still lurked unsubdued in the fenny wastes of Cambridgeshire. In 1071 the smouldering flax burst into flame, to be shortly stamped out for ever. During the spring and summer sundry men of note gathered to the refuge of the native champion; among them Morkere, Bishop Æthelwine of Durham, and Siward Barn, the Northern Thegn who had tired of life in Scotland. Of the hapless dispossessed grandsons of good Earl Leofric nothing has been told us since the collapse of their rising in 1068. They must have been in actual or virtual custody, as we now hear that they 'escaped,' fearing worse things to come.[1] 'Sundry ways went they on wood and field.' Eadwine wandered for six months, endeavouring to raise adherents on the Welsh March; finally, as he was making for Scotland, some of his own men betrayed him to the Normans; he was surrounded on the banks of a tidal river and killed, fighting bravely. His head was sent to William, who affected to shed tears at his fate, and at any rate refused to reward the traitors.[2]

Death of Earl Eadwine.

Eadwine's career was not a brilliant one, but in face of the obloquy that has been heaped upon him, if the judgment of a man's own time is worth anything, we must recognise that the last Earl of Mercia had inherited good and lovable qualities that endeared him to English, French, and Norman alike.[3]

The King was careful not to let the East Anglian movement spread. Ship-fyrd and land-fyrd were promptly called out for the reduction of Ely, then in fact as well as name an island.[4] The picturesque little hill, crowned by the abbey of St. Æthelthryth, when girdled with miles of river and swamp, would offer a very defensible position. William's operations, therefore, were in fact siege-works. The principal approach to Ely would be by the old Roman road from Cambridge, the Akeman Street. But it would seem that in some respects a better access was offered from the West, the fenny expanse of water being narrowest on that side. The shipping, therefore, was sent up the Oose to blockade the Isle on the east side, while the army was set to construct a

Operations against Ely.

[1] Florence has it that they fled from court, fearing to be imprisoned. The expression of the Chronicles D and E, "hlupon ut," seems to imply that they were already under restraint. The word used of Wulfnoth when he rose in 1009 was "ut gewende," 'went out,' not 'escaped.' Orderic in a very confused passage implies that William had dark designs against the brothers, p. 521. [2] Chron. D and E; Flor.; Ord. *sup.*

[3] "Ex religiosa parentela natus, multisque bonis deditus . . . Clericorum atque Monachorum pauperumque benignus amator," etc.; Ord. *sup.* For hostile criticism of the House of Leofric generally see Freeman, *N. C. passim.*

[4] The *History of Ely* describes the island as being seven miles long, from "Cotinglade" to Littleport; and four miles wide from "Cherche were" to "mare de Straham"; Gale, II. 490. Littleport is five miles N.E. of Ely. Stretham is four miles S.W. of Ely, at the junction of the Oose and Cam.

'bridge' or causeway two miles long on the west side.[1] William's own headquarters were apparently at Cambridge. Great tales were handed down in East Anglian tradition of Hereward's prowess in resisting the attack from the causeway. But when the work was completed his companions lost heart and surrendered. On the 27th October the King took possession.[2] With those who had capitulated 'he did that he would.' Bishop Æthelwine was sent to Abingdon, where he died in the course of the winter; Morkere and Siward Barn were also imprisoned, the one in Normandy, the other in England, to live out William's days in captivity. The rank and file fared worse. In accordance with William's calculating policy they were cruelly mutilated in various ways, and then turned adrift, warnings to all the world.[3] One man refused to barter his liberty for a mess of pottage. When further resistance became impossible, Hereward took ship and escaped by water.[4]

Surrender of the English.

Escape of Hereward.

Legend has been as busy with the later as with the earlier history of this national hero. But we may fairly accept the *consensus* of tradition that he made his peace with William. It would also appear that he accompanied the King in his expedition into Maine in 1073,[5] one account making him lose his life there.

It has been suggested on the strength of certain entries in *Domesday* that William Malet may have fallen in the Ely campaign. But the passages in question seem really to shew that he took part in the campaign, and survived, to fall later in the King's service in some other quarter.[6] A loss undoubtedly sustained by William

Fate of William Malet.

[1] Florence. The *History of Ely*, 229 (ed. Steward), connects the causeway with "Alrehethe," now Aldreth, "ubi aquæ insulæ minus latæ sunt." Aldreth is from seven to ten miles from Ely, according to the road by which the distance is measured. William's advance, therefore, might be along the Aldreth-Soham causeway. Materials for the causeway were brought by water to "Cotinglade," p. 236. "Cotinglade" cannot = Cottenham, because the latter is on the other side of the Oose. It might be the crossing of the Oose from Cottenham; if so it would be seven or eight miles S.W. of Ely.

[2] *Hist. Ely*, 245, cited *N. C.* IV. 480.

[3] Chron. D (A.D. 1072) and E; Flor. 1071, 1078; Sym. *H. D, E.* p. 105, and *H. R.* A.D. 1071; Ord. The Ely monks made their peace by yielding all their treasures; *Ang. Sacr.* I. 610. Thurstan, the Abbot, attended the Windsor Council at Whitsuntide 1072 (above, 77, 78). [4] Chron.; Flor.

[5] So Geoffrey Gaimar, *Chron. Anglo-Normandes*, Michel, I. 22, cited Freeman. Geoffrey must have written about the middle of the following century, as he says that he borrowed a book from Robert of Gloucester, who died in 1147, through Walter Espec, who died 1153-1154; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 829. Gaimar, however, represents Hereward as killed in Maine. For the legendary history of Hereward see Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 455-487 and 804. The principal sources are the *Pseudo-Ingulf*, Gale, II. 70; John of Peterborough; *Hist. Eliensis* (D. J. Stewart, 1848); the *Gesta Herewardi*; and G. Gaimar, *Chron. Anglo-Normandes* (Michel).

[6] See *N. C.* IV. 173, citing *Domesday*, 33*b*, where it appears that Malet died on an expedition, "quando ivit in servitium regis." At f. 133*b* it is stated that he had held

in the year 1071 was that of his trusty William fitz Osbern, Earl of Hereford. He had been sent over to assist Matilda in her government of Normandy, probably on account of troubles in Flanders, in which she could not fail to be deeply interested. Her father, Count Baldwin V., had died in 1067, leaving his dominions to a son, Baldwin VI. The younger Baldwin became speedily involved in hostilities with a brother Robert. This man was apparently the eldest son,[1] who, having been disinherited and banished by his father, had found a settlement in Friesland (*i.e.* Holland and Zealand) by marrying the widow of the late Count Florence, and acting as guardian to his wife's son. Baldwin VI. died in 1070, when the struggle with Robert the Frisian devolved on Baldwin's son Arnulf, under the tutelage of his mother, Richilde of Mons. She appealed to her overlord Philip I. of France, while Robert invoked the aid of his Imperial suzerain Henry IV. Philip came as desired, bringing fitz Osbern with him as a Norman feudatory. The Earl, making light of the whole affair, brought an insufficient force, and when in the field kept no proper watch. The result was that on Septuagesima Sunday (20th February, 1071) Robert fell on the allies at Cassel, and utterly routed them, his nephew, young Arnulf, and the Earl of Hereford being among the slain.[2] For burial, the latter, described as the most popular Baron in Normandy, was carried off to his own foundation at Cormeilles (Eure). The King, with his usual prudence, divided the inheritance, giving the Norman estates to the eldest son William of Breteuil, and the earldom of Hereford and the English estates to the younger son Roger.[3]

Troubles in Flanders.

Death of William Fitz Osbern.

The dynastic struggle in Flanders led to a change of relations with Normandy; the two Courts, hitherto on the best of terms, now became distinctly estranged. We are told that William, in return for friendly help given in connexion with the Hastings campaign, had been in the habit of allowing his father-in-law a yearly subvention of 300 marks (£200). The payment had been continued to the younger Baldwin, the Sixth of the name, but was now withheld from Robert the Frisian.[4] It was probably the state of Flemish affairs that led William either late in 1071 or early in 1072 to pay a hasty visit to his native Duchy.[5]

Visit of the King to Normandy.

certain lands, "quando ivit in maresc," *i.e.* the Fen campaign, but not at the time of his death, implying an interval.

[1] Both Orderic, 526, and William of Malmesbury, *G. R.* s. 256, place Robert before Baldwin, and the former expressly calls him "primogenitus."

[2] For varying accounts of these affairs see Orderic and W. Malm. *sup.*; Chron. D, 1070; *N. C.* IV. 531–537; Sismondi, *France*, IV. 408, etc.

[3] Ord. *sup.* [4] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 403. [5] Ord. 527.

CHAPTER VII

WILLIAM I (*continued*)

A.D. 1072–1076

Invasion of Scotland and Exaction of Homage from Malcolm Canmore—Waltheof Earl of Northumberland—Repression of Rising in Maine—Revolt of Earls of Hereford and Norfolk—Execution of Waltheof

THE first half of the year 1072 witnessed the Synods for the carrying out of Lanfranc's attack on the Province of York, as already mentioned. The latter half of the year was marked by a settlement of Northern affairs, including a reckoning with Malcolm Canmore for his unprovoked invasion of England in 1070. Late in August, William started on his expedition. Wild Eadric, who had made his peace about two years before,[1] was invited to attend. The army is described as consisting mainly of cavalry, with an auxiliary fleet in attendance.[2] That in itself implies that the King took the usual East-coast route; and so we hear that he advanced till he went 'in over the ford,' continuing his march till he came to Abernethy on the Tay.[3] Here, of course, the 'Ford' is only another expression for the 'Water,' more usually the 'Scots' Water': that is to say the Forth. Beyond that Estuary William would find himself in Scotland proper, and accordingly, Ælred, the Abbot of Rievaulx, correctly describes his march as passing through Lothian, Calathros (the Carse of Stirling),[4] and Scotland to Abernethy.[5] Throughout his march William 'found nothing of the which he was any the better.'[6] But, whether worth having or not, whatever there was to ravage, was ravaged.

Expedition to Scotland.

The King at Abernethy.

[1] Ralph of Mortemer is supposed to have had the chief hand in reducing Eadric to submission, and for that service obtained the Castle of Wigmore in Herefordshire, the historic seat of his descendants; Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 455, 456, citing Dugdale.

[2] Chron. D (given as 1073) and E; "equestri exercitu"; Flor.

[3] "Inn ofer the wæð"; Chron. D. "Æt tham gewæde"; Chron. E. "Abernithici"; Flor.

[4] See *Ann. Ulster*, A.D. 736, and charters cited Skene, *C. S.* I. 424, though he himself would restrict Calathros to the Carse of Falkirk.

[5] "Per Laodoniam, Calatriam, Scotiam usque ad Abernith"; *Decem Scriptt.* 340.

[6] "Naht ne funde thæs the heom the betere wære"; Chron. D. See Thorpe's translation. Mr. Freeman, following Lingard, renders it 'naught better than him,' *i.e.* stronger, or able to resist him.

Bowing to superior force, as other Scottish Kings had done before him, Malcolm came to Abernethy, declared himself William's 'man,' and gave hostages.[1] Scottish patriotism has endeavoured to explain away the act of homage as merely rendered for twelve manors in England, supposed to have been held by Malcolm at that time.[2] But no such limitation is to be found in any of the records of the transaction. That it excited general attention at the time is proved by the fact that it appears in the Irish *Annals of Ulster*,[3] where we are told that 'the Franks' invaded Alba, or Alban as the name now appears, and carried off the King as a pledge. On the other hand, it is clear that the recognition was "simple" not "liege" homage; that is to say, a bare admission of suzerainty, not involving any right of interference in domestic affairs. As a matter of fact Malcolm to the end of his days continued to be, not a vassal, but a restless and troublesome enemy.[4] It is, however, extremely probable that William's understanding with Malcolm included a stipulation for the expulsion of the Ætheling Eadgar and other English refugees.

Malcolm William's "Man."

William now was, without doubt, in one way or another, King or Lord of all Great Britain, and as fully entitled as any of his predecessors to assume the style of "Basileus," or "Monarcha," or any other of the high-sounding titles affected by Anglo-Saxon Royalty. But William was not a man with any turn for barbaric swagger.

On his return southwards the King paid a visit to Durham, where he had things to do. One piece of business was the foundation of a castle as a residence for the foreign Bishop who might come to want protection from his Northumbrian flock.[5] The existing "Moat" (mote) or mound-fort must have been there already, but even in the following century it was only crowned by a wooden palisade, four-square, at any rate by a building supported by four wooden posts one at each corner.[6] To this mound-fort William apparently attached a more commodious structure, the nucleus of the existing castle.[7]

The King at Durham.

The other piece of business was the removal of Gospatrick from the earldom of Northumberland to make way for Waltheof, already Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon. The wily King had deferred his attack on Gospatrick till after his

Fall of Gospatrick.

[1] Chron. D and E; Flor.; Sym. *H. R.*; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 250; *Chron. Melrose.*

[2] J. Fordun, V. c. 17; E. W. Robertson, *Scotland*, etc., I. 137; II. 401. For the twelve manors see Flor. and Chron. E., A.D. 1091, and below.

[3] A.D. 1072; Skene, *Chron. P and S.*

[4] J. H. Burton, *Hist. Scotland*, I. 410.

[5] Sym. *H. R.* s. 160.

[6] "Desuper . . . domus. Postibus inniti bis cernitur ipsa duobus."

[7] For a clear distinction between the circular "arx" and the "castellum," with its courtyard and well, see the 12th century poem of Laurence Prior of Durham, printed by Mr. Raine, and given also by Clark, *Military Arch.* II. 34. The mound was apparently girt with a wall at the foot, while access to the keep at top was given by the usual bridge with broad steps.

triumphant return from Scotland. The Earl had been perfectly faithful since his reconciliation with William. No new offence that we hear of was brought up against him. He was simply charged with matters covered by his pardon. He was taxed with secret complicity in the murder of Robert of Comines in 1069, which happened when he was out of England, as well as with the attack on York later in the same year[1]; but Waltheof was equally implicated in that affair. Waltheof, no doubt, had a double connexion with the district, being son of Siward as well as grandson of Ealdred; while Gospatrick could only claim descent from Uhtred, elder brother of Ealdred, through his mother. But Waltheof's real merit was doubtless the fact that he was married to the King's niece Judith,[2] and his promotion may be looked upon as due to a Court intrigue. Gospatrick left England in disgust, but he does not seem to have been outlawed, as he still had lands in England at the time of Domesday. To Flanders he retired; but after a short sojourn there, he again made friends with Malcolm, and from him received the earldom of Dunbar. On his father's side he was a Scotchman and connected with the Royal family.[3]

Promotion of Waltheof.

According to Symeon of Durham, his patron Saint had the triumph of scoring a victory over the mighty Conqueror. It would seem that the King had expressed some doubts as to whether the body of St. Cuthberht was really at Durham or not; and had threatened an examination of the tomb, which was resented by the clergy as an insult. But on All Saints Day, the day appointed for the inquest, when the King was attending Mass, he was seized with a violent heat—perhaps a feverish attack—which shook his purpose; for, we hear, on leaving the church he called for his horse, and without waiting for dinner rode off, never stopping till he had placed the waters of the Tees between himself and St. Cuthberht.[4]

If the authority of an Earl was still thought necessary for the government of Northumberland, as a remote and Border district, his sphere was restricted to the old Bernicia, Deira or Yorkshire being kept in the King's hand. William knew better than to revive the system of the old Anglo-Saxon Satrapies. If we take a survey of the earldoms as constituted at the point of time that we have now reached, beginning in the North, we have Northumberland under Waltheof, and Richmondshire, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, under

English Earldoms. Northumberland.

[1] Sym. *H. R.* s. 158.

[2] Daughter of Adelaide, sister (Orderic, 522) or half-sister (W. Jum. 312) of the Conqueror by her second husband, Lambert of Lens in Artois. See *G. E. C. Peerage*, "Albemarle"; conf. the charter printed *Archæol.* XXVI. 358. By her first husband, Ingelram of Ponthieu, Adelaide had a daughter, also called Adelaide. By her third husband, Odo of Champagne, she had Stephen Count of Aumâle. See also Mr. Stapleton's note, *Rot. Scacc. Norm.* II. xxxi.

[3] Sym. *sup.* s. 159, p. 199; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 525; also Mr. Hinde's note to his ed. of the *H. R*, p. 92; and above, 56.

[4] Nov. Sym.; *H. D. E.* p. 106.

Allan Rufus of Brittany.[1] Descending the West coast, we find that the new earldom of Chester had changed hands since 1070. Gerbod the Fleming had found his position a very trying one, between Welsh enemies on the one hand, and disaffected Englishmen on the other hand. Then he received an urgent call to come home on private affairs, these doubtless being connected with the troubled state of Flanders. He obtained William's leave to go, and went, never to return. We are told that he fell into the hands of enemies—very likely at the battle of Cassel—who threw him into bonds and kept him there. The important post that he had vacated was then given to Hugh of Avranches, described by Orderic as a man of grossly sensual life, prodigal and rapacious, devoted to field sports, but almost too bloated to walk.[2] This description must be taken as applicable to the Earl in his latter days, as the writer in another place admits that he was active in war, and we shall find him in the year 1082 preparing to join Bishop Odo in an adventurous expedition to Italy. He had also sufficient regard for the Church to found a monastery, and he certainly enjoyed the friendship of St. Anselm.[3] To return to the earldom, in later times we shall find the dignity of the Earl Palatine resting, as it were, on the shoulders of four Barons of local rank, Cheshire Barons who held under him; but for the present we have the names of only two lieutenants holding commands under Hugh, namely Robert of Rhuddlan and Robert of Malpas.[4] The former owed his name to the castle established by him on the ruins of the Welsh palace destroyed by Harold. We shall find him extending his borders to the line of the Conway, where he fell in 1088, while repelling a Welsh inroad at the foot of the Great Orme's Head.[5] The Palatinate, as a Border Principality, was armed with very special privileges. In Cheshire proper, *i.e.* South of the Mersey, the Earl and his men divided the land with the Bishop.[6] All writs ran in the Earl's name. Most if not all regalian rights and dues were his, and his men enjoyed immunity from all legal jurisdiction, except that of their own Palatine courts. These concessions were doubtless intended to enable the Cheshire men to hold their own against the Welsh; but the results

Chester.

Hugh of Avranches.

Chester a Palatinate.

[1] "Alanus comes"; *Domesday*; Ellis. "Alanus Rufus comes Britonum"; Orderic, 648. Allan was a Breton, but of course not Count of Brittany. Hoel was Count at this time. [2] Orderic, 522.

[3] Earl Hugh the Stout, as he was called, established Benedictine monks at St. Werburh's Chester, previously in the hands of secular Canons; Freem. *N. C.* IV. 314, citing *Monasticon*, II. 370.

[4] "De malo passu." Robert of Rhuddlan was son of Humphrey of Tilleul, and in his early days had been at the Court of the Confessor; Ord. 669, 670; *N. C.* IV. 73, 490. He was also cousin to Earl Hugh.

[5] Below and Ord. 670, 671.

[6] See *N. C.* IV. 489. Lancashire did not exist as yet, the southern part 'between the Mersey and the Ribble' being attached to Cheshire, and its northern part to Yorkshire.

were most mischievous. For centuries the Cheshire gentry were among the most lawless in the kingdom, and the country a mere hot-bed of brigandage and disorder.

Next to the Palatine earldom of Chester lay the earldoms of Shrewsbury and Hereford, also intended for the defence of the Welsh March. The former was in the hands of Roger of Montgomery, who at first had been Constable of Arundel and Chichester.[1] As Earl of Shrewsbury he stamped his name upon the soil of Britain by building a castle on a height just West of the line of Offa's Dyke, to which he transferred the name of his own ancestral home, a name again destined to be extended later to a whole Welsh county. Married to a very bad woman—Mabille, daughter of William Talevas of Bellême [2]—Earl Roger himself is described as a wise and just man, inclined to consult the clergy. Of his household priests one, Odelerius, was the father of our invaluable chronicler Orderic. As Constable of Shrewsbury under him Roger had Warine the Bald, a little man with a great soul, who mightily oppressed the Welsh, and "pacified" the district.[3] Hereford, as we have seen, had already passed from the trusty William fitz Osbern to his second son Roger, an unworthy successor. As their Lieutenant both father and son had Walter of Lacy, and they too warred against the Welsh. Under the year 1070, the native annals record the loss of Maredudd or Meredith, son of Owain, King of South Wales, who was slain on the banks of the Rymney by his rival, Caradoc, son of Gruffudd, in alliance with 'the French.'[4] The credit of this achievement is claimed by Orderic for the Earl of Hereford; while the Welsh annals again connect the name of Montgomery with the ravaging of Ceredigion (South Cardiganshire), and Dyfed (Pembrokeshire), in 1071 and 1072.

Shrewsbury.

Hereford.

In the extreme South-West William's half-brother Robert held the earldom of Cornwall. If we turn to the other side of the Kingdom, we find that a slice of Yorkshire had been given to Odo of Champagne, third husband of the King's sister Adelaide,[5] as Earl of Holderness. Thus Adelaide and her daughter Judith, the wife

Cornwall.

Holderness.

[1] See Ord. 522, who clearly distinguishes the "castrum" of Arundel from the "comitatus" of Shrewsbury.

[2] See *N. C.* II. 193, etc., and IV. 194; "Talevas" = buckler or shield; Godefroy.

[3] Ord. *sup.* For Roger's foundation of St. Peter's Abbey Shrewsbury, see *Id.* 579–581, and *N. C.* IV. 498, citing *Monasticon*, III. 519. "The nave of the church now standing must be of the age of Roger."

[4] *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut-y-T.* This Caradoc was the man who destroyed Harold's hunting lodge at Portskewett in 1065. Maredudd became King of S. Wales in 1068, when Rhiwallon, set up by Harold, was killed. See above, I. 488.

[5] See Ord. 522, and Doyle, *Official Baronage*, "Holderness." Mr. Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 303, makes Odo marry the younger Adelaide, according to the latest views daughter of the elder Adelaide by her first husband, Ingelram of Ponthieu. The younger Adelaide does not appear to have been ever married, at any rate she left no issue. See Stapleton, *Rot. Scacc. Norm.* II. xxxi.

of Waltheof, would divide the honours of the North country. In Norfolk, we have Ralph of Guader or Gael, established as Earl. Of him anon. Huntingdon and Northampton had long belonged to Waltheof. Walter Giffard I. was Earl of Bucks; William of Warenne Earl of Surrey.[1] But the greatest of all the Earls, the second King, whose word was law, the terror of the whole realm, was the Bishop-Earl, Odo of Kent.[2]

Norfolk. Hunts and Northants. Bucks. Surrey. Kent.

Thus in all we have twelve Earls instead of five or six, as in the latter days of the Confessor. But his Earls controlled pretty well all England; the authority of William's twelve did not cover one-third of it.

From the assertion of a nominal supremacy over Scotland, William was called away to defend his cherished acquisition of the County of Maine. His position there was being assailed both from within and from without, and by movements of complex character. The conquest, as we have seen, had been effected under cover of a cession or 'commendation' of the county by the last native Count, Herbert, son of Hugh, and grandson of the well-known Herbert 'Wake-the-Dogs.' To free himself from the domination of Anjou, Herbert had taken William for his over-lord, declaring him his heir if he should die childless—an event that followed not long afterwards (1063–1064). On the Continent, at any rate, men who stood in William's way seemed to disappear. Having reduced Maine by force of arms, William announced the betrothal of his son Robert to Margaret, youngest and unmarried sister of the late Count. Robert would thus become Count of Maine in her right, and their issue would perpetuate the old line. This arrangement was accepted by the Count of Anjou, Geoffrey "*Barbu*," who took young Robert's homage for Maine at Alençon.[4] In one way or another the Counts of Anjou had undoubtedly established a right of superiority over Maine. Robert's homage must have been rendered in or before the year 1066, as in the course of that year "*Barbu*" was ousted and imprisoned by his restless younger brother, Fulk "*Rechin*."[5]

Troubles in Maine.

William's Son Robert, Count of Maine.

Unlike his elder brother, Fulk always chafed at William's position in Maine, being doubtless anxious to convert his over-lordship into direct dominion, as had been the case in the days of his uncle Geoffrey Martel. Then Margaret died before her marriage with young Robert could be completed, and so all legal claim through her was at an end. Thereupon

Ord. *sup.* On the question of the Earldom of Bucks, which is disputed, see Appendix to Chapter XV. For Ralph of Norfolk, below, 102.

[2] "Cunctis Angliæ habitantibus formidabilis"; Ord. *sup.*

[3] See above, vol. I. 494, 495. [4] Orderic, 532.

[5] See *N. C.* III. 314, and authorities there cited; Orderic, *sup.* For thirty years Geoffrey languished in bonds at Chinon, to be set free at last by a chivalrous nephew, but only to die shortly afterwards; *Gesta Consulum Andeg.*; D'Achery, *Spic.* III. 259, 262.

the *Manseaux*, who were not at all reconciled to the Norman yoke, turned their eyes towards the eldest sister of their late Count Herbert, namely Garisende, wife of Albert Azzo II., Marquis of Este and Liguria. The third sister, Paula, was married to a neighbour, John Lord of La Flèche in Anjou; but the Marquis was a much bigger and richer man.[1] On receiving an invitation from the people of Maine, the Marquis and his wife came over with their son Hugh, the suggested future Count of Maine.[2] They were received with open arms. At their coming, if not before it, the whole county practically rose. William's castle at Le Mans was stormed, and his chief men either killed, imprisoned, or expelled.[3] The Count of Anjou might intrigue against William, but he could hardly relish the appearance of Marquis Azzo; while John of La Flèche, who had his own wife's pretensions to defend, openly declared for William. On the other hand, William's old adversary, Geoffrey of Mayenne, a man of subtle and resolute spirit,[4] at once put himself at the head of the local movement. The Marquis having seen his son fairly established, went back to Italy, leaving his wife and Hugh to govern Maine with the help of Geoffrey of Mayenne.

Marquis Azzo and Garisende.

But differences now began to break out between them and the men of Le Mans. These 'seditious' burghers, as the writers in the feudal interest style them, had conceived the bold idea of setting up a *Commune*[5] or popular government of some sort. In Southern Gaul traditions of Roman municipal independence had never quite died out; but North of the Loire the action of the men of Le Mans is of special interest as being the first recorded manifestation of a spirit that in the next century we shall find assuming considerable proportions. Of course nothing could be more repugnant either to feudal lords or feudal churchmen than any semblance of popular government; but the movement was too strong to be resisted, and Geoffrey of Mayenne was forced to take the oath to the new constitution. Even the Bishop, Arnold, a Norman devoted to William's interests, was obliged to fall in with it.[6] But the men of Le Mans, not content with demanding municipal rights for themselves, and, perhaps, feeling that they could not stand alone, proposed to force the whole of Maine within the pale of their little common-

Commune at Le Mans.

[1] See vol. I. 494.

[2] The date of their arrival seems doubtful. It must have happened after William's visit to Normandy in the winter or spring of 1072.

[3] Orderic, 532. This writer makes no reference to the presence of the Marquis, his wife or his son. All that relates to them comes from the local *Gesta Pontiff. Cenomannensium*, Bouquet, XII. 539, and Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, 307 (fol. ed.).

[4] "Versutus homo . . . mentem obstinatam"; W. Poitiers.

[5] "Facta conspiratione quam communionem vocabant"; *Gest. Pontt. Cenom.*, Bouquet, *sup.* 540.

[6] Arnold had hastened over to England to warn William, but came back by his orders to watch or control affairs as best he could.

wealth. To effect this war had to be waged on the Baronage. In the course of the hostilities castles were burnt, men mutilated or hung, and other deeds of violence perpetrated.[1] Finally a general levy was called out for the reduction of the important stronghold of Sillé-le-Guillaume,[2] held against the *Commune* by its lord, one Hugh. Geoffrey of Mayenne attended the muster, but only to betray the people by joining hands with Hugh. Ignominiously routed, the popular army dispersed in all directions. Young Hugh, the son of Azzo, was then sent back to Italy, while Le Mans became the scene of a desperate struggle. Garisende introduced her faithful knight Geoffrey of Mayenne into the castle, while the citizens, as if in despair, invoked the aid of the Count of Anjou. With his help Geoffrey was expelled and the castle dismantled.

William Subdues the Revolt.

In this state of affairs, with Maine all strife and anarchy, the King of England made his appearance on the scene. An English fyrd swelled the ranks of his legions, Hereward perhaps among them. The revolted county was ravaged in William's usual style. The English on their return home told how they had 'marred' the whole land, destroying vineyards and burning towns.[3] Fresnay-le-Vicomte, Beaumont-le-Vicomte, and Sillé hastened to surrender. Finally advancing to Le Mans, the King haughtily warned the citizens to consider their situation. Next day, we are told, the citizens brought the keys of the city and made a humble submission.[4] But the local writer, not a friend of the *commune*, adds that William was required to grant an amnesty and swear observance of the ancient customs and franchises of the city. The pacification of the rest of Maine followed, the people being sent home to dwell 'each man under his own vine.'[5]

Continued Hostility of Fulk Rechin.

But the year's campaigning was not ended yet. Fulk Rechin, who had doubtless retired from Le Mans at William's advance, thought fit to vent his spleen at the untoward course affairs had taken by falling foul of his feudatory, John of La Flèche, who had sided with the Normans. John appealed to the King of England, who sent him a substantial garrison; and then Fulk made a counter-appeal to Hoel, Count of Brittany, who hastened to the rescue in full force. This obliged William to make a further move by pushing forwards all his army, of which fabulous estimates were given.[6] There the two armies stood, apparently on the opposite banks of Le Loir, confronting each other with

[1] These events are spoken of as happening in Lent and Passion Week, say 13th February to 31st March (Ash Wednesday to Easter), 1073. The rising therefore may be supposed to have begun in the winter of 1072–1073.

[2] Dept. Sarthe. [3] Chron. D and E; Florence.

[4] Orderic, 533.

[5] "Sub vite sua morari"; Orderic, *sup.* See *Gesta Pontt. Cenom.*, Bouquet, XII. 540, 541, and *Vetera Analecta*, 285, 315; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 544–560; Sismondi, *France*, IV. 404.

[6] '60,000 horsemen'; Ord.

truly mediæval inactivity. Thus the clergy were enabled to intervene, a Cardinal taking the lead. After much discussion Fulk was induced to acquiesce in the *status quo*, recognising young Robert as Count of Maine, with all rights acquired by virtue either of the arrangement with Count Herbert, or of the betrothal to Margaret[1]; finally taking the young man's homage.[2] Thus, however, his own over-lordship of Maine would be admitted.

Treaty of Blanchelande or La Bruère.

The arrangement left William in full possession, but Normandy and Anjou remained at peace during the rest of his days.

The question of Maine fairly settled, and the campaign ended, William went back to England, to return again next summer to his native Duchy,[3] there apparently to remain till late in the year 1075. Of his business on the Continent neither English nor Norman writers tell us anything. But a German chronicler of good repute records that King Henry IV. of Germany, having reached Ratisbon on an expedition against the Hungarians, was recalled by confidential reports that the King of England, at the instigation of the well-known Archbishop Hanno of Cologne, was preparing to invade his territory, and occupy Aix-la-Chapelle. Henry hastened home and made all safe in the quarter threatened.[4] Whatever foundation there may have been for these reports, William must have had matters of importance to keep him abroad so long: and we must remember that Henry of Germany had furnished the troops that defeated and slew William fitz Osbern at Cassel.

William in Normandy again.

At home the event of the year 1074 was the submission of the Ætheling Eadgar. He had left Scotland, presumably, when Malcolm did homage in 1072, returning to Flanders, the usual retreat for Englishmen, but more especially so now that the Count, Robert the Frisian, was not on friendly terms with William. From Flanders again, however, in his aimless, restless way, the Ætheling went back to Scotland. The day of his landing is given—St. Grimbald's Day (8th July), 1074.[5] But now an invitation came from Philip I. of France, who offered to establish him at Montreuil, the chief town of Ponthieu, a formidable hill stronghold, conveniently situate between Flanders and Normandy.

Eadgar Ætheling.

His Movements since 1072.

The hostile disposition of France, indicated by this proposal, again suggests a reason for William's stay on the Continent.

[1] "Roberto . . . Cenomannense jus concedit cum toto honore quem idem a Comite Herberto cum Margarita sponsa sua suscepit."

[2] La Bruère; Ord. 533. I find the place to the South of the Loir, about 25 miles East of La Flèche, Dep. Sarthe. Mr. Freeman follows Mr. Stapleton in fixing the locality near Domfront, but I can find no La Bruère there in the Gazetteer of France. Orderic gives "Blancalanda" as an alternative name. [3] Chron. E, 1074 (D, 1075).

[4] Lambert of Hertzfeld, A.D. 1074. He styles the King of England "Willehelmus cognomento Bostar" (Bastard). See *N. C.* IV. 538; Lappenberg, *Normans* (Thorpe), 167. Henry IV. was not crowned Emperor till 1084. [5] Chron. E. (Chron. D, 1075).

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Eadgar closed with the offer, and set sail for France, richly gifted by his sister and her husband. But the winds and the waves proved contrary. His squadron was driven ashore and wrecked, apparently in the North of England. Some of his men were seized by 'the French,' *i.e.* the Normans; but the Ætheling and most of his party made their way back to Scotland, some on horseback, and some on foot, but all in sorry plight.

Reconciliation with William.

Malcolm then gave his brother-in-law a piece of advice which proved that, after all, he had in him something of the canny Scot. He counselled Eadgar to make peace with William, to shelve his rights, and exchange his personal independence for a life of peace and substantial comfort. William was only too glad to have the representative of the Old Line once more under his control. An escort was sent up to the Border to receive the Ætheling. At Durham he was met by the Sheriff of Yorkshire, who took him down to the South coast, arranging for his entertainment at each castle on the way, and so across the Channel. In Normandy the King received him 'with mickle worship,' as was his way, and placed him on his household with a seat at his table. Nominally a guest and a pensioner, Eadgar became—was in fact—a State prisoner, kindly treated, but carefully watched.[1]

The last spark of native resistance having died out, dissensions among the conquerors began to appear. We might almost say that the wolves were beginning to quarrel over their prey. At any rate, in 1075 we hear of a Baronial rising, the first of many that we shall have to record. Of civil disturbances the Anglo-Saxon period could show its share. We have heard of 'treasonable' conspiracies; of outlawries; of magnates going 'out,' to return in arms to harry and destroy. But with one exception those movements were not uprisings against any pressure of the Crown, but struggles for ascendancy in the Royal Council-chamber,—party quarrels. The one clear exception was the disturbance in 1051, caused by the King's support of Eustace of Boulogne. There the King was the offender, and the action taken was clearly against him. Of Baronial risings in general, as we understand them, the common aim was to shake off the inconvenient trammels of the central Royal authority, in the interests of the great feudal Lords. The men who now ventured to raise their heads against King William were Roger, Earl of Hereford, and Ralph, Earl of Norfolk. Roger was the second son of William fitz Osbern, the elder son, William of Breteuil, having succeeded to the Norman estates. Ralph on his mother's side was a Breton, his father being Ralph the Staller, a man who had large estates in Norfolk and Suffolk under the Confessor, who was described as an Englishman, and was said to have been born in Norfolk.[2] Possibly he

Rebellion of Earls of Hereford and Norfolk.

[1] Chron. D (given under 1075); W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 251. A small estate of less than eight hides, in Herts, is found in Domesday as belonging to Eadgar, *N. C.* IV. 571. [2] Chron. D and E.

may have been the son of one of Emma's Norman followers, and considered an Englishman because born in England. He must have died before the accession of Harold, who does not appear to have admitted his son to the English estates.[1] But the younger Ralph was lord of Guader, otherwise Gael, and Montfort, both in Brittany.[2] According to Wace he was at Senlac as one of the Breton auxiliaries. He was evidently created Earl of Norfolk on account of his father's connexion with the district. The presumption of these two young men, with earldoms of moderate size, and lying far apart, in venturing to challenge the mighty Conqueror, seems amazing. A third man, however, they had enticed into com-

Complicity of Waltheof.

plicity, Waltheof, now Earl of Northumberland as well as of Huntingdon and Northampton, and husband of the King's niece Judith. Tall, broad of chest, and strong of limb, the Earl is described as physically a true son of the famed Siward Digera.[3] Popular sympathy subsequently invested him with the graces of a lay saint.[4] We, however, must pronounce Waltheof his father's son as well in savagery as in *physique*. The bloody feud, the disgrace of Bernicia, begun

The Northumbrian Feud.

in 1016 by the murder of Uhtred, had seemed to slumber since 1035 (?), when Ealdred, Waltheof's maternal grandfather, fell by the hand of Carl, the Yorkshire Thegn. Nothing that we know of had occurred since then to stir up the embers. In 1069 Carl's four sons had fought at York, side by side with Waltheof. But the first use made by him of his position as Earl of Northumberland was to send a band of men to invade the county of York, and surround and massacre Carl's descendants, grandsons as well as sons, at the family residence at Settrington, near Malton. Two scions, however, survived, one absent, the other let off by the murderers through sheer pity.[5]

As for the special grievances of the malcontent Earls, *prima facie*, one might assume them to have been connected either with taxa-

Grievances of the Earls.

tion of their estates, or with invasions of their franchises of soc and sac. And in fact a letter from Lanfranc to Roger shows that it was the latter, and that the Earl had complained that the sheriffs were holding pleas on his lands. The Archbishop, writing in the most kindly manner to urge the young Earl to tread in the footsteps of his father, and keep loyal to his Lord, informs him that the King had agreed

[1] See *N. C.* III. Appendix, p. 751, "Ralph of Norfolk."

[2] The Guader of Orderic, 522, 535, which he couples with Montfort, must be the place known in the time of Wace and now as Gael. Gael and Montfort are quite near each other (Ille et Vilaine). The name also appears as "Waiet," Jumièges, 281; "Waher," Malm. *G. R.* s. 253; "Waders," *Domesday*.

[3] "Nervosus lacertis, thorosus pectore, robustus et procerus toto corpore"; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 253. "Vir corpore magnus et elegans"; Ord. 536.

[4] "Multis charismatibus quibus in ordine laicali specialiter fruebatur"; Orderic, *sup.*

[5] Symeon, *H. R.* A.D. 1073; *H. D. E.* (Anct.), p. 219. The Tract was written during the life of one of the survivors.

that the sheriffs should hold no further pleas of the sort till his return.[1] According to Orderic the confederates aimed at nothing less than a revival of the good old English system. The plan dangled before the eyes of Waltheof was the reconstitution of England as three earldoms, doubtless Wessex, Mercia, and Northumbria, with a nominal King over them.[2]

Wedding of Earl Ralph.

To cement his alliance with his brother of Norfolk, Earl Roger proposed to marry him to his sister Emma. The King forbade the match, but it went on notwithstanding.[3] The wedding was held at Exning, near Newmarket. The three Earls were there, with a large concourse of influential guests, invited with a purpose.

'There was bride-ale
To many men's bale.'[4]

The social gathering would give opportunities for confidential talk and the adjustment of plans. The festivities ended, Earl Roger went off to raise men in the West, while Ralph would call East Anglia to arms. William tarried abroad, detained by foreign complications; and they evidently reckoned on his unpopularity in England as a factor in their calculations.[5]

The Rebels Summoned.

But they soon found out that if the people loved William little, they loved his Barons less[6]; and that they were coming to the conclusion that the hand of one great King was lighter than the hands of many petty kinglets. Again, William's lieutenants and ministers were thoroughly on the alert. William of Warenne and Richard of Bienfaite, described as Chief Justiciars, summon the rebels to appear in court.[7] Lanfranc, again writing affectionately to Earl Roger, implores him to be wise, and come to see him.[8] This appeal having failed, an excommunication follows, and the Earl and his abettors are cut off from the society of all Christian people. Other Prelates draw the carnal weapon. Bishop Wulfstan, and Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham, supported by Sheriff Urse, and Roger's own subordinate, Walter of Lacy, called out the men of Worcestershire, and posted them so as to hold the line of the Severn, thus cutting off Roger from all communication with his confederates in the East. Odo of Bayeux, and Geoffrey of Coutances, with the Justiciars, attacked Earl Ralph at a place given in Latin as "Fagaduna," and routed him. Such of his followers as were caught had their right feet cut off, and in that plight were turned loose on the world, marked men.[9] The Earl himself escaped to his Castle at Norwich. It would seem that for support he was mainly dependent on Bretons, of whom two classes are given—one, men settled as tenants on

Siege of Norwich Castle.

[1] *Opera Lanfr.* I. 64. [2] p. 534.

[3] Florence, A.D. 1074, correcting Chron. D and E, which give the marriage as arranged by the King; W. Jumièges, 288, 299. [4] Chron. D and E; Flor.

[5] "Omnibus est odio"; Ord. 534. [6] 'The land-folk came against them'; Chron. D.

[7] Ord. 535. Richard of Bienfaite was son of Count Gilbert of Eu and Brionne, William's old kinsman and guardian. Bienfaite, now Bienfait, is in the Dept. Somme.

[8] *Lanfr. Opp.* I. 65. [9] Ord.

his estates; the other, hired retainers or house-carles.[1] Bishops Odo and Geoffrey lost no time in pressing on to lay siege to Norwich. But Ralph, leaving his bride to stand the brunt of the attack, again escaped to make his way to Denmark, where he had already been intriguing for support.[2] William's castle at Norwich, which must have been built by this time, proved its worth by keeping his men out for three months. Finally they were content to allow Emma and her Bretons to depart in peace on the simple condition of leaving England.[3]

The Danes again in the Ouse.

Meanwhile Swein Estrithson, still unreconciled to the intruding Bastard, as one of the last acts of his life, had sent a tardy fleet to attack England. His son Cnut was again in command. William was prepared for their coming,[4] but he could not prevent them sailing up the Ouse and once more rifling St. Peter's Minster York. Satisfied with that achievement, they sailed home.[5]

Repentance of Waltheof.

There is no reason to suppose that Waltheof had taken any actual part in the rising, but he was conscious that he had done enough, and more than enough, to compromise his position. He hastened to Lanfranc, and made confession of a disloyal but reluctant pledge given to the rebels. Lanfranc appointed him a penance,[6] and told him to seek the King, who was still in Normandy. Waltheof threw himself on William's mercy, offering to pay any ransom. The King, with characteristic duplicity, made light of the matter, apparently endeavouring to set the Earl's mind at ease, and at all events placing no restraint upon his movements, till they came back to England, when he was arrested. Earl Roger having been summoned, and having ventured to appear, shared the same fate.[7]

The King Returns to England.

Christmas was held at Westminster, a usual place. The assembled Magnates were called upon to sit as a High Court of Justice on the persons implicated in the recent rebellion. Ralph of Norfolk was condemned by default to outlawry and confiscation. Roger of Hereford, whose guilt could not be denied, was condemned, 'according to Norman Law,' to confiscation and imprisonment for life. Even in confinement his attitude to the King was still defiant. William, in one year, at an Easter-time, having sent him a costly change of raiment, he ordered the fire in his room to be stirred up, and

Condemnation of the Rebel Earls.

[1] Lanfranc to William, *Opp.* I. 56, 57. [2] Chron. D and E.

[3] Orderic, Lanfranc, and Chron. D, *sup.* For notes about the castle see *N. C.* IV. 582. Emma was eventually joined by her husband in Brittany, where they lived on their estates till the first Crusade, which they joined, never to return; Orderic, 535.

[4] See the letter of Lanfranc to Bishop Walcher of Durham, warning him to keep watch; I. 49.

[5] Chron. D; E adds that they sailed to Flanders; that only means that they returned, as probably they had come, by the usual coast route. Swein died in 1076.

[6] "Pro facto, licet non sponte, sacramento"; Florence.

[7] Chron. D and E; Florence; Orderic.

then placed the King's present upon it—silk and furs and all.[1] William was mightily wroth, and swore 'by the Splendour of God' that Roger should remain in bonds all the days of his (the Conqueror's) life; and so he did, and longer too, as he only left his cell to be carried to his grave.[2]

The case of Waltheof remained. Guilty fore-knowledge he had already confessed; further complicity he denied. If the life of Roger was to be spared, much more, in simple justice, ought that of Waltheof to be spared. Roger was the principal; Waltheof only an accessory. If Norman Law held imprisonment sufficient penalty for Roger's treason, English Law had no precedent to offer for a harsher sentence on a man of rank. But the case was not open for trial on its simple merits. William was already in a manner pledged. If ever a man was bound by his acts and representations, William, after the reception given by him to Waltheof in Normandy, was bound to treat him with leniency. Nothing fresh had happened; no political necessity could be alleged. William himself apparently had no wish to be hard on Waltheof, but he was surrounded by a clique of persons hungering for the spoils of the English Earl, and he had not sufficient sense of honour or regard for his own reputation to withstand the pressure. Judith, too, was said to have gone against her husband,[3] Lanfranc interceding for him.[4] The case, however, was not decided at Christmas, the Earl being remanded to custody.

Case of Waltheof.

Abandoned by William.

The matter was again taken up at another Council, held probably at Whitsuntide (15th May), 1076. After much discussion the King gave in to the execution of Waltheof, the meanest and most discreditable act of an unlovely life. On the 31st May, early in the morning, for fear of a popular tumult, Waltheof was hurried from his gaol at Winchester to a height afterwards occupied by a church dedicated to St. Giles. In his confinement he had edified the clergy by his penitential conduct, daily, we are told, repeating the whole Psalter of one hundred and fifty Psalms. These, we are assured, he had learned by heart in his childhood. When brought to the place of execution, he asked to be allowed to say one more *Paternoster*. When he came to the words "*ne nos inducas in tentationem*" ('lead us not into temptation'), his voice failed him, whereupon the executioner, impatient of delay, struck his head off at a blow. The story goes on that the severed head, recovering utterance, in the hearing of all present finished the Prayer: "*sed libera nos a malo. Amen.*"

His Execution.

[1] Orderic. The suit consisted of a *chlamys*, or robe; an *interula*, or under-tunic of silk; and a *reno*, or *rheno*, a short mantle of fur. [2] Orderic, 535, 536.

[3] So Orderic thought; his assertion that she first informed against Waltheof at Westminster ignores the fact that he had himself already confessed. Orderic also represents Waltheof as having refused to join in the conspiracy (p. 534). This, again, cannot be accepted. [4] So Florence.

The remains were hastily buried on the spot. At the end of a fortnight, at Judith's request, they were given up to Abbot Ulfcytel of Crowland or Croyland,[1] a foundation patronised by Waltheof, to be laid in the Chapter House.[2] Naturally enough the English held Waltheof a martyr, and in course of time miracles were wrought at his tomb.[3] Whatever trials or mischances William suffered afterwards were put down to the Nemesis of Waltheof, and men pointed to the fact that during the remaining thirteen years of his life he never won a pitched battle or took a town.[4] But William had already done so much, and risen so high, that Fortune could hardly have much more in store for him.

No appointments were made to the earldoms either of Hereford, Norfolk, Huntingdon, or Northampton, the King taking them into hand. At a later date we shall find Matilda, the eldest daughter of Waltheof and Judith, bringing the latter two offices to her successive husbands, Simon of Senlis and David of Scotland.[5] The civil administration or earldom of Northumberland was given to Bishop Walcher, a serious responsibility for a foreigner.[6]

To return to 1075, in that year we find Lanfranc holding an important Synod in London. The King's license, of course, had been obtained,[7] but the assembly, in accordance with the new system, was a purely ecclesiastical one, no laymen being present, though the laity would be materially affected by some of the Canons passed, as specially by those concerning the degrees of consanguinity,[8] and the law of marriage. Traffic in church preferment was forbidden; and ecclesiastics restrained from passing sentences of mutilation or death.

Ecclesiastical Council.

But the most important decree promulgated was one for the removal of episcopal Sees from villages or country places (*villis*) to more populous towns (*civitates*). In Britain, as elsewhere, when Christianity was introduced, the ecclesiastical arrangements were modelled on the existing civil arrangements. The first English bishops were the bishops of a tribe or petty kingdom. Rural life and rural interests dominated everything, and so for the most part the seats of the bishops were

Removal of Episcopal Sees.

[1] Crowland or Cruland was and still is the local spelling.

[2] Orderic, 536, 537. For the date and simple facts see *Id.* 542; Chron. D and E; and Florence; also generally W. Malm. *G. R.* ss. 253, 255. The writer was in some doubt between the English and the Norman versions, but finally accepted the miracles as settling the question in favour of Waltheof.

[3] Ord. 543. N.B.—Not till after 1112.

[4] Ord. 544.

[5] Orderic, 702; W. Jum. 312. The story of the proposed marriage of Judith to Simon of Senlis is a myth, from the Pseudo-Ingulf. But she retained considerable estates; see *N. C.* IV. 603. For Waltheof's children see W. Jum. *sup.*

[6] Symeon, *H. R.* s. 164.

[7] "Rex . . . permisit." According to Eadmer, William always required the *agenda* to be submitted to him beforehand; *Hist. Nov.* p. 10.

[8] A man was forbidden to marry a woman within the seventh degree of relationship, either to himself or a deceased wife.

established on the principle of avoiding cities. On the Continent, where Roman civilization had not been swept away, the city was "the centre of all public and private life," and so the bishops became bishops of cities. To Lanfranc this appeared to be the regular and proper thing, and accordingly Sherborne was to be removed to Old Sarum—a senseless change—Selsey to Chichester, and Lichfield to Chester.[1]

Lastly the year witnessed the death of the Lady Eadgyth, sister of Harold, and wife of the Confessor. On the 19th December she passed away at Winchester. A wonderful series of revolutions had she seen pass over the land. Born apparently in the early days of Cnut, she had lived under six reigns, and four dynasties. William had her body brought to Westminster, and laid with all honour beside that of her departed lord in the Abbey.[2]

Death of the Lady Eadgyth.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

The County of Eu.

THE right of Gilbert the guardian of young William of Normandy to be styled Count of Eu does not seem clearly made out. He was the son of Godfrey, a natural son of Duke Richard I., and half-brother to Duke Richard II. So William of Jumièges, VIII. c. 37, p. 312, where Godfrey is expressly styled 'Comes Aucensis.' This passage however is not part of the original work, but a later addition, probably by R. de Monte, as it refers to the death of Henry I. of England. An earlier passage, however, no doubt (VII. c. 2, p. 268), again gives Gilbert the guardian as "Comes Ocensis, filius Godefridi Comitis." Against that, however, we must set the clear account given still earlier in the work how Duke Richard II. gave the County of Eu to his half-brother William, another natural son of Richard I., from whom it descended to his eldest son Robert (V. c. 3, p. 250). This Robert, without doubt, became Count of Eu, and followed the Conqueror to England, where he became governor of Hastings after the retirement of Humphrey of Tilleul; Ellis, I. 463; above, 65. The only suggestion that I can make is this: Count William, shortly after his appointment, went into rebellion, was arrested, and imprisoned for five years. After that he was pardoned and reinstated. It may be that Godfrey held the county during his brother's imprisonment; that he retained the title by courtesy, and that it was even extended to his son.

[1] W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 42 (p. 66); Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 240; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 414. [2] Chron. E (D, 1076; Florence, 1074).

CHAPTER VIII

WILLIAM I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1073–1081

Gregory VII. Pope—Attacks on Simony, Clerical Marriage, and Lay Investiture—Claim of Papal Supremacy—Rebellious Conduct of King's Son Robert—Murder of Bishop Walcher of Durham—Invasions of Scotland and Wales.

ON the 21st April, 1073, Pope Alexander II. had passed away, and then at last, Hildebrand the great Archdeacon, who for five and twenty years had ruled the Papacy,[1] consented to assume the responsibility as well as the substance of power. On the day following the death of his predecessor he was elected, during a church function, by general acclamation of clergy and people.[2] "A monk from his boyhood," he had gone from his first monastic home in Rome to study asceticism at Cluny[3] under Abbot Odilo, the great reformer of monastic life in France. Stern to himself as well as to others, it became Hildebrand's pride to triumph over "every indulgence of the senses."[4] His name will ever be associated with the great religious movement of the 11th century, the effects of which still surround us. Unfortunately, he aimed at regenerating mankind not by suasion, not by the gentle pressure of example and precept, but by more drastic methods. Supreme temporal power was to be placed in the hands of the clergy, and men were to be forced to live righteously under terror of spiritual censures, censures condemning them, as the clergy were supposed to be able to condemn them, to endless torments in a world to come. Hildebrand's first aim, therefore, was to free the clergy from all subjection to temporal authority, the assertion of independence masking the underlying pretension to supremacy. It was in pursuance of this policy that Nicholas II. had already vested the election of the Popes in the College of Cardinals, cutting down all lay action in the matter to a bare right of approbation on the part of the Emperor.[5] The very title selected by Hildebrand, Gregory VII., breathed defiance,

Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) Pope.

His Church Policy.

[1] Say from the accession of Leo. IX. in 1048.
[2] H. Nicholas, *Chronology of History;* Milman, III. 92.
[3] Saône et Loire. [4] Milman, *sup.* 100.
[5] Second Lateran Council, 13th April, 1059; Milman, III. 49.

Gregory VI. having been forced to abdicate by Henry III.[1] Nevertheless, probably to avoid any charge of irregularity, he condescended to suspend his inauguration till his election had received the assent of Henry IV.[2]

But to fit the clergy for the commanding position to which Gregory aspired to raise them, two internal evils had to be eradicated, simony and marriage. The first no man could venture to defend; the second linked the clergy in many ways with the outer world from which Gregory wished to sever them. He wanted a caste, wholly bound up in their own order, with no interests outside it; a social army, a far-reaching organization, all under the sway of the Supreme Pontiff. In his wish to suppress the traffic in church preferment—an incident of excessive endowments—Gregory is entitled to all our sympathies. Not so in his attempt to enforce an unnatural and unwarranted self-restraint upon a reluctant priesthood. It is perfectly clear that, in spite of Canons and Edicts,[3] in spite of all the glorification of virginity, the clergy throughout Christendom, capitular as well as parochial, were extensively married, and that public opinion sanctioned their marriage.[4] Gregory made no secret of the militant character of his intended policy. Writing to Lanfranc to announce his election, he affects to deplore the war that he will have to wage against principalities and powers.[5]

Plans of Church Reform.

Simony.

Clerical Marriage.

Nor was the world left in doubt as to the pretensions he was prepared to assert. Writing to 'the Princes of Spain,' a week after his election, he claims the whole of their country as the property of St. Peter, as a land belonging to the Apostolic See, and not to mortal men. The claim is based upon a legend of a mission to Spain sent by St. Paul.[6] So with regard to Hungary, King Solomon is warned that he must not hold the possession (*proprium*) of the church as a fief of Germany.[7] A supreme right of intervention in all things is more or less clearly asserted as against the rulers of Saxony, Bohemia, France, Denmark, Poland, and Russia. Philip of France is threatened with actual deposition.[8]

Claims of Territorial Suzerainty.

Spain.

Hungary.

France.

[1] Dec., 1046, Milman, II. 508. Hildebrand was a friend of Gregory VI., and had retried from Italy for a time when he retired. [2] *Id.* III. 94.

[3] For the Decretal of Pope Siricius (A.D. 385) and other earlier edicts against clerical marriage see H. C. Lea, *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 47, 51, 66; and above, I. 328.

[4] For evidence as to Italy, Germany, and France, see Milman, III. 110, etc. For England, besides facts already given, see H. Hunt., A.D. 1102: "Anselmus . . . prohibuit sacerdotibus uxores, antea non prohibitas"; and especially the letter of Pascal II. to Anselm (1108), in which he admits that the better part of the English clergy were themselves the sons of priests; Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 185. [5] *Lanfranc. Opp.* I. 58.

[6] *Reg. Greg.* I. Ep. No. 7; 30th April, 1073; and No. 63 (Migne, *Patrol.* vol. 148, pt. 2). [7] *Reg. Greg.* II. No. 13; April, 1075.

[8] *Id.* I. 39, 45; II. 5, 51, 73, 74; A.D. 1073–1075.

But with magnificent audacity the Pope proclaims his warlike purpose first and foremost, as against the greatest (in theory) of temporal dignities, the Empire. If Cæsar could be made to bow, all other mortals would have to bend. The Over-lord of Kings must be brought to recognise that as the Almighty had made the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night, so he, the Emperor, the lesser orb, shone only by the light reflected from St. Peter's chair.[1] Writing to an Imperial Minister a fortnight after his election, he announces an intention of sending an embassy on matters affecting the welfare of the Church, and the honour of the King (Emperor-elect). He trusts that Henry will hearken, because, if not, the Lord has said, 'Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood.'[2]

The Empire.

In the details of his struggle with Henry we cannot follow Gregory, but his general measures come within the scope of English history. In the first year of his pontificate Gregory held a Synod at Rome and issued decrees against simoniacal and married priests utterly transcending in severity any yet formulated. Not only were all wives to be put away, but the very sacraments administered by offending priests were declared void of grace. Laymen accepting the ministrations of such would be involved in their guilt.[3] By this edict large sections of the Christian world would be cut off from rites held necessary for their salvation.

Decrees against Married Priests.

Throughout Western Christendom these decrees met with obstinate resistance. A Synod called at Erfurt broke up in confusion.[4] Gregory then took a further step. Seeing that the lay power of disposing of church preferment was the root of simony, by a decree issued at Rome in a Council held early in 1075, he abrogated at one stroke the whole right of "investiture." "The prohibition was couched in the most imperious and comprehensive terms." The layman who should presume to confer, and the ecclesiastic who should deign to accept at his hands, an appointment to any bishopric, abbacy, or other dignity, were equally placed under the ban of the Church.[5]

Lay Investiture.

The claim to vest the right of electing bishops and abbots in the clergy alone was not a new one. It had often been mooted. "In the general Councils of Nice in 787, and of Constantinople in 809, the nomination of bishops by lay authority had been condemned."[6] This position was supposed to rest on the practice of the early Church, when it was a humble community, without endowments or definite relations to the State. Then, no doubt, the appointment of

Practice of the Early Church.

[1] This is the Pope's simile, *passim*.

[2] Jeremiah xlviii. 10, a favourite quotation with Gregory. *Reg. Greg. sup.* I. No. 9, also 11 and 19.

[3] See Milman, III. 118, citing Sigebert of Gembloux (Migne, vol. 160). For the circular announcing the Canons see Symeon, *H. R.* s. 164. [4] Milman, 136.

[5] *Id.* 138, citing Labbe, *Conc.* p. 342. [6] Lingard, II. 8.

bishops was a matter, not for the clergy alone, but for the clergy and people together, the people suggesting names, and the synod of bishops selecting, or *vice versâ*. When Christianity became the religion of the State, the freedom of the Church became necessarily curtailed. In the legislation of Justinian (A.D. 529–565) the Church is treated as in all things subject to the Imperial supremacy. The authority of the ecclesiastical dignitaries emanates from the Emperor; the bishops are his officers; he prescribes their duties and the manner of their appointment. Popular election is not abrogated, but regulated, the right of nomination being restricted to the clergy and the *optimates*, the interference of the lower orders being forbidden. Again Justinian established the right of lay patrons and their heirs to present to churches of their own foundation.[1] Thus the decrees of Nice and Constantinople, above cited, would seem to be simply attempts to extort concessions from the weakness of the Eastern Empire. In the West, with the barbaric invasions, the Church had been feudalized as well as the State. The Kings of Gaul and Spain soon made their voices preponderant in the appointment of bishops. In England, where Christianity came in from above, and not from below, the appointment of bishops at the first necessarily rested with the lay rulers who established them; and so, with the Kings and their *Witan* the right had ever since remained. In the case of abbeys a form of election of the abbot was common, but even then the election would certainly be subject to the approbation of the Crown. In short, the Hildebrandine theory of clerical appointments involved innovations to which no ruler could give in. With an independent clergy government would become impossible. Henry IV., who had declared himself willing to disclaim simony and clerical marriage,[2] was driven to utter resistance on the question of Investiture.

In England, apparently, the question of the Investitures was not raised for the time, Gregory knowing the sort of man he had to deal with in William. Addressing the King in answer to his congratulations on election, he eulogises him as a true son of the Church, urging him to continue in that path of 'justice' and 'virtue' which he, above all other Kings, was known to cherish.[3]

Gregory's Attitude towards William.

But William, like Henry IV., was prepared to sacrifice the married clergy, at least to a certain extent. By his permission Lanfranc held a Synod, at Winchester, on the 1st April, 1076, and decided that cathedral and capitular clergy (whose position might be compared to that of Fellows of modern colleges), should no longer be permitted to have wives. Parochial clergy were not required to put away their wives, but the Bishops were warned for the future not to

Synod at Winchester.

[1] See Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.* IV. cc. 1, 2; Milman, I. 356-358, 374.

[2] See *Reg. Greg.* I. No. 29 bis, also 25; and II. 30.

[3] *Reg.* I. No. 70; 4th April, 1074.

ordain married men as priests or deacons.[1] The reader will notice that the question of simony was not touched. That would affect the King himself.[2] Another question, however, that did affect the King, and affect him primarily, was that of the Papal supremacy. Gregory could not allow that claim to lie dormant. He requested William to take the oath of allegiance[3] to the Pope and his successors, complaining at the same time of the non-payment of Peter's Pence, or the old *Rom-feoh*. The terms of Gregory's request—if it was made in writing—have not been preserved, but from his other letters[4] we may fairly infer that he would urge that as England had been conquered under the authority of the Papacy, the Papacy was entitled to the fruits of the conquest. William answered quietly but firmly, that he could not take the desired oath. He had never undertaken to do anything of the sort, and he could find no precedent for such an act. The Peter's Pence would be sent.[5] So careful was William not to be entangled in the meshes of the Papal diplomacy that he would not allow Lanfranc to go again to Rome, though a ceremonial visit had been demanded by the Pope.[6]

Question of Papal Supremacy.

Still possessed by a spirit of restless aggression, William again went over to Normandy, in 1076, for an attack on Brittany. Whether he hoped to enforce the old claim of homage, or merely to punish the Count for the harbour given to the rebellious Ralph of Gael, does not appear. Siege was laid to Dol, but the place held out, and William at last had to endure a distinct reverse. Philip I. of France came to the rescue, and he and Allan Fergant, the reigning Count's son, between them, forced the King to raise the siege with considerable loss. But he managed to make something out of the

William Invades Brittany.

[1] Wilkins, *Conc.* I. 367; Freeman. Lanfranc, in a letter to the Archbishop of Rouen, treats his prohibition as only applying to Canons; *Opp.* I. 42.

[2] See also the decrees of the Council of Lillebonne, severe against married clergy, but silent as to simony; A.D. 1080; Orderic, 554.

[3] "Facere fidelitatem." For the oath of fealty generally expected by Gregory see his *Registrum*, Migne, vol. 148, pt. II. c. 304. The vassal swears to be faithful to the Pope, of life and limb and earthly honour, to keep his secrets, and defend the rights of St. Peter as against all men. It is rather fuller than the ordinary oath of fealty taken on doing homage to lay lords. For that see Bracton, I. 632 (Rolls Series, No. 70).

[4] See the letters to Spain and Bohemia, above referred to, and his later letter to William, *Reg.* VII. No. 23.

[5] 1076? *Opp. Lanfranc.* I. p. 32. The King apologises for the non-payment of the Peter's Pence on the ground that he has been abroad for three years. See also the letter of Lanfranc to Gregory: 'He has done his best with the King, but could not bring him to consent to everything'; *Ib.* In 1080 Gregory returned to the charge, reminding William how he had helped to make him king; *Reg.* VII. No. 23.

[6] See Gregory's letter to Lanfranc, *Reg.* VI. No. 30, 25th March, 1079; also Lanfranc's letter above, I. p. 32. The visit therefore of Lanfranc to Rome, alleged by Orderic in 1076, p. 548, must be a mistake.

campaign after all. A treaty was arranged with Count Hoel, under which the King's daughter Constance eventually became the wife of the future Count, Allan Fergant.[1]

Domestic Troubles.

Domestic troubles now began to harass William, and his eldest son became his sorest trial. Robert is presented to us as a young man of charming manners and address,[2] affable and conversible, popular, and fond of popularity, possessed of a fine cheery voice, well-bred and courageous. He was a good swordsman, an excellent shot with his bow.[3] Ready to give and forgive he was, and ready to promise, but careless as to performance[4]; not a man of his word, wanting in backbone, dissipated and extravagant—in a word, thoroughly unbusinesslike and untrustworthy. A perfect contrast to his father in character, he much resembled him in person, being full-faced, stout and short; so short in the legs as to have gained the nicknames of "Gambaron" and "Corte-Hose," the latter epithet being due to the contempt of his sire.[5]

Character of Robert.

"Peti fu mult, maiz fu gros;
Jambes out cortes, gros les os.
Li Reis por ço le sornamout
E Corte-Hose l'apelout."[6]

The relations of an eldest son to his father are apt to be tainted with jealousy; especially would this be the case with a father so hard and unsympathetic as the great Conqueror. On the other hand, Robert would seem to have been the favourite of his mother, who supplied him privately with money.[7] We are told that William, following the example of his father, had required the Norman Barons to do homage to Robert as his successor, both before the invasion of England, and again on a subsequent occasion, when he is said to have been ill.[8] Robert had been nominally associated with his mother in the government of Normandy during his father's absence, and twice he had been recognised as actual Count of Maine by the Counts of Anjou. It will be remembered that William was supposed to hold Maine in right of his son, by virtue of Robert's betrothal to the deceased Margaret. When the revolt of Maine was put down, and Robert did homage for it the second time (1073), he might be seventeen years old, and a demand to be installed in the County would not be unreasonable. To the possession of

His Grievances.

[1] Chron. E.; Chron. D. (A.D. 1077); Flor. (1075); Orderic, 544. See Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 637, 651, 816.

[2] "Morum dulcedine . . . amorem mercari debuerat"; W. Malm.

[3] "Fortis certusque sagittarius"; Ord.

[4] "In promittendo diffusus, ad mentiendum levis et incautus"; Ord.

[5] Orderic, 545, 570, 664; and W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 389. The former writer gives "Brevis ocrea" as the rendering of Corte-hose.

[6] *R. Rou*, II. 304; a mere rendering of Orderic.

[7] Ord. 570, 571; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 273. [8] Orderic, 545, 569.

Normandy he could show no claim, but he might well chafe at being placed in a position of ostensible importance, without means or freedom of action.[1] His discontent would naturally increase when he came of age, which may have been in 1077. Nor were evil counsellors wanting to represent his father's conduct in the worst light, and urge him to resistance. On the other hand, his younger brothers, William Rufus and Henry, sided with their father.

Quarrel between the Brothers.

A foolish squabble between the brothers provoked the first rupture. William was at Laigle,[2] in Normandy, on his way to attack the *Corbonienses*, or men of Corbon in Perche,[3] vassals of Count Rotrou of Mortagne. The King had taken up his quarters in one house, Robert and his friends occupying the ground floor of another house. William Rufus and Henry took possession of the 'solar' or upper story of Robert's lodgings. After playing at dice they became noisy, and eventually, as a practical joke, poured down water on their brother below. Robert rushed upstairs to avenge the insult. A violent altercation ensued, and the King had to be called in to quell the disturbance. But in the course of the night Robert and his party went off, and, making for Rouen, attempted to seize the castle. But the Constable, Roger of Ivry, the King's Chief Butler, closed the gates, and sent to the King for instructions. William in great indignation ordered all the rebels to be seized, whereupon Robert and his friends decamped. Among these latter were Ivo and Alberic of Grand-Mesnil, sons of Hugh, then Sheriff of Leicestershire[4]; Robert of Bellême, eldest son of Roger of Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury; Ralph of Conches, son of Ralph of Tosny, of whom we heard at Senlac; William of Breteuil, second son of William fitz Osbern, and brother of the degraded Earl of Hereford; Robert of Molbraie, nephew of Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances; Roger, son of Richard of Bienfaite, the Justiciar, and grandson of Gilbert of Brionne, the Conqueror's guardian. Thus the disaffection extended to men connected with the King's innermost circle.

Attempt on Rouen Castle.

The Struggle in Perche.

Having to fly, the malcontents naturally made for the district at war with the King, the county of Perche. There they found an ally in Hugh of Châteauneuf-en-Thymerais,[5] brother-in-law to Robert of Bellême, being married to his sister Mabille. He threw open to them his castles of Châteauneuf, Remalard[6] and Sorel.[7] William at once seized the estates of the rebels, applying the rents to the levying of troops to act against them in Perche. His neighbours and enemies in 'France,' Brittany, Maine, and Anjou were all on the alert,

[1] See *Id.* [2] Dept. Orne. [3] Dept. Orne, near Mauves.

[4] Ellis, *Domes.* I. 429; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 232.

[5] Eure et Loir. "Hugo de Novo Castello nepos et heres Alberti Ribaldi"; Ord., 546. Mr. Freeman makes him lord of Neufchâtel (Sarthe). That would be in Maine. So too Thorpe. [6] Orne. [7] Eure et Loir, North of Dreux.

ready to act if an opportunity should offer. But William could fight with his left hand as well as with his right. He bought over the robber Count Rotrou of Mortagne, and with his help cleared his rebellious subjects out of Perche.[1] Robert then retired to the Court of his uncle of Flanders, Robert the Frisian, no friend to King William. When the Count became tired of his nephew's company, he sent him on to his brother, Odo, Archbishop of Trèves. From his court again young Robert moved on, to wander for years, from castle to castle, among the magnates of Lorraine, Germany, Aquitaine, and Gascony, living on the liberality of others, always borrowing and in debt, and squandering whatever he could get "on worthless companions of both sexes." Queen Matilda, however, still clung to her eldest son, and her secret support of him led to a serious difference between her and the King, the only difference of their married life recorded on any trustworthy authority.[2]

Wanderings of Robert.

Finally, having exhausted the hospitality of all other patrons, Robert came round to the court of his father's chief adversary, Philip I. of France. The King placed him in a situation analogous to that suggested in 1074 for the Ætheling Eadgar; that is to say, he sent him to Gerberoy, near Beauvais, a border stronghold, a place with bad traditions, which shortly, under Robert's auspices, became a mere cave of Adullam. William was not the man to submit to such a thorn in his side, and, in the winter 1079–1080, invested Gerberoy. For three weeks he directed the operations in person, afterwards retiring to Rouen. During the siege hand to hand skirmishing encounters between the champions on either side[3] had been taking place, as usual, in the old Homeric style. According to reports, which, with sundry variants, found acceptance in England, William, in the true spirit of his age, and regardless of his own fifty-three years, had engaged in one of these contests, to be unhorsed and wounded in the arm by his son. According to one account, Robert, on recognising his father, dismounted and tendered him his own horse. Rufus was also said to have been wounded on the same day.[4] Another version had it that the King, having been wounded in the hand by Robert, and his horse killed under him, Tokig, son of Wiggod—the latter certainly a known man[5]—was hastening up with another horse when he

He is Installed at Gerberoy.

Alleged Contest between Father and Son.

[1] Orderic, 545, 546; and again 569, 570, A.D. 1077? So Florence.

[2] Ord. 570, 571. William threatened to put out the eyes of the man who had carried Matilda's messages to her son. He fled to St. Evroult, Orderic's convent, and became a monk to save himself.

[3] "Præcipui pugiles in utraque parte militabant"; Ord.

[4] So Florence, apparently revising the account of the Worcester Chronicle (*D*). The Peterborough Chronicle records the wounding of the two Williams and the death of the King's horse, but not Robert's courtesy.

[5] Wiggod of Wallingford was a Thegn with large estates in Oxon, Berks, etc. He

was shot dead by a cross-bow bolt.[1] It must, however, be stated that the well informed Orderic, the only writer who gives any real account of the quarrel of Robert with his father, either knew nothing of this incident, or disbelieved it, as in a speech which he composes for William, enlarging on Robert's misdeeds, he makes no reference to the parricidal encounter.[2]

Their Reconciliation.

But now Robert's cause was taken up by Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, Hugh of Grand-Mesnil, Roger of Beaumont, and other influential men, who had relatives implicated with him. They assured the King that his son was altogether penitent and anxious to be forgiven. William shewed himself very stiff, dwelling on his son's offences; but, eventually, Matilda and the clergy, and even the King of France, having joined in intercession, he gave way, and pardoned Robert and all his associates. Once more the succession to Normandy was settled on Robert. But the incorrigible young man would do nothing to please his father, and the family pacification proved short-lived.[3]

Of events in England for the years 1077 and 1078 we have nothing to tell except a great conflagration in London in the former year[4]; and the death of Herman, Bishop of Sherborne-Sarum, in the latter year.[5] His successor, Osmund, was a man of character and learning, whose diligence compiled a liturgy, well known to scholars and ritualists as the "Sarum Use." Under him the spiritual and educational wants of the diocese were well looked after.[6]

Osmund Bishop of Salisbury.

The "Sarum Use."

In 1079 and 1080 unfortunate Northumberland was subjected to successive disasters, as if to wipe out whatever gain might have been effected in nine years of peace and quiet. In the latter part of August 1079, Malcolm Canmore made an unprovoked raid across the Border, pushing his ravages as far as the Tyne, burning and slaying, and carrying off multitudes of prisoners, and booty of all sorts.[7] The fact that the district was in the hands of a churchman and a foreigner may have emboldened him to act. William, engaged in Normandy, was obliged for the

Raid into Northumberland by Malcolm Canmore.

had been cup-bearer to the Confessor, but had made his peace with William, *N. C.* III. 786; IV. 45, 731.

[1] Chron. D.

[2] p. 573. Malmesbury gives the incident briefly, *G. R.* s. 258.

[3] Orderic, 572, 573. He gives the year as 1081, but the date is clearly fixed by the letter of Gregory to Robert congratulating him on his submission to his father, 8th May, 1080; *Reg.* VII. No. 27. Orderic alleges that Robert had been in exile for nearly five years, p. 570. Reckoning back from 1081, as he had it, would bring us to 1077 for the time of Robert's revolt. The Chronicles D and E, who know nothing of Robert's revolt except the incident at Gerberoy, place it in 1079, but as their years begin and end at Easter that would be our 1080.

[4] August 14. The summer was a very hot one, with violent thunderstorms; Chron. E; Orderic, 549. (Chron. D, A.D. 1078.)

[5] 20th February, *Reg. Sacrum.*

[6] *Id.*; W. Malm. *G. P.* 183; Freeman.

[7] Florence; Chron. E.

time to allow the outrage to pass unnoticed. The year 1080 witnessed a sanguinary tragedy, hardly to be paralleled in our annals.

After the execution of Waltheof, William, seeing no layman whom he could trust with the administration of Northumberland, had assigned the task to Bishop Walcher, as already mentioned. He was a favourite with the King, who gave him Harold's lands at Waltham that he might have a residence near London.[1] The double duty of attending to the temporal and spiritual wants of Northumbria required a very strong man, and Walcher, however amiable and good he may have been, was not such. Under him we have a picture of a household in which the servants were masters, with no effectual head over them. To assist him in the business of the earldom Walcher had taken as his lieutenant a relative of the name of Gilbert, of course a foreigner like himself. But his chaplain, Leobwine, also had a good deal to say in temporal affairs. Their administration is compared to that of the sons of Eli, while we hear that even the Archdeacon could carry off church ornaments for the benefit of his friends.[2]

Bishop Walcher Earl of the County.

Misgovernment of his Subordinates.

So matters went on until an Englishman of the name of Ligulf appeared on the scene. He was a man of birth and very highly connected. In fact he was married to Ealdgyth, daughter of old Earl Uhtred, and so brother-in-law to Earl Siward, who had married the other daughter Æthelflæd, and uncle by marriage to Waltheof, who had taken charge of the education of one of his sons.[3] Ligulf was, or had been, in possession of considerable estates, which have not been identified. Driven from these by Normans, he had come to settle 'at the peace of St. Cuthberht,' his favourite Saint. Walcher welcomed him as a friend, and consulted him much in secular matters, being glad to have the benefit of his local knowledge. This became a bitter pill to Leobwine, whose influence suffered in consequence. The rivalry between him and Ligulf became very keen. At last, one day, Ligulf, having flatly refused to alter some very proper decisions given by him in the Bishop's council,[4] Leobwine went off to Gilbert and persuaded him to send a party of house-carles, who, surrounding Ligulf by night, massacred him and most of his household.

Ligulf, an English Nobleman.

His Murder.

The poor Bishop was thunderstruck at the deed. Expecting an immediate rising of the country, he shut himself up in the castle, and sent out messengers to assure the people that he had not been privy to the

[1] See *De Inventione Crucis*, XIX. 33. Walcher was also taxed with having appropriated two and a half hides belonging to Waltham Canons; they were restored by Matilda, the Queen of Henry I.; *Id.*, 53; Freeman. Symeon represents William as having made over the whole foundation to Walcher; *H. D. E.* p. 113.

[2] Sym. *H. D. E.* p. 114. [3] Sym. *H. R.* s. 166.

[4] "Cum . . . legalia quæque et recta decerneret"; Florence.

murder of Ligulf; that he was prepared to purge himself on oath in due form; and that he had banished Gilbert and all his accomplices.[1] This last assertion, however, does not appear to have been founded on fact. The country remaining quiet, Walcher opened communications with the relatives of the murdered man, suggesting a peaceable settlement of the matter on payment of the proper *wer*, and asking for a preliminary meeting, under mutual guarantees, in the usual course. The offer was accepted, and Thursday 14th May, fixed for the first interview at Gateshead.[2]

Gemôt at Gateshead.

At the appointed time all Northumberland, gentle and simple, flocked to the trysting place, all of course in arms. Among them we hear of Eadulf, surnamed Rus, grandnephew of Earl Ealdred, and of a Waltheof,[3] a name suggestive of high connexions. Walcher, unprepared to face such a gathering, declined a seat in the open-air *gemôt*, retiring to the church, and inviting the attendance of the 'forspeakers' from the other side.[4] When they came the Bishop addressed them with pleasant words, evidently thinking that the bitterness of death was past, or, as we should now say, that it was "all right."[5] But it was not at all right for the indignant Northumbrians when they saw Gilbert and Leobwine standing beside the Bishop in full favour. Returning hastily to the *gemôt*, they reported that there could no longer be any doubt as to the Bishop's guilt. According to a late writer, whose account in other respects has nothing to recommend it, a voice gave the word 'Short rede good rede, slay ye the Bishop.'[6] Whether spoken or not the words describe the course actually taken. First, the house-carles sitting outside the church, described as mostly Flemings, were overwhelmed and butchered, and then the church itself was surrounded and fired. One by one Gilbert and the other followers were given up to the mob as scapegoats. Finally the Bishop himself had to come out, Leobwine still hanging back. Making the sign of the cross with his fingers, and wrapping the fold of his mantle over his head, Walcher met his fate with dignity, his chaplain falling beside him. A rush was then made to Durham to storm the castle, but the Norman stronghold defied their efforts. After four days of confusion the people went back to their homes.

Massacre of the Bishop and his Followers.

But the outrage could not pass unpunished. Bishop Odo, who was acting as Regent in William's absence, came up with an army to avenge the murdered Bishop. The guilty had absconded, but Odo did not trouble himself with inquests. All who fell into his hands were either mutilated or executed, unless, indeed, they

Bishop Odo's Vengeance.

1 "De Northymbria penitus exlegasse."

2 Properly *Goatshead*. "Gotesheved, id est ad Caput Capreæ"; Symeon.

3 Sym. *H. R.* p. 197; *H. D. E.* pp. 115, 116. 4 See *Laws Eadmund*, II. c. 7.

5 Sym. *H. D. E.* p. 116. 6 R. Wendover, II. 18.

could offer satisfactory ransoms. In short, the land for the most part was 'reduced to a solitude.' As the country North of the Tyne had been devastated by Malcolm in the previous year, we must suppose that Odo's work was carried on in the modern county of Durham.[1]

In connexion with the episcopate of Walcher we may notice the refounding of monasticism in the North through the enthusiasm of a single English monk, one of the few incidents of William's sanguinary reign on which the eye can dwell with pleasure. Aldwine, Prior of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, presumably after a course of reading in Bæda, was pained to think that so many Houses of Religion, formerly centres of Church work, should now be tenantless and deserted. Going to Evesham, he found two men prepared to join him, namely, Elfwi, a deacon, and Reinfrid, a layman. From thence the three travelled on foot, with a sumpter-ass to carry their books, vestments, and other small effects. So they went till they rested at a spot on the north bank of the Tyne, now occupied by the busy city of Newcastle, but then called Munecacaster, and in earlier days *Pons Ælii*. Here they found themselves under the protection of Earl Waltheof. But Bishop Walcher, wishing to have them more within reach, induced them to recross the river, and established them in Benedict Biscop's church, St. Paul's Jarrow. The walls were standing, but roofless. Having covered in the church with rough wood and thatch, and built themselves some sort of abode, they opened services, living on the alms of their neighbours. A little monastic community soon gathered round them; but their followers, we are told, came mostly from southern districts, few Northumbrians joining them. One of these, however, was Symeon, our historian.[2] The work prospering, Walcher made over to them six townships, of old appertaining to Jarrow, a substantial endowment. Having achieved so much, Aldwine proceeded to break fresh ground. Reinfrid was sent to "Streoneshalch," otherwise Whitby, to resuscitate the old foundation of St. Hild, daughter of Oswiu (A.D. 656). That having been effected, a few years later, at his death, a migration was made to York, where Siward's little church (*ecclesiola*) at Galmanho became the Abbey of St. Mary's York.[3] Aldwine himself went off to Melrose, Cuthberht's old seat, taking with him the well-known Turgot, afterwards Prior of Durham and Bishop of St. Andrew's. But this enterprise came to nothing, owing to their refusal to recognise Malcolm, though the place was clearly within his dominions. Walcher recalled them, their lives being in imminent peril, and settled them at Biscop's

Monasticism in Northumbria.

Aldwine of Winchcombe.

His settlement at Jarrow.

Other Foundations.

[1] Florence; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 166; and *H. D. E.* pp. 116–118. Conf. W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 271, and *G. P.* s. 132—one account, copied from Florence.

[2] See his *H. R.* s. 201.

[3] Sym. *H. R.* A.D. 1078. The site was given by Allan Rufus of Richmond.

other foundation, St. Peter's Wearmouth.[1] Thus was monastic life restarted in Northumberland, a district sorely in need of civilizing influences. We are told that for more than two hundred years, since the great Danish invasion, not a monastery had been rebuilt, and that such churches as had been rebuilt were simply constructed of wattle and thatch.[2]

Robert's Invasion of Scotland.

In the autumn of the year 1080 Northumberland witnessed the passage to and fro of a second army from the South. William, recently reconciled to his son Robert, by way of giving him an opportunity of distinguishing himself, sent him with an army to punish Malcolm for his invasion of England in 1079. Robert marched through Lothian as far as "Egglesbreth," properly Eaglesbreac, otherwise Falkirk,[3] and then returned without having accomplished anything except, probably, the harrying of a certain extent of territory. On his way back, however, he halted on the north bank of the Tyne, at "Munecacaster," to establish a fortress, which, rebuilt in the next age on a grander scale, has ever since borne the name of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.[4] It would seem that William was greatly dissatisfied with the result of the expedition, and that he upbraided his son so bitterly that once more Robert retired to France.[5]

Foundation of Newcastle.

As successor to Walcher in the bishopric of Durham, William appointed a Norman monk, William, Prior of St. Carilef, now Saint-Calais, in Maine. On Sunday, 3rd January, 1081, he was consecrated at Gloucester, by Archbishop Thomas of York, in the presence of the King.[6] To his energy and architectural talent we owe the design of the present Minster, apparently the first building in these Islands that man attempted to vault with stone.[7] The earldom of Northumberland was given to one Alberic or Albri, but he proved unequal to the situation, and, after a short time, resigned or was dismissed.[8]

William of St. Carilef Bishop of Durham.

The King having been at Gloucester on the 3rd January 1081, we may take it that he had kept his Christmas Feast in that city. With an ardour for warfare and conquest still unabated, we find him now leading an expedition into Wales, his first venture into that district. All that our primary authority tells us is that he 'freed

Expedition into Wales.

[1] See Symeon, *H. D. E.* 108–113; *H. R.* s. 161.

[2] "Virgis fænoque constructæ"; Sym. *H. R.* s. 161.

[3] Eaglesbreac is the Gaelic name, still in use, for Falkirk, properly Fahkirk, both meaning, "Speckled Church," and rendered in Latin by "Varia Capella"; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 427.

[4] Symeon, *H. R.* s. 167; Freeman; conf. *Hist. Abingdon*, ii. 9, which represents Malcolm as having submitted and given hostages. The existing Keep at Newcastle was not erected till 1172–1174; G. T. Clark, *Archæol. Journ.* 1884.

[5] Orderic, 573. [6] Symeon, *H. D. E.* 119; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[7] See below under Henry I. [8] Symeon, *H. R.* s. 159.

many hundred men'[1] doubtless English slaves in Welsh hands, though the number sounds large. Later writers speak of territory reduced, and princes forced to do homage,[2] as most likely they were. The Welsh annals have nothing of this. But the *Annales Cambriæ* do record under the year 1079 a pious pilgrimage (!) made by William to St. David's;[3] while a late MS. of the *Brut* ascribes the beginning of a castle at Cardiff to the year 1080. If we could combine these notices we might suppose that William had advanced as far as St. David's, establishing the castle at Cardiff on his way back. The ruling Prince of South Wales, if not of all Wales, at the time was Rhys son of Tewdwr, the affairs of North Wales having fallen into confusion in 1079, when Trahaiarn, son of Caradoc, was killed by Rhys.[4] It was against him, doubtless, that William's arms were directed.

[1] Chron. E (Peterborough) the only one whose record still goes on. An expedition by William into Wales, undertaken before 1082, is noticed in *Domesday*, 31*b*; Freeman.
[2] H. Hunt. [3] "Causa orationis adiit." [4] *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut-y-T.*

CHAPTER IX

WILLIAM I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1082–1087

Imprisonment of Bishop Odo of Bayeux—Death of Queen Matilda—Suppression of Rising in Maine—Alarm of Scandinavian Invasion—Heavy Danegeld—Domesday Survey—Homages at Salisbury—Sack of Mantes—Illness and Death of William—His Character and Government

DURING the sixteen years that William had now ruled England his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux in Normandy, and Earl of Kent in England, had enjoyed a position of singular distinction and importance, second only to that of the King. When William was abroad, as he mostly was in his latter years, Odo was always virtual if not actual Regent, with opportunities for self-enrichment of which he freely availed himself. Even Lanfranc had a stout battle to fight to resist his encroachments.[1] Of his cruelty and rapacity we had illustrations in Northumberland in 1080. His career, however, would probably have run on unchecked had he not aspired to soar above his brother's head. Not content with sharing the good things of England and Normandy, he had begun to dream of ruling the whole world as future successor to Hildebrand.[2] Some soothsayers at Rome, while forecasting the future, had discovered that a man of the name of Odo would shortly become Pope. The prophecy was fulfilled when six years later Odo of Ostia ascended the Papal chair as Urban II.[3] But apart from this tempting prognostic the situation of the time offered much to encourage Odo's hopes. For fifty years Europe had rung with the deeds of the Normans in Southern Italy. If not exactly faithful allies of the Papacy, still at times they had shewn themselves its friends, and at this moment (1082) they were its only hope. Gregory, besieged in Rome by Henry for the second year in succession, was anxiously look-

Position of Bishop Odo.

He Aspires to the Papacy.

[1] See the accounts of the celebrated lawsuit between Lanfranc and Odo heard on Penenden Heath, near Maidstone, the ancient meeting place for Kentish folkmotes. Among the witnesses was poor old Æthelric, ex-Bishop of Selsey, who was brought in a waggon. See Ernulf, *Angl. Sacra*, I. 334; Gervase, *Decem Scriptt.* c. 1665; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 338, 364, 388. See also the charges against Odo put into William's mouth; "Frater meus Angliam vehementer oppressit; ecclesias fundis expoliavit . . . crudeliter pauperes oppressit"; Ord. 647. Yet see again the same writer, 664.

[2] "Parvi pendens . . . nisi jure Papatus dominaretur latius, et omnibus terrigenis." [3] Lapp. *Normans* (Thorpe), 183.

ing for the promised help of Robert Wiscard. But the Duke of Apulia tarried, being engaged in hostilities with the Greeks. Another Norman might step in and establish a claim upon the gratitude of Rome and the Church. Odo had been cultivating relations with the Romans for some time. He had bought a palace at Rome, and set up an establishment there; he sent over liberal subsidies to influential persons. Finally, the time for action having come, he raised a force for an expedition into Italy. Men of rank were induced to join him, among them Hugh the Earl of Chester.

The armament was in the Isle of Wight preparing to sail when William hastened over from Normandy. In later times we shall find Kings of England unwilling to allow their subjects even to become Cardinals. In William's eyes the levying of troops in England without his leave would be simple treason. Apart from the risk of political complications, he would be the last man to allow his kingdom to be drained of its resources for ends which were not his own. Odo was impeached by William before a council of Barons. The King asked for judgment on his brother, but no man would speak. He ordered them to arrest him, but no one stirred. Finally he laid his own Royal hand upon the culprit, explaining that he was apprehending not the Bishop of Bayeux, but the Earl of Kent, a distinction suggested to him, it was said, by the subtlety of Lanfranc.[1]

Imprisoned by William.

Odo was sent over to Rouen and kept there a prisoner in the castle till William was on his death-bed.[2] Two years later Gregory, when delivered by Robert Wiscard, addressed a gentle remonstrance to William, but no notice was taken of it.[3] Yet at the very same time the Pope was hurling fresh anathemas against Henry IV.,[4] whose trangressions of the new code did not differ in principle from those of William. The King must have been in daily intercourse with clergy *ipso facto* excommunicate by reason either of simony, or of marriage, or for having accepted investiture at lay hands. But Henry was weak and William was strong, and so the Vicar of St. Peter could keep his eyes open in the one case, and close them in the other.

Gregory and William.

The event of the year 1083 was the death of Queen Matilda, who passed away after a lengthy illness on Thursday 2nd November. Of course she was laid in her own church of the Holy Trinity Caen, where her daughter Cecilia was already a nun.[5] The difference with her husband caused by her natural tenderness

Death of Queen Matilda.

[1] So W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 306. See especially the Tract, Symeon, *H. D. E. Anct.* 184, where the case is specially cited by Lanfranc as a precedent, in the proceedings against William of St. Carilef, the Bishop of Durham, undertaken in 1088.

[2] See Orderic, 646, 647; W. Malm. *sup.* and s. 277; and for the year, Chron. E and Florence. [3] *Reg. Greg.* XI. No. 2; Lappenberg; Freeman. [4] Milman, III. 199.

[5] Flor.; Chron. E; and Matilda's epitaph, Ord. 648.

for her eldest son was apparently the only shadow that had passed over her domestic life. During his few remaining years William never ceased to mourn her loss.[1]

Under this year we also have the record of a disgraceful outrage perpetrated at Glastonbury by Normans on Englishmen; an extreme case, no doubt, but still we are told not a case without parallel.[2]

Outrage at Glastonbury.

Abbot Æthelnoth, one of the hostages taken over to Normandy by William in 1067, had been deposed by him in favour of one Thurstan, a monk from Caen. This man did not hit it off with his monks, he being bent on introducing innovations which they resisted. Eleventh century Chapters were doubtless quite as conservative bodies as the Common Rooms of modern universities. In particular we hear that Thurstan insisted on a new style of chaunt, composed by one William, a man of Fécamp, while the monks clung to the time-honoured Gregorians. As they continued obdurate, Abbot Thurstan resolved to reduce them by force. One day, after an altercation in the Chapter House, he called in a body of armed retainers or house-carles to enforce his orders. The terrified monks retreated to the church, closing the door behind them. Their assailants then made their way up a staircase to the 'up-floor,' *i.e.* the gallery or triforium above the aisles usual in Romanesque churches.[3] From thence they showered arrows upon the monks clustered round the altar. The crucifix[4] was pierced. Lastly, bursting into the church, they killed three monks and wounded eighteen. 'Their blood flowed down from the altar to the steps, and from the steps to the floor.'

Slaughter of Monks in Church.

The outrage, however, was not allowed to pass unnoticed. An inquest was held. William deposed Thurstan as the man most to blame. But the sturdy monks were not left in possession. The leaders of the opposition were sent away, and put into custody under the charge of divers bishops and abbots.[5]

A man who had led the life that William had led could hardly expect to end his days in peace. Wars and rumours of war kept him on the alert to the last. Not long after the death of Queen Matilda he had to lead a force into Maine, to subdue another rising there. The trouble this time was caused by a leading Baron,

Fresh Rising in Maine.

[1] Ord. *sup.* The absurd tale noticed by Malmesbury, *G. R.* s. 273, but noticed only in order to contradict it, was not worth contradicting. William was supposed to have flogged Matilda to death, for having been cruel to a girl he loved.

[2] See the attack on the Coventry monks made by the Bishop of Lichfield, Robert of Limesey; Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 420.

[3] "Uppon thone upplore." "Solaria inter columnas"; W. Malm. *Antiqq. Glast.*; Freeman.

[4] "Rod," Chron.; "cruces et imagines," Flor. "Imaginem Dominicam in cruce defixam . . . crucifixum sagittis inhorrere fecerat."

[5] Chron. E; Flor.; Orderic, 523; W. Malm. *Antiqq. Glaston.*; Gale, III. 330–332; *G. P.* s. 91; *G. R.* s. 270.

the Viscount Hubert, lord of Fresnay-le-Vicomte, and Beaumont-le-Vicomte, places which still preserve his memory.[1] He had taken part in the rising of 1073, but had submitted at William's approach. After sundry acts of insubordination he now declared war, retiring to Sainte Suzanne,[2] a stronghold by a little river, perched on a rocky hill, whose lower slopes were clothed with terraced vineyards, rendering attack most difficult. The Viscount's character, military reputation, and personal connexions, brought him allies from a distance, and he spread havoc throughout the loyal parts of Maine. William hastened to the rescue, but found Sainte Suzanne too strong for him. He could not even establish an effectual blockade, the circuit being too large. Under these circumstances he concluded to leave the task of keeping Hubert in check to others, and so went home after establishing a sufficient force in an entrenched camp.[3] The command was left with Allan Rufus, the Earl of Richmond,[4] with one Hervé, a Breton, as Constable or Marshal under him.[5] For months, if not years, the desultory struggle was kept up.[6] But the longer the Anglo-Norman army stayed the worse it fared. The Constable Hervé, Richer of Laigle, Robert of Vieuxpont, and many others lost their lives. William Count of Evreux was taken prisoner, and William of Warenne, the Earl of Surrey, wounded. Finally, to avoid an utter shipwreck, William made peace with the gallant Viscount and received his homage.[7]

Viscount Hubert.

William Retires.

At home for the year 1084 the only recorded incident of importance was the imposition of a *geld* or land-tax, at the crushing rate of six Norman shillings, or seventy-two pence per hide.[8] We shall return to the subject of this impost, but meanwhile may suggest that it was probably called for in consequence of an alarm, a very serious alarm, which took more definite shape in the ensuing year, namely that of a threatened Scandinavian invasion on the largest scale. In view of such a possibility no sacrifice could be considered too great.

A Six Shilling Danegeld.

Threatened Scandinavian Invasion.

The pretensions of the House of Cnut had not yet passed out of mind. Swein Estrithson, as we have seen, regarded Harold and William with impartial hate. In his eyes both alike were usurpers. At his death in 1076 his son Harold Hein became King of Denmark. He had led the

[1] Dept. Sarthe. [2] Dept. Mayenne.

[3] "Municipium . . . munitionem in valle Beugici," *i.e.* of Boujeu. Ste. Suzanne, however, is on the Erve.

[4] "Alannus Rufus comes Britonum." The words are a little ambiguous, but as the Allan who became Count of Brittany in 1084 was "Fergant," and the Earl of Richmond was "Rufus," the latter should be the man meant.

[5] "Magistrum militum constituit." [6] "Quadriennio conflictu."

[7] A.D. 1084–1086 (?); Orderic, 648, 649. M. le Prevost takes 1083–1085 as the time of this war.

[8] Chron. E; Florence. The rate is proved by the *Inquisitio Geldi*, or returns of the tax for the Western counties embodied in the Exeter *Domesday*; Ellis, I. 350.

invasion of 1069 in his father's life-time, but after his own accession he shewed himself a man of peace, content with useful domestic legislation.

St. Cnut of Denmark.

This Harold, again, passed away in 1080, to be succeeded by his brother Cnut. He had attacked England in 1069 along with his brother, and again independently in 1076, when he made a descent on York at the instigation of the rebel Earls of Hereford and Norfolk. He ought to have been a man of peace, as his zeal for Church work at home gained him the name of Saint.[1] But the recovery of England was his ambition. His marriage with Adela daughter of Robert the Frisian of Flanders, brought him into close relations with one of William's bitterest enemies.[2] English exiles had his ear; while another "pious and peaceful" King, Olaf Kyrre of Norway, was moved at last to do something to avenge the fate of his father Harold Hardrada, defeated and killed at Stamford Bridge.

The preparations were reported to be on the largest scale. A thousand ships were gathering in the harbours of Jutland; Flanders would send six hundred, Norway sixty.[3] 'Men, forsooth, said that King Cnut would win the land.'[4]

But apart from all exaggeration and panic, a coalition of Flanders, Denmark, and Norway was no light matter to contemplate. William acted with his usual thoroughness and prudence. Putting no trust in the loose undisciplined valour of a native *fyrd*, he raised an army of mercenaries on the Continent, trained men of war, both horse and foot. These were brought over in the autumn of the year (1085). The land, which had already been taxed to provide their pay, had now the further burden of supporting them, quartered in detachments on the chief landowners of the country.[5] 'Men wondered how they might a-feed them all.'[6] But as the magnates, ecclesiastical and lay, for the most part paid no geld on their demesne lands,[7] the billeting of the soldiers on them would only put them on a par with other people. Lastly, in the way of defensive measures we hear that the coasts where the enemy was likely to touch were wasted beforehand. 'Mickle swync (*toil, oppression*) had men that year.'[8] The reader will notice the strength of central government developed since the conquest. The devastation of the coast in the face of William's advance was just one of the things that Harold ought to have done but could not venture to do.

William's Military Preparations.

But the threatened storm came to nothing. The Danes were not all

[1] See Ord. 650. [2] See Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 587.

[3] W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 261; *Saga Olaf Kyrre*, Laing, III. 110; Ælnoth, *Vita Canuti*, Langebek, III. 325; Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 686; Lappenberg (Thorpe), 188.

[4] Chron. E.

[5] "Per totum regnum divisis episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitibus ac regis præpositis victum præbere mandavit"; Florence.

[6] Chron. [7] See Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 351. [8] Chron. E.

of one mind in the matter of the expedition. Dissensions broke out among them, which reached a climax when Cnut arrested his own brother Olaf for mutinous conduct. The expedition was then adjourned; and William at once disbanded part of his army, keeping on the rest through the winter. All further apprehension on the score of Saint Cnut came to an end in the following summer, when he was 'martyred,' *i.e.* assassinated, by his own people in the church of Odensee.[1]

Scheme of Invasion Abandoned.

With a mind, doubtless, much relieved, William held his Christmas feast at Gloucester. Five days he 'kept house'[2] there; and then Lanfranc and the clergy had a Synod of three days' duration to discuss matters left to them. Three Bishops were named to fill Sees vacant by death; but we need not suppose that the choice of fit persons was a matter altogether left to the discretion of the Primate and Synod. Three royal chaplains were selected. Robert of Limesey became Bishop of the See of Lichfield, recently removed to Chester.[3] William of Beaufeu became Bishop of the See of Elmham, just removed to Thetford[4]; and Maurice became Bishop of London.[5] The See so recently established at Chester was destined shortly to be again removed to Coventry,[6] which city thus became the headquarters of the triple Diocese of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield.

Synod at Gloucester.

But the King's business was not ended yet. After all this we hear that William had 'much thought and deep speech' with his Witan over the state of the country and its population. The outcome was the order for the celebrated Domesday[7] Survey, that record of unique value to which we owe so much of our knowledge of the social state of England at the time. As we have suggested the connexion of the heavy land-tax of 1084 with the apprehended invasion of 1085, so again we would connect the survey of 1086 with disappointments and difficulties experienced in raising that and other previous imposts of the same character.

Domesday Survey.

The King wanted a Land-Register and Valuation-Roll of his Kingdom; with trustworthy information as to its population and resources. The primary facts to be ascertained were first, what lands were, and what lands—by reason of *boc* charters or otherwise—were not, liable to *geld*, or not properly assessed to *geld*; and secondly,

An Assessment Roll of the Kingdom.

[1] 10th July, 1086; Freeman, *sup.* 689; Lapp. 189, citing Ælnoth, etc. *sup.*; conf. W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 261; Ord. 650. [2] "Heold his hired."

[3] Namely by Bishop Peter, 1072–1085. St. John's Without the Walls became the cathedral Church. [4] Namely by Bishop Herfast, in 1078.

[5] Chron. E; Flor. *Reg. Sacrum.* [6] By Bishop Robert of Limesey, 1086–1117, R. de Monte, and *Ann. Waverley*, A.D. 1133.

[7] The meaning of the name Domesday is uncertain, but it is old. It occurs in the Waltham Register, MS. Cott. Tib. C. IX. f. 196*b*, "Librum del Domesday"; Stuart Moore, *Domesday Studies*, I. 5.

what the fair assessable value of the lands might be.[1] Accordingly commissioners were sent into each shire, with directions to go round the Hundreds, taking evidence upon oath from the sheriffs, landowners, priests, bailiffs, and six selected 'villeins' from each township. They were required to state who held the land in the time of King Eadward, and who held it then, and on what tenures and conditions; what the reputed extent of each holding was in hides, and what the area as more accurately defined, the standard being the fair year's work of an eight-ox plough-team, taken on the average as equal to 120 acres (hide=*carucate*).[2] They had to state what the value had been *Tempore Regis Ædwardi*, and what it was or might be then, with detailed returns as to the human population, whether servile or free, the live stock, woods, meadows, mills, and other profitable incidents, if any.[3]

The Hide or Carucate.

It is clear that the King's orders were strictly attended to, as they always were. The Peterborough chronicler thought it 'shame' to tell of a 'narrowness' that stooped to enumerate the cows and pigs on a petty farm. But we do not possess the original returns. What we have are transcripts of these returns, as digested, rearranged, and reduced to shape for the King's use. A mass of detail is omitted, and within each county the properties are grouped under their owners, not by their Hundreds, as they must have been in the original inquests.[4]

[1] For exemptions of the demesne lands of religious Houses, Barons and others see Ellis, I. 351, though the case is put too broadly. For instance, at Tewkesbury out of 95 hides 45 hides in demesne paid neither geld nor regalian due of any kind, the payments by the other 50 hides clearing them; J. H. Round, *Domesday Studies*, 95. With these exemptions we may also connect the fact that whole Hundreds are often omitted, apparently because the King had nothing from them; see Ellis. As late as 1414 we find "geldable" lands in Kent distinguished from non-geldable lands, or lands within private franchises; *Rot. Parl.* IV. 49. The geld was probably laid on the shires by their Hundreds, and then apportioned among the leets or townships of the Hundred, according to the hides at which they were assessed, so that gross inequalities might be perpetrated. See above, I. 360, and Errata, and 518; Round, *Feudal England*, 101; Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, 206, 391, 448-450.

[2] See Seebohm, *Eng. Vill. Comm.* 121; Round, *Feudal England*, 35. The hide and carucate did not really differ, each being the area capable of being worked with an eight-ox team. See Appendix to vol. I. p. 551.

[3] See the instructions for the Ely inquest, Ellis, I. 22, and *Select Charters*, 83; also Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 692.

[4] Of the Survey we have the following records: *A*, the so-called *Exchequer Domesday*, extending to thirty-three counties (Record Commission, *Domesday*, vols. I. and II.); *B*, the *Exon Domesday*, an independent transcript of the returns from the five Western counties, with the returns of the Inquest as to the geld of 1084 worked in; *C*, the *Inquisitio Eliensis*; or another transcript from the returns as to the estates of the abbey (*Id.* vol. IV.); and *D*, the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* (N. E. S. A. Hamilton, 1876), yet another partial transcript. A careful collation of the common passages reveals and helps to correct blunders and omissions in each. See J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, 6, etc. The so-called *Winton Domesday*, printed in the 4th vol. of the Record *Domes-*

Of course the inquest was very unpopular, and in some places led to bloodshed.[1] But the work was completed and the returns sent in to the King within the year.[2] Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham were not included in the survey. Their exemption has not been fully accounted for. But Cumberland and Westmorland in part still belonged to Scotland, the parts belonging to England being entered under the West Riding of Yorkshire. The Patrimony of St. Cuthberht apparently had never been reduced to hides or assessed for Danegeld. In the Pipe Roll of Henry I. a tax on cattle, styled 'cornage,' replaces Danegeld in the counties of Durham, Cumberland and Westmorland. This may have been the reason why the survey was not extended to them. Northumberland was assessed for Danegeld, so that we cannot account for its non-appearance in *Domesday*. Lancashire again does not appear under its proper name; "but Furness and the northern part of the county, as well as the south of Westmorland, with part of Cumberland, are included within the West Riding of Yorkshire"; the lands between the Ribble and the Mersey being attached to Cheshire, as already mentioned.[3] Moreover London, Winchester, Bristol and some other chief towns are also omitted,[4] perhaps because they had established fixed compositions for the dues they had to pay.

No Survey of Northern Counties.

The Easter Court was held at Winchester, and at Whitsuntide the King wore his crown at Westminster. His youngest son, Henry, was there knighted, or in the English of the period 'dubbed to rider,'[5] the earliest occurrence of the phrase in the vernacular, the practice being doubtless new to England.

On the 1st of August the King appeared on the plains of Salisbury for a ceremony of a most striking and unprecedented character, but one not more imposing to the outward eye than important for its political and constitutional significance. William came to receive homage and oaths of allegiance from all the landowners of the kingdom, at least from all landowners of any worth, they having been specially summoned for the purpose. But the essential point of the proceeding was this, that the King exacted the recognition from all subjects, whether they held their lands directly of him or not. They were required to come, 'whosesoever men they might be.'[6] This no doubt was in accordance with the provision of William's Laws, passed doubtless earlier in the reign, by which every freeman was bound to swear fealty to the

The Salisbury Homages.

day, relates to property in the city of Winchester under Henry I. and Stephen, while the *Boldon Book* in the same gives a survey of the Palatinate of Durham taken in 1183.

[1] Florence. [2] Ellis, I. 4. [3] Ellis, I. 35. [4] Lappenberg.

[5] "Dubbade to ridere"; Chron. E. Literally *struck*, with reference to the ceremonial tap on the shoulder. Mr. Skeat suggests that *dub* was perhaps a mere variant of *dab*; *Etym. Dictionary*.

[6] Chron. E. Florence puts it as if the homage was only taken from the undertenants: "Milites illorum sibi fidelitatem contra omnes homines jurare coegit."

King as against all men, whether in or out of England.[1] With respect to his own followers, on whom he conferred estates, William would certainly have taken their homage when granting their lands. It is impossible to conceive his granting lands except to be holden feudally of himself. But apparently he had not as yet taken homage from landowners holding under other lords, or not done so extensively. Perhaps it might be that as undertenants were not specially mentioned in the Act its application to them had been questioned; or again we may conjecture that the Domesday enquiries then going on had called attention to the numbers of the undertenants and allodialists, and the importance of defining their position towards the King without delay. As the reader has been already informed, there would be some 8,000 of these with 1,400 tenants-in-chief.[2]

The Salisbury homages may be taken as marking the establishment of William's New Feudalism[3] and setting the seal upon his work in the consolidation of England. By taking the homage of the under tenants he had gone a great way towards counteracting the disintegrating influences of pure feudalism, whether the old local feudalism which had obtained in England before the Conquest, or the feudalism now being imported from the Continent, which continued to hold its ground on the Continent for such a length of time. Under this system the allegiance of a man was due primarily to his immediate lord, and only secondarily to his overlord the King. The lord who went against the common sovereign, the King, "might draw on himself the guilt of treason, but his men who followed him were guiltless."[4]

A New Feudalism.

The principle of requiring homage from undertenants was not altogether novel to English Law, being found in the legislation of Eadmund.[5] But probably little attention had been paid to it; and in fact even after William's time, in the course of the next three reigns, we shall find repeated cases where the primary allegiance of the tenant to his immediate lord is fully recognised. The tenants of a lord in revolt are allowed to consult him before making submission to the King.

Here too we may notice the well-known allegation of Orderic made by him apparently in connexion with Domesday, not otherwise noticed by him, that William having taken an inquest of the *militia* of the kingdom, found that there were 60,000 *milites*, whom he ordered to be always ready if called upon.[6] This estimate was wild enough in all conscience, but the writer's error has been aggravated by those who have taken his statement to mean that 60,000 estates, each liable for the service of one *miles* (*feoda militum*), had been parcelled out

Number of Knights' Fees in England.

[1] *Select Charters*, p. 80, c. 2; Schmid, and Thorpe, *Laws William*, III. c. 2.

[2] See above, vol. I. 512, and Ellis. [3] See below, 138–143.

[4] Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 695. The weakness of France and the Imperial kingdoms was due to this "more than to any other cause." [5] *Laws*, IV. c. 1.

[6] "LX. millia militum invenit," etc, p. 649.

in England.[1] But Orderic's words imply nothing more than the number of *milites* whose services were due to the Crown—quite another thing. When, however, we turn to Record evidence we find the total that can be clearly made out only amounting to 4,318 *milites*, or, making allowance for returns that seem defective, we may say 5,000 to cover everything. The *feoda militum* would be considerably fewer, as we shall see.[2]

From Salisbury William went to the Isle of Wight, there doing, we are told, 'after his wont,' that is to say, exacting money of his men, 'wherever he might have a tale against them, either with right or without right.' From the Isle of Wight he crossed over once more into Normandy. There the Ætheling Eadgar took leave for a while of the Anglo-Norman Court, going off, by William's permission, with a band of followers in quest of adventures among the Normans of Apulia. About the same time his sister Christina retired from the world, taking the veil at Romsey Abbey.[3]

The King in Normandy.

Once more and once more only was the mighty Bastard destined to march out of Rouen in panoply of war. The unfriendly disposition of the Court of Paris gave great encouragement to border depredators. William was much incensed at the conduct of the men of Mantes, who, crossing the Eure, the border river, raided the diocese of Evreux, carrying off animals and men. By way of satisfaction for these outrages he demanded the restitution of the *Vexin Français*, or territory between the Oise and Epte,[4] including the towns of Pontoise, Chaumont, and Mantes. The Norman story was that the district had been ceded by King Henry I., father of the then Philip I., to Duke Robert in return for services rendered to him at the time of his accession, which was contested (1031). But during the troubles of William's minority the grant had been resumed, and William till now had never stirred in the matter.

His Last Expedition.

He Claims the Vexin-Français.

Philip treated the demand with contempt.[5] If we may credit a story picked up by William of Malmesbury, he even indulged in some undignified pleasantry at the expense of William's corpulence, which had become excessive, and for which he, at the time, was under treatment. 'Surely, said he, 'the King of England must be lying in at Rouen.' On hearing

[1] See the writers cited Lingard, I. 241; Stubbs, *C. H.* I. 468.

[2] See Mr. J. H. Round's valuable tract, *Knight Service in England*, 18–23, 49 (reprinted from *Engl. Hist. Review*, July and October, 1891). The figures are taken from returns (*cartæ*) made in 1166, of which transcripts are preserved in the *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (Hearne, I. 49–339), and the *Liber Rubeus Scaccarii*. The latter was originally compiled by Alexander Swereford, a man acquainted with Exchequer business, who wrote in 1230. The treatise is printed by Mr. Hubert Hall (Rolls Series, No. 99). Mr. Round has also compared the Pipe Rolls, etc., for his estimate.

[3] Florence; Chron. E.

[4] "Wulcassinum a fluvio Isara usque ad Eptam." The Norman part of the Vexin lay to the West of the Epte.

[5] Orderic, 654, 655.

of the taunt William swore by the Splendour of God that he would light a hundred thousand candles at his churching.[1] As a matter of fact, his energy and promptitude were as remarkable as ever. In the last week of July, 1087, he marched against Mantes, the van of the army being sent on a day in advance to harry the country. The crops round Mantes having been trampled under foot, the vines destroyed, and all practicable mischief done, the raiders moved on. Next day the unfortunate inhabitants, thinking that the tyranny was overpast, were venturing out to take account of their losses, when William burst upon them. Pressing on before the gates could be shut, he entered Mantes pell-mell with the flying natives. The whole town was sacked and fired, not even the churches being spared.

March to Mantes.

Sack of the Town.

But the heat and the exertion, or perhaps some personal injury received from the saddle, brought on consequences that proved fatal to William. He was taken back to Rouen, there to die.[2] For six weeks he languished, retaining unclouded faculties and clear speech to the last.[3] William Rufus and Henry were with him, to receive his dying injunctions and his dying advice. Robert, who had again been invited home since 1081, had again gone off in a final huff.[4] Finding the noise and bustle of the city too much for his failing strength, the King had himself removed to the Priory of St. Gervase, on a hill overlooking Rouen from the West. There his ghostly and bodily wants were attended to by Gilbert Maminot, Bishop of Lisieux, and Guntard, Abbot of Jumièges. As a good churchman, William made his confession in due form.[5] He also gave liberally to the clergy and the poor, dictating to the notaries the exact amount to be given in each case. A very handsome sum was sent to the clergy of Mantes, his latest victims. By a tardy amnesty he was induced to set free his political prisoners, including his brother Bishop Odo, Earls Morkere and Roger, Siward Barn, Wulfnoth Harold's brother, Ulf Harold's son, and Duncan of Scotland. Odo, we are told, he released with much reluctance.[6] But, as if the state of his soul called for a healing unction not

William's Last Illness.

Release of Political Prisoners.

[1] *Gesta Regum*, s. 280, evidently copied by Wace; *Roman de Rou*, II. 290; and by R. Wendover and M. Paris, the two latter bungling the story. Orderic has no word of anything insulting on Philip's part: only, "frivolis sophismatibus usus est," *i.e.* excuses for not ceding the Vexin.

[2] Orderic, 655, 656: "Ex nimio æstu ac labore pinguissimus rex infirmatus est." So too W. Jumièges, p. 291: "Pondere armorum et labore clamoris quo suos exhortabatur," etc. Conf. Florence and W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 282.

[3] "Ad horam mortis integrum sensum et vivacem loquelam habuit"; Ord.

[4] Orderic, 573, 656.

[5] "Ecclesiæ indefessus defensor . . . peccata sua sacerdotibus Dei revelavit"; Ord. "Cœlesti munitus viatico"; Flor. See also Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* p. 24, where he contradicts the rumour that William died unconfessed. [6] Florence; Orderic, 660. The latter represents the amnesty as only granted at the instance of the King's attendants.

to be administered by commonplace hands, the King sent for Anselm, then Abbot of Bec, whose saintly charm had cast a spell even on him. Anselm came to Rouen, but at the moment William thought himself better,[1] and so the final act of self-accusation was deferred to a more convenient season. Then Anselm fell ill, and, before he was well enough to see the King, the end had come.[2]

William's Testamentary Dispositions.

In finally disposing of his dominions, William recognised that Normandy had been assured to Robert, and must be his. But he refused to entrust England to his hands. For the kingdom of his conquest he named his second surviving son, William Rufus, who had always been a dutiful son. To make his succession sure he was given a letter to Lanfranc.[3] 'But what for me, my father?' cried the third son, the clerkly Henry. 'Five thousand pounds of silver,' was the answer. 'But where can I keep my money if I have no home?' urged the prince. 'Bide thy time, my son, and thou shalt have all that ever I had.' William may have formed a shrewd guess as to the probable futures of his sons. But we must point out that the prophetic words are recorded by a writer who lived after the event.

The father having disposed of his possessions, the graceless sons went their ways. Rufus kissed his father, and made for England. He had reached the coast, and was preparing to sail,[4] when he heard of his father's death. Henry found occupation in seeing his silver weighed out and removed to places of safety.[5] Finally, on Thursday, 9th September, as the bell of the cathedral church was tolling the first hour of the day (6 a.m.), William the Great breathed his last. Report had it that he died commending his soul to Mary the mother of God.[6]

Death of William the Great.

An Eastern proverb has it that a dead Sultan is a dead dog. In William's days, apparently, a dead King was of no greater account. The principal persons present at William's death having dispersed to look after their private interests, the Royal apartment was stripped by the attendants, and the King's body left almost naked on the floor. William had desired

[1] "Quod infirmitatem paulum levigari sentiret."

[2] Eadmer, *sup.* For Anselm's influence on William see *Id. Vita Anselmi*, 353. The King became another man in his presence.

[3] Orderic, 659; Florence; W. Jumièges, 291, 292; "Regno Angliæ concesso Willelmo filio suo." The allegation of Orderic *sup.* that William hesitated to dispose of the Crown of England is clearly contradicted by himself a few lines lower down: "Robertus habebit Normanniam et Guillelmus Angliam." The letter to Lanfranc was entrusted to the hands of a chaplain, Robert Bloet, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Ord. 763.

[4] Orderic makes him sail from Witsand, among the hostile Flemings. The continuator of Jumièges, R. de Monte, with much greater likelihood, makes him sail from *Tolca*, p. 293—Touques at the mouth of the Seine.

[5] Orderic, *sup.*

[6] Orderic, 660, 661. See also Chron. E and Florence for the date.

to be laid in the church of St. Stephen's, Caen, his own foundation. But no one would take charge of the arrangements for giving effect to his wishes, till a simple knight, by name Herlouin, as if for very shame, came forward, hired a boat at his own expense, and so transported the remains by water to Caen. Henry, Bishop Odo, and all the higher clergy assisted at the funeral when finally performed. But the service was not to end without a scene. The Bishop of Lisieux having delivered a panegyric on the deceased, ending with a call for the prayers of all present, one Ascelin fitz Arthur stood up, and with a loud voice forbad the interment. The ground on which they stood had been the site of his father's house, of which he had been forcibly and wrongfully deprived by William. The man's statements being borne out by the voice of the people, terms had to be made before the corpse could be finally laid to its rest.[1]

Funeral at Caen.

Interruption of the Ceremony.

Certainly the Conqueror sank to his grave amid dismal surroundings. While the body was lying in state at Caen, the greater part of the town was burnt down by an accidental fire.[2] England was suffering from the combined ravages of famine and pestilence. The year 1086 had been visited by excessive rains, leading to loss of crops. Famine followed, with its natural concomitant, sickness. 'Full nigh every other man had the fever; . . . and when the wretched folk lay fordriven full nigh unto death, then came the sharp hunger and a-did them withal. Alack! how sad, how rueful a tide was that. God Almighty better it when His will be such.'[3] Then 1087 apparently proved a very hot year, as we hear of numerous conflagrations, in one of which St. Paul's and a great part of the city of London was again burnt down.[4]

Famine and Pestilence in England.

William the Great, as men of his time called him, was a man of wonderful parts, and accomplished mighty things; but he does not present a many-sided character for study. We have in him a most masterful man of blood and iron; of great intelligence, energy, and good sense; one who could be mean, but not petty; perfectly selfish, unshrinking in purpose, determined to win at all hazards, and absolutely reckless as to the means he might employ, or the misery he might inflict, in the pursuit of his ends. He was a man more hated than loved, and probably even more feared than hated.[5] In the words of the

Character of William.

[1] Orderic, 661, 662; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 283; W. Jum. 292; Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 24. For the costly shrine of gold, silver, and precious stones, the work of one Otto, a goldsmith, set up by William Rufus over his father's tomb, and the inscription composed by Archbishop Thomas of York, see Orderic, 663. For the later history of the tomb, a stone sarcophagus on pillars, see *N. C.* IV. 722.

[2] Ord. *sup.* [3] Chron. E, 1086, 1087. [4] *Ib.*

[5] See W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 280: "Necesse est ut multos timeat quem multi timent." Anselm was one of the few men to whom William was not "sævus et formidabilis"; Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* p. 23.

Peterborough writer, 'he was over all measure stark (*i.e.* stern) to the men who withstood his will. . . . He recked naught of their hate; they must all follow his will, if they would live, or keep lands or goods.'[1] But William was not wantonly cruel or capricious. Whatever he did he did with a purpose, and did it thoroughly. This was perhaps his best point as a ruler. Men knew what to expect, and the thoroughness of his measures in the end worked for humanity. His politic self-restraint was not less remarkable than his promptitude. As he knew when to strike, so also he knew when to stop. Essentially vindictive, he could always swallow his wrath if he found that the gratification of his passion would cost him too dear. His darkest side comes out in his dealings with the lower orders—the bulk of the population. He was absolutely without feeling for them.

His Love of Money. Of landlords he was the worst, simply letting his lands to the highest bidder. Then if at any time a man came forward with a higher offer he was put into possession, until he again was outbid in turn. On the Sheriff would devolve the grateful task of exacting the impossible rent, no matter how. 'He (William) took many marks of gold and more hundred pounds of silver from his landfolk, with mickle unright, and for little need.'[2] The building and maintenance of the castles and their garrisons must have laid heavy burdens on the localities; while for the sake of sport he threw whole tracts of land out of cultivation, and introduced the cruel novelty of the Forest Laws.[3] Not only deer and wild boars, but even hares were 'forbidden.' 'The King loved the big game,[4] as if he had been their father.' The chroniclers, however, bear witness to good points in William as a ruler and a man. 'The good peace that he made on this land is not to be forgotten.' He would tolerate no disturbances; no wrong-doing not on his own account. Again the Peterborough chronicler tells us that William 'was mild to the good men who loved God,' words that we would paraphrase as meaning that he had sufficient sense of true religion to respect it in others if it did not bring them into collision with himself.

His Reverence for the Church. His demeanour towards Anselm was the best instance of that. In the presence of the saintly Abbot he became gentle and urbane.[5] His own attitude to the Church was distinctly reverential. He attended Mass and Vespers daily; he never sold Church preferment[6]—a remarkable fact in a man so fond of money; his appointments were on the whole creditable. He had sufficient sympathy with the Hildebrandine movement to favour monasticism, to found

[1] Chron. E, A.D. 1067.

[2] Chron. E, *sup.*

[3] 'Whoso slew hart or hind had to be blinded.

[4] "Headeor," *lit.* 'tall beasts'; conf. "Rats and mice and such small deer," etc.

[5] "Rigidus et formidabilis, Anselmo tamen erat inclinus et affabilis"; Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 355.

[6] Orderic, 658; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 267.

three Houses of Religion,[1] and to assign to the clergy within definite limits an independent sphere of action.[2]

The making of the New Forest was perhaps William's most unpopular act. It appears to have been an extension of an existing forest known as that of "Ytene,"[3] or Itchin. The chroniclers record the afforestation with the usual exaggeration of figures[4]; from Domesday it appears that the new precincts were made partly by appropriating actual woodlands, partly by evicting the population of some hundred and forty hides, say seventeen thousand acres of land under crop, with the corresponding houses, villages, and places of worship.[5] In the next generation men pointed to the fact that the New Forest had proved fatal to two sons and a grandson of the Conqueror.[6]

The New Forest.

Bodily health and strength were William's, no less than strength of mind. He is described as a man of good height,[7] bald on the forehead, and in his latter years immensely stout. He could bend a bow on horseback with his feet that no other man could bend on foot. His presence was dignified. At his ceremonial crown-wearings, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, he could make himself agreeable to his vassals and guests[8]; on these occasions the attendance of all magnates was insisted on. But the King's usual aspect was a forbidding one[9]; and his favourite oath, 'By the Splendour of God,' when roared out from the depths of his capacious throat, would strike terror into all.[10]

William's Manners and Appearance.

[1] St. Stephen's Caen; St. Martin's Battle; and Matilda's Convent of the Holy Trinity Caen.

[2] For a rather favourable view of William's character, and comparisons of him with other men, etc., the reader will turn to Mr. Freeman's *N. C.* II. 161; and V. 53.

[3] Flor., A.D. 1099.

[4] *e.g.* Orderic speaks of sixty parishes as having been depopulated, p. 781.

[5] See Ellis, I. 105–110. The date of the afforestation is uncertain.

[6] Namely the King's sons Richard and William Rufus, and another Richard, a natural son of Robert.

[7] "Justæ staturæ." The bones of the arms and legs, however, when the tomb was broken open in 1562, were described as "fort longs"; *N. C.* IV. 723.

[8] "Nec ullo tempore comior aut indulgendi facilior." [9] "Facie fera."

[10] "Ipso hiatu oris terrificum quiddam auditorum mentibus insonarent"; W. Malm. *G. R.* ss. 279, 281; and again, "terrisonæ vocis roncho," s. 389.

CHAPTER X

WILLIAM I. (*continued*)

Survey of Reign—Unification of England—Military Tenures—New Feudalism and its Incidents—Legislation—Ecclesiastical Courts—Revenue—The English Church—Architecture—Literature—The King's Issue

IF England had to be crushed into shape the process was certainly a most cruel one. Fortunately it did not last long. It was done once and for all. The heavy hands of the Norman kings soon welded natives and foreigners into one nation. The stuff was good enough to stand the hammering without losing fibre. On the contrary, it gained elasticity and strength. The unification of England was the work of the Conqueror. Leaving the excellent local institutions of the country untouched, he gave it the central administration that it needed. On the native feudalism already existing as between landlord and tenant, he superinduced a new feudalism very much of his own, bringing all classes into direct relation with the Crown,[1] and cutting down the power of the Magnates to manageable proportions. Elsewhere feudalism in the broad sense, meaning, as we understand the term, a state of society based on the tenure of land and landlord ascendancy,[2] has usually left little authority to the nominal head. William showed how feudalism could be combined with personal government. The greater part of the land in the kingdom had been actually granted out by him to his followers. Under their circumstances, surrounded by a hostile native population, they could hardly quarrel with any terms that he might choose to impose. The ecclesiastical Houses and the native laymen who

Unification of England.

[1] As already mentioned, Eadmund I. had required the oath of allegiance to be taken to the King by undertenants (*Laws*, II. c. 1), but whether the regulation had continued in force may be doubted.

[2] "The essence of a feudal tenure is the holding of land by the grant of a lord, instead of holding it simply as a member of the Commonwealth" (Freeman, *N. C.* V. 368). A feudal state of society, therefore, is one where the bulk of the land is held by lords and their undertenants. Feudal government is defined by Bishop Stubbs as "a graduated system of jurisdiction based on land tenure, in which every lord judged, taxed, and commanded the class next below him . . . in which private war, private coinage, private prisons took the place of the imperial institutions of government"; *C. H.* I. 278. In the passage quoted from Mr. Freeman I would read, "holding land under," instead of "by the grant of," a lord.

had been allowed, no matter on what terms, to retain their estates, or parts of their estates, would be in no better position for disputing the King's will. But apparently the grants to his followers were made, and made almost as a matter of course, simply upon the military tenure usual in Normandy, the tenure with which they were all familiar, the only tenure held worthy of men of gentle birth. The native tenants-in-chief who retained lands were mostly placed upon the same footing.[1] Probably little modification was introduced in the terms of the tenures beyond the requirement of homage from the undertenants. But the strength of the Crown enabled it to give new force to old terms, and to draw novel conclusions from recognised principles. All land would be held of the King, mediately or immediately, upon definite conditions, and he would be the only absolute landowner in the kingdom. Those who held by the military tenure were bound to provide a certain number of fully-armed mounted men (*milites*) for forty days' service in each year, if called upon. This tenure is usually spoken of as tenure in chivalry, or by knights' service, the latter a misleading designation, as it implies that all the *milites* for which the tenants were liable would be fully 'dubbed' knights, men of considerable position, which is quite incredible. When we come to official muster rolls we shall find the knights, properly so called, only appearing in the proportion of one to five or six esquire-men-at-arms, the latter receiving a shilling a day pay, the knights receiving two to four shillings a day according to their rank.[2] The fact is that at the time of which we are now treating the word *miles* must be taken to have included the esquire-man-at-arms, afterwards distinguished as *armiger*, as well as the knight or *miles* proper.

Military Tenure.

Service of *Milites*.

Tenure in chivalry, if not at first universal among the tenants-in-chief, soon became so, being reckoned the most honourable, though in fact the most onerous kind of holding. The quota of *milites* to be furnished by each Crown tenant was of course proportionate to his estate, but it does not appear to have been fixed with any exact relation to the extent or value of his possessions. The returns of 1166, to which we have already referred, exhibit the quotas, whether of lay barons or of ecclesiastics, as given in multiples of five or ten, mostly of the latter figure, round numbers, which must have been given out, like the estates themselves, by word of mouth, and probably by the Conqueror himself. The roundness of the numbers of *milites* due by the several tenants (*debitum servitium*)—10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 40, 50, 60, 80, 100—precludes the notion of any exact assessment,

Quotas of *Milites*.

Round Numbers.

[1] So all the ecclesiastical Houses, but there were some tenants *in capite* who held by "socage," tenure involving payment of rent but not the feudal military service; Stephens, *Blackstone*, I. 199 (ed. 1848).

[2] See H. Nicolas, *Agincourt*, 374, and App. II.; *Proceedings P. Council*, IV. 340.

but it is possible that it may to some extent have been based on the old five-hide unit for the fyrd. That the services had been fixed orally appears from the fact that when the Crown tenants were called upon in 1166 to return the numbers of *milites* for whom they were liable, and the steps that they had taken to meet their liabilities, they did not appeal to the written testimony of charters, but to the witness of their undertenants and followers, as to the numbers that always had been required of, or furnished by, the estate. Thus, in fact, the quotas may have been those for the old *fyrd*.[1]

With respect to the mode of providing for their *servitium debitum* the tenants might do it in one or other of two ways, or partly in both. They might keep a standing body of men on their demesnes,[2] ready at call, house-carles in fact.[3] But as this was found very burdensome they soon adopted the plan of granting out small estates (*feoda militum*) to be held of themselves by suitable men, on condition of service (subinfeudation). The system recommended itself to the bishops and abbots, as it gave them opportunities of providing for relations and friends out of Church lands.

Two Modes of Providing for *Servitium Debitum*.

We here see the origin of the idea that William divided England into *feoda militum*. He only demanded a certain number of *milites*; the persons liable to find these *milites* created the 'fees' for their own convenience; their own responsibility to the Crown was not affected thereby. As to the size or value of these *feoda*, the amount of land to be enfeoffed in return for the services of one *miles* would be a mere matter of arrangement between the lord and the tenant, and so, as a matter of fact, in the returns of 1166, we have *feoda militum* of all sizes, from two hides to fourteen hides each.[4] This discrepancy in the hidage seems also to negative the idea of any equality in value.[5]

Under the old English system, which was in fact the primitive Teutonic

[1] Round, *Knights' Service*, 17–25, and 31.

[2] "Super dominicum"; Round, 10; see esp. 12.

[3] So at Abingdon. "Primo quidem stipendiariis utebatur"; *Hist. Abingdon*, II. 3; so also at Ely; Round, *sup.* 55.

[4] Round, 52. In the *Hundred Rolls* (*circa* 1279) we find that in Oxfordshire, when scutage was at 40*s.* the *feodum militis*, each yard-land paid 2*s.* 6*d.*, thus showing four hides to the *feodum*; II. 708, cited Seebohm, *E. V. C.* 39. One *carta* has been cited where five hides are given as equal to one *miles integer*, but the next entry gives ten hides for the *miles*; *Liber Niger*, I. 165, 166.

[5] This was Selden's view, *Titles of Honour*. Mr. Round accepts the theory that the normal *feodum militis* was already an estate worth £20 a year (6, 52), a view supported by Bishop Stubbs (*C. H.* I. 285) on the strength of an allegation made by the Canterbury monks in 1188 that the monastery had assigned to Lanfranc lands worth £200 a year to perform their military service for them (*Epp. Cant.* 225; *Memorials R. I.* v. II.). But the number of *milites* to be produced for the £200 is not given, and an estate of that value would be an amazing grant. The average hide in *Domesday* seems worth £1 a year or 2*d.* the acre. I suspect that the £20 *feodum* had reference to the status of a full knight, not of a mere esquire-*miles*. For the average £1 value of the hide, see *Domesday and Beyond*, 465.

system, military service was incumbent upon all as a primary national duty, no doubt in connexion with the ownership of land, but not in relation to any lord, or by reason of holding the land of his grant. The readjustment of the old liability upon a new footing led to very startling consequences. Feudalism, in the minds of many, is bound up with certain incidents known as Aids, Relief, Wardship Marriage, Primer Seisin, Escheat, Forfeiture. These, as we find them in our history, were apparently for the most part specialities of the feudalism introduced by the Conqueror in connexion with military tenure. All were logical deductions from the theory of a grant in consideration of service in arms, but some of them were deductions that only strong-handed rulers could venture to draw.

Incidents of the New Feudalism.

Under the name of Aid the lord was entitled to call upon his tenants for a pecuniary subvention to meet three very special requirements namely, to make his eldest son a knight; to marry his eldest daughter; and to redeem his own person from captivity.[1] These Aids clearly were already known in Normandy.[2]

Aids.

Under the name of Heriot, as we have seen, the Saxon lords were entitled to receive certain dues from the estate of a deceased tenant. These were in the nature of a debt due by the tenant, and in respect of his personal property. In addition to these[3] we now hear of Relief (*Relevium*, *Relevatio*), money exacted from an heir on taking possession, being in the nature of a fine for re-grant of the estate from the Crown. By Rufus it is clear that the amount was assessed at his will.[4] Later the exaction appears as Primer Seisin (*Prima Seisina*), being fixed at one year's profits.[5]

Relief.

Relief was paid if the heir was of full age. If he was under age the King claimed the Wardship of his person and estate during minority, without rendering any account of the rents, thus in fact re-entering on the estate, on the plea that a minor could not perform the due military service. On lands of socage tenure, that apparently conformed to old English custom, the Wardship of an infant was given to the nearest relative who could not inherit, and under a strict liability to render accounts.[6] Then, when the tenant in chivalry came of age, he had to sue out "livery" of his lands, and for that he paid a

Wardship.

[1] See Stephens' *Blackstone*, I. 181 (ed. 1848).

[2] Ducange, "Auxilium." See also Hallam, *Middle Ages*, I. 176 (ed. 1853).

[3] The old heriots were clearly kept up; *Laws William Conq.* I. 20; *Henry I.* c. 14, ss. 1–4.

[4] See the charter of Henry I. disclaiming the practice, and especially the sums exacted from the undertenants of the See of Worcester (from whom no reliefs were due) at the death of Wulfstan; Heming, *Cartulary*, I. 79 (Hearne), cited Round, *sup.* 60.

[5] Stephens, *sup.* 183, 185. For Reliefs on the Continent, see Hallam, *sup.* 172.

[6] Stephens, *sup.* 199. So too apparently in France, but the customs varied in places; Hallam, 177, 178.

further half-year's profits. But this was not all. Not only did the King claim the Wardship of the person and estate of a minor tenant *in capite*, whether male or female, but also the right of disposing of his or her hand in marriage, and that to the highest bidder. So clearly was this iniquitous right established, that the heir refusing the King's match would forfeit, if a male, double what the King had been offered (*duplicem valorem maritagii*). If the recusant was a female, the King would be entitled to the Wardship of her lands till she attained the age of twenty-one, when otherwise she would have been held of age at fourteen years. The pretext again was that the lord was entitled to a voice in the marriage of a ward, lest he or she should carry the estate into the hands of an enemy. But this could have no valid application to the case of a male; and in the case of a female the lord's rights would have been amply safeguarded by simply making his consent necessary. But with William and his son consent meant money. The only restriction to which the King's prerogative in this matter was subject was that the young tenant should be married "without disparagement," that is to say, not to a person of inferior rank, but to one of suitable position.[1]

Marriage.

Forfeiture for treason or the like was well known to Anglo-Saxon Law. But with Norman times came the further doctrine of Escheat. If a man died without lineal heirs, or heirs embraced by the original grant, the land was said to "escheat" to the Crown. But this principle came most into play in connexion with the notorious doctrine of "Corruption of Blood." The blood of a man attainted of treason or felony was said to be "corrupted"; he could leave no heritable issue; he became a broken link, through which no descent could be traced, no title made. Any land the title to which would have to be carried through him would at once escheat to the Crown.[2] Lastly, the Crown tenant *in capite* could not alienate his estate, even *inter vivos*, without license, while all right of alienation by will was wholly cut off.[3] The reader will understand that the incidents here given applied in their integrity only to Crown tenants holding by military tenure. "Wardship" and "Marriage" did not apply to socage tenants-in-chief, but the other incidents did. Between underlords and their sub-tenants the incidents were greatly mitigated.

Forfeiture and Escheat.

If we regard, as we well may, the Great Bastard and his followers as a band of buccaneers on joint adventure, we must be struck with the amazing ascendency over his comrades gained by the leading spirit, and the extraordinary share of the booty that he could secure for himself.

We need not suppose the whole system of military tenures to have been fully developed in the days of the Conqueror, but we hold strongly to the

[1] Stephens, *sup.* 186–190. The right of "Marriage," again, was not unknown on the Continent; Hallam, *sup.* [2] Stephens, 184. [3] *Id.* 191.

view that in the theory and incidents of the liability to service we have a distinctly new departure, and one due to him.

Of late years, no doubt, the tendency among scholars has been to regard the military tenure and its incidents, not as imported ready-made by the Conqueror, but as developed on English soil by a gradual process, and to a certain extent from the pre-existing English system.[1] The prevalence of the number 5 and its multiples in the general assessment for *milites* does suggest a connexion with the old five-hide unit. Even the system of creating *feoda* militum might be paralleled by the grants of the Saxon churches to their thegns.[2] One writer on the other hand suggests that military tenure arose under Rufus, and that its incidents were invented by Ralph Flambard.[3] But in the returns of 1166 to which we have referred, several of the barons give their military services as dating 'from the Conquest.' The Histories and Cartularies of Abingdon, Ely, and Ramsey in like manner bear witness to the services of *milites* due to the Conqueror. Above all we have the writ of King William addressed to Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham, who died in 1077, requiring him to have his five *milites* and the *milites* of the district governed by him, ready at Clarendon by the Octaves of Pentecost.[4] Five *milites* were just the quota returned by Evesham in 1166.[5] The apparent silence of *Domesday* as to military tenure has been appealed to. But the question of the *milites* due to the Crown did not come within the scope of the Domesday inquiry. The King doubtless knew the number of *milites* due from each Baron. What he wanted to know was the real or estimated extent and value of their estates. But *Domesday* is not really silent as to military tenure; it contains distinct reference to it, and in many cases the *homines* of *Domesday* can be identified with the *milites* of later documents.[6] The question then resolves itself to this: Did William, a business-like and thorough-going man, impose military service here and there only, or did he establish it as a general system? With the evidence above given before us we need no longer disregard the statement of Matthew Paris that in 1070 William, at his own discretion (*pro voluntate sua*), imposed certain requirements of military service on all the bishoprics and abbeys of the kingdom, which till then had enjoyed immunity from all secular burdens. The allegation of Orderic, too, as to the 60,000 *milites*, though wild in its figures, distinctly points to the establishment of something new in the way of a military system. Lastly, with respect to the incidents of military tenure, the Worcester exactions of 1095[7] and the coronation charter

Military Tenures Introduced by William.

[1] See Bishop Stubbs, *C. H.* I. 283, 284. [2] *Domesday and Beyond*, 157–163.
[3] Freeman, *N. C.* V. 376. [4] MS. Cott. Vesp. B. XXIV. f. 615, cited Round. The writ might be referred either to 1072 or 1075.
[5] Round, *sup.* 52–57. [6] *Ib.*, 58, 59.
[7] *Ib.*, 308; above, 141, note; and below, 203, note.

of Henry I. inform us that the prerogatives of Relief, Wardship, and Marriage had been not only exercised but grossly abused by his brother.[1] But it is not easy to suppose that the abuse of these privileges could have been carried to such lengths in the short reign of William Rufus unless the privileges themselves had obtained legal recognition before his time. We may add that the one extant Pipe Roll of Henry I. frankly discloses the practice on his part of the very exactions he had forsworn. The estates of minors are farmed out; and the hands of heiresses are sold, not merely to actual suitors, but to third parties on speculation and for re-sale.[2]

Abuse of their Incidents by William Rufus.

While the military system of the country was placed on a new footing by the introduction of Knights' Service, it does not appear that the liability under the old fyrd was remitted. The former provided heavy cavalry. Under the fyrd the sheriff would raise, when necessary, footmen and light-armed troops. Tenants *in capite* and others holding by socage tenure would be made amenable to the fyrd, and it even appears that tenants in chivalry might be called upon to supply men under this head, but our knowledge of the subject is very limited.

Landowners not holding by Knights' Service or certain analogous tenures,[3] but by simple payment of rent, or the like, mostly came to be known as "socage" tenants. The term Socage is clearly connected with *sóc*, a soke or private franchise, and implies that the tenure was a survival of native feudalism, the tenure by which the freeholders of an Anglo-Saxon Manor had been wont to hold. Tenants in socage would be just the higher class of the *sochemanni* of *Domesday*. In all tenures the reader is doubtless aware that there was a reciprocity of obligations, the lord being bound to defend his tenant, just as the tenant was bound to espouse his lord's quarrels.

Socage Tenures.

With the native Courts, public and private, and the native Codes, West Saxon, Mercian, and Danish, William interfered as little as possible. Compurgation, the Ordeal, Frithborh, now termed Frankpledge, and the *Trinoda Necessitas* still hold good. The Witenagemot meets as the *Concilium Magnum Regis*. The chief legislative innovations that can be ascribed to the Conqueror were the severance of the Ecclesiastical from the Civil Courts; the requirement of homage from undertenants; the judicial combat; and the responsibility for the lives of Frenchmen thrown on the Hundreds. The unwritten severities of the Forest Laws elude investigation. The reissue of Old

William's Legislation.

[1] *Select Charters*, 96; Thorpe, I. 497; and especially the revised text of F. Liebermann, *Eng. Hist. Review*, VIII. 21.

[2] *Pipe Roll* 31 *Henry* I., *passim* (Hunter, Record Commission).

[3] Such as Grand Serjeanty, or the performance of some honourable service to the King's person, as to carry his sword or banner. Petit Serjeanty, again, was tenure on condition of rendering some implement of war or the chase. Frankalmoin was a tenure for churches and charities, involving no services at all.

English Law has been already noticed. Of original legislation that can be traced to William, the ordinance separating the Ecclesiastical from the Civil Courts, and a short statute of ten clauses or chapters contain the substance.[1] The latter may be regarded as giving a summary of the points, old or new, to which the King attached most importance. First and above all things he enjoins the worship of the one God, the keeping of the Faith in Christ, and maintenance of peace between Englishmen and Normans. Next he requires an oath of allegiance to himself from all freemen, and as against all men, 'in or out of England.'[2] This would take in under-tenants as well as tenants-in-chief, bringing all classes into direct relation with the Crown, as already pointed out. The King then declares that his will is that all men who had either accompanied or followed him to England should be under his 'peace and quiet' (*in pace mea et quiete*). If any of them be killed the lord of the manor to produce the murderer within five days, or else pay forty-six marks (£23) to the King. Failing the lord, the Hundred to make good the amount.[3] In the King's re-issue of English Law (the Franco-Latin Code), the obligation is laid on the Hundred without any reference to the lord of the manor,[4] and this apparently became the later practice. It also became customary to treat all persons made away with as foreigners, unless the contrary was proved by 'Presentment of Englishry.'[5] The next novelty is the judicial Wager of Battle, a Norman custom; and here we may say that in this matter natives and foreigners do not seem to be placed quite on a par. An Englishman may challenge a Frenchman to battle 'for perjury, murder, robbery, or any other matter properly cognisable by combat or ordeal'—[6] both modes of procedure, be it noted, being regarded as appeals to the judgment of Heaven. If the Englishman insists on the combat the Frenchman must fight; but if the Englishman shrinks from that test, the foreigner is not driven to the ordeal. He may clear himself on oath with witnesses 'after Norman Law.' On the other hand the Englishman challenged by a Frenchman for a matter of the same sort must either fight it out or go to the ordeal by hot iron, no compurgation apparently being allowed to him. But if he is too infirm to bear arms himself, he

Direct Allegiance of Under-tenants to King.

'Presentment of Englishry.'

Wager of Battle.

[1] See these *Select Charters*, 80, 81.

[2] *Select Charters*, 80, cc. 1, 2. Conf. Schmid, and Thorpe, *Laws*, III. c. 2. The text of these latter contains chapters and passages disclaiming the right to impose tallages and other matters suggestive of a date later than that of *Magna Charta*, if not of the time of Edward I. See Bishop Stubbs, *Hoveden*, II. xxii.–xlii. The text in *Select Charters* is taken from the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C. 461, A.D. 1180–1190.

[3] *Select Charters*, and Schmid, and Thorpe, *sup.* c. 3.

[4] Schmid, and Thorpe, *Laws*, I. c. 22.

[5] *Legg. Henry I.* c. 92, s. 6; *Blackstone* (Stephen), IV. 140; *Dialogus de Scaccario*, printed *Select Charters*, 193. [6] *Dôm.*

may put forward a lawful substitute.[1] In any case the defeated party, whether French or English, pays 40*s.* to the King.[2] For all offences involving outlawry the King requires Englishmen to go to the ordeal, the Frenchman again having the alternative of clearing himself on oath, if not held to a battle-wager.[3]

'Scot and Lot' Franchise.

A declaration that all Frenchmen settled in England 'on Scot and Lot' since the time of the Confessor should be held Englishmen, testifies to the antiquity of that well-known franchise. Then the King ordains that the 'Law of King Eadward,' as amended by himself, shall be held throughout the land, and

Laws of the Confessor.

decrees finally that criminals shall not be put to death, but blinded or emasculated. This system had already been adopted by Cnut, doubtless in order that the sight of the wretched victims should act as an enduring deterrent.[4] The provisions of the existing law that the King thought it well to emphasize were the prohibitions against dealings in cattle, except in towns and before witnesses, the prohibition of the export of slaves, and the regulations of *Frithborh*, otherwise Frankpledge. This as a measure of police would recommend itself strongly to the King, and he dwells on it accordingly.[5]

The ordinance removing the cognizance of spiritual causes from the ordinary Courts of the Hundred, and giving the bishops a new jurisdiction of their own, is expressed to be issued by the advice of a

Ecclesiastical Courts.

Grand Council of spiritual and lay Magnates (*principum*), a regular Witenagemôt. The King, after premising that before his time the Canon Law had not been duly regarded in England, decrees that from thenceforth no bishop or archdeacon shall entertain 'pleas of Episcopal Law in any Hundred Court';[6] or bring any matter relating to the governance of souls (*ad regimen animarum*) under the cognizance of laymen; but that every person impleaded for any cause or offence 'according to Episcopal Law' shall appear before the bishop, as and where cited, to answer, not according to Hundred Law, 'but according to the Canons and Episcopal Law.' Parties failing to appear after three citations to be excommunicated. The bishops are empowered to impose fines for non-appearance, and the sheriffs are required, if necessary, to back up the Bishop's authority with that of the King, but they and all other laymen are strictly precluded from interfering in matters appertaining to the jurisdiction of the bishops.[7] It will be seen that the King

[1] See *Select Charters, sup.* c. 6; and Schmid, and Thorpe, *Laws*, III. 12. But see also their *Laws*, II. cc. 1, 2, where the Englishman does seem to have the alternative of clearing himself on oath. [2] *Select Charters, sup.* [3] Schmid, II. c. 3.

[4] *Select Charters*, cc. 4, 7, 10; Schmid, and Thorpe, III. cc. 4, 13, 17.

[5] *Select Charters*, cc. 5, 8, 9; Schmid, and Thorpe, *sup.* cc. 10, 14, 15.

[6] "De legibus episcopalibus . . . in hundret placita teneant."

[7] "De legibus quæ ad episcopum pertinent"; Schmid, 357; Thorpe, I. 495. In the

here invests the bishops with uncontrolled jurisdiction over a class of cases left very much to their own determination, thus, in fact, giving them legislative as well as judicial powers. No wonder, therefore, that the clergy soon began to reject all lay authority, arrogating to themselves the decision of all questions in which they or their interests were concerned. But the measure was quite in keeping with the Church principles which, under the influence of the genius of Hildebrand, were generally taking shape. As such William's legislation would recommend itself to Lanfranc. By abolishing the mixed courts William probably thought that he was simply getting rid of an insular anomaly. As a matter of fact he was opening the door for sacerdotal pretensions that were destined to prove the stumbling-blocks of future centuries.

If William was not a legislator, and perhaps not an organizer, he was certainly a man of method. We have already suggested that the institution of a High Court of Justiciary (*Curia Regis*) may be ascribed to him, Yet, again, we hear that reference is not to be made to the King till after recourse to the Hundred, as under Saxon law.[1] We may also give him credit for a more organized Chancery and Treasury than England had yet known. The Chancellor was the Secretary of State for all departments, the chief of the King's chaplains and scribes, conducting the King's correspondence, and keeping the Great Seal for the authentication of documents.

Curia Regis.

The Chancellor.

The agency and authority of the Sheriffs was doubtless greatly extended, the functions of the Earls, for political reasons, being put into the background, even where their services were not wholly dispensed with, as was the case throughout the greater part of the kingdom.[2]

Sheriffs.

Great as the estates of some of William's Barons were, they were small in comparison with those of Eadwine or Harold, and William was careful not to allow his feudatories to accumulate a dangerous extent of territory in any one district. "The estates of Odo lay in seventeen counties, those of Robert of Mortain in twenty; Eustace of Boulogne had fiefs in twelve counties, and Hugh of Avranches in twenty-one, besides his palatine earldom." [3]

Of William's revenue, for want of data, we can only give a very conjectural estimate. Orderic put his landed income alone, without the returns from the administration of justice, gifts, or direct taxes,[4] at the

King's Code of English Law payment of Peter's Pence may be enforced either by "justice de seinte ecclise," or by the King's justice; *Laws*, I. c. 17, ss. 2, 3; Schmid.

[1] *Laws*, I. c. 17, s. 3, and cc. 24, 43.

[2] See above for the actual earldoms and the counties in hand, pp. 95–98.

[3] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 295, citing Gneist, *Self-Government*, I. 66: "There are forty-one great vassals, each of whom has estates in more than six counties."

[4] "Exceptis muneribus Regiis, reatuum redemptionibus," etc., 523.

sum of £1,061 10*s.* 3*d.* *per diem*, say £395,000 a year, an estimate which we only notice to show the lengths of extravagance to which respectable chroniclers could run when dealing with figures. William's landed revenue—if all paid up—a very doubtful point, would not have amounted to £20,000 a year.[1] Orderic multiplies it twenty-fold. The best basis that we can suggest for estimating the Conqueror's revenue is that supplied by the one extant Pipe Roll of his son Henry. In the thirty-first year of his reign, when England must have been in a much more fruitful condition than at any time under his father, his income, everything included, did not reach £30,000.[2] Beyond that sum the reader may take it that William's ordinary income never went. But it must be borne in mind that the £1 of the time was a pound weight of silver, and therefore contained more than three times as much silver as the £1 of to-day. That at once would raise William's £30,000 to £90,000 of our money. But the purchasing power of a given weight of silver was indefinitely greater then than now. How much greater it seems impossible to say, the factors in the calculation being open to so much doubt. In the Pipe Roll of Henry I. we have several entries to the effect that the wage of an able-bodied watchman or soldier on duty in a castle was a penny a day (£1 10*s.* 5*d.* a year),[3] where a man of that description nowadays would probably receive three shillings a day, or thirty-six times as much. Then a knight's charger is given as worth £2, where an officer's charger at the present day might easily cost £80 or £100, forty to fifty times as much. Again we have an ox taken at three shillings, and a flock of sheep in Berkshire at about fourpence halfpenny a head. We may safely assume that the animals of the time were small, and greatly inferior to those of the present day. The three-shilling ox might be compared to the small Irish animal now bought for £6 to £12, while the Berkshire sheep might be rated at 15*s.* to 30*s.* each; that is to say, as worth forty to eighty times the price of the time of Henry I. Mr. Ruding thought that William's income ought to be multiplied by thirty-six to give its modern equivalent.[4] But if the above calculations are worth anything, we ought to multiply by forty or fifty. Between these limits William's income would be equivalent to from one to two millions of our money. This, of course, would be exclusive of the revenue of Normandy, of which we can give no estimate.

William's Revenue.

Purchasing Power of Silver.

Of the great Danegeld of 1084, little probably went into William's

[1] The rents of the Royal lands in twenty-one out of thirty-three counties, as given in *Domesday*, when added up, make £9,900, suggesting a total of £15,000. Mr. C. Pearson, however, asserts that £17,000 a year can be made from *Domesday*, and he would add £3,000 for the omitted towns and the North, a large allowance. See his *History of England in Early and Middle Ages*, I. 385, 665.

[2] See below, under Henry's reign.

[3] pp. 137, 138. So we find Lanfranc allowing a monk's mother thirty shillings a year for her support; Eadm. *Hist. N.* 14.

[4] *Annals of Coinage*, I. 147.

pocket. It was a war tax, raised for and expended on military preparations. If the net value of the average hide of land was £1,[1] the tax at six shillings the hide would come to thirty-three per cent., a crushing impost; but the records of the collection of the tax in the five Western counties preserved in the Exon Domesday make it clear that it was paid, and paid at that rate. The amount for those counties is given as something less than £2,000.[2] The total assessment for Danegeld in the 31st year of Henry I., with full allowance for returns wanting, comes to about £5,100. If the rate in his time was two shillings on the hide, as apparently it was, then the Conqueror's six shillings on the hide should have yielded £15,300.

The Danegeld.

The impost of 1084 is commonly spoken of as a treble Danegeld. The original authorities give it no special name. They simply speak of it as a levy of six shillings or seventy-two pence on the hide. We have seen that two shillings per hide was the ordinary contribution towards the expenses of a man for the *fyrd* for one month. The tax of 1084 must really have been a "scutage," a payment of which we shall hear enough hereafter, a composition for military service.[3] William let the *fyrd* remain in peace, but called on the people to provide three times the usual cost of a *fyrd* for the hire of foreign soldiers. The tax was called a Danegeld, that being the only known term for a direct land tax. The entries in the Exon Domesday also show that other Danegelds had been imposed by William,[4] but neither the times at which they were demanded, nor the rates at which they were levied have been made out.

No change was made by William in the currency, the silver penny being still the only piece struck. It contained twenty grains Tower of silver, the supposed standard being thirty-two grains of wheat taken from the middle of a good average ear. Broken into two or four pieces, the penny served for halfpence and farthings; and 240 pence still made £1.[5] But the shilling was now reckoned as equivalent to twelve pence, the *ora* or ounce to twenty pence, and the mark to thirteen shillings and four pence, these being only moneys of account. Gold simply passed by weight. The oft-quoted Pipe Roll of Henry I. shews that the mark of gold passed as equal to £6 of silver, making the ratio just nine to one.

The Currency.

[1] So *Domesday Studies*, S. Moore, I. 33; and O. C. Pell, *Id.* 227; and *Domesday* itself *passim*. In Kent the hide might rise to 25*s.* or 30*s.* per year value; but more often it fell below the £1. See *Domesday and Beyond*, 463, 464.

[2] Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 303.

[3] Scutage is usually supposed to have been first levied in 1156; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 491, 493; Freeman, *N. C.* V. 674. But Mr. Round (*Knight's Service*, 33) cites a charter of Henry I., apparently of the year 1127, in which scutage is referred to as a standing institution, "quando scutagium currebat"; MS. Cott. Nero A. 15; *Liber Eliensis* (MS.), Lib. III. No. 21.

[4] J. H. Round, *Domesday Studies*, I. 82.

[5] Ruding, *Annals of Mint*, I. 7, 146. The writer asserts that William's pennies closely imitated those of Harold, but the specimens engraved by him do not bear this out.

On the English Church the effects of the Conquest were analogous to those wrought by it on the State. It was a time of cruel hardship to the native clergy, but one leading to more healthy and vigorous life in the future. The lethargic crust apt to gather round Establishments too closely connected with the State was rubbed off, and the Church "started on a new career." But the process was a painful one. We have seen the kind of treatment that English Chapters—difficult bodies to deal with no doubt—could receive at the hands of Norman abbots. For natives the door to high preferment was practically closed. At William's death Wulfstan of Worcester was the only English bishop left, and within the following half-century we can trace but one or two men with English names raised to the Episcopate. For the lower orders the introduction of a priesthood who could not speak English must "have been almost tantamount to a suppression of the Church."[1] Even the old Saxon saints were removed from the calendar, and new objects of adoration set up in their places. William's bishops, however, were mostly well selected, and they were, at any rate, men with more knowledge of the world, and with a wider range of ideas, than their predecessors. But "like the king, they realized their new position as Englishmen by adoption, entering immediately on all the claims of their predecessors." Again the cause of education and letters could not fail to gain through the influence of such an accomplished scholar as Lanfranc.

The English Church.

By the severance of the ecclesiastical from the civil courts William gave the clergy a certain freedom of action and an independent jurisdiction, which, in the following century, through the development of the Canon Law, attracted to their cognizance a large mass of business, and notably in connexion with wills and matrimonial causes. They also acquired a "more definite civil status than they had ever possessed before," and one to a certain extent "external" to the common law of the land; while the growth of Hildebrandine ideas brought them into closer relations with the Papacy,[2] "the common *sensorium* of Europe."

But William had no idea of allowing any Papal or Ecclesiastical interference with his government. The Royal Supremacy was never more effectually asserted than by him.[3] Eadmer gives us three rules of stringent simplicity laid down by him, which supplied the legal basis on which subsequent Kings took their stand in their struggles with the Papacy.

Royal Supremacy Maintained.

No Pope to be recognised without his leave, and no letters from any Pope to be delivered till after they had been shewn to him.

Nothing to be done in any Episcopal Synod or Council except with his previous consent.

[1] Lappenberg, *Norman Kings* (Thorpe), 142.

[2] See Bishop Stubbs, *sup.* 304, 307, 308.

[3] Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 437.

No tenant-in-chief to be excommunicated or subjected to any ecclesiastical censure, except by his orders (*nisi ejus precepto*).[1] Anselm adds that William Rufus further insisted that no Papal Legate should land without royal license.[2]

Spread of Monasticism.

Monasticism received a decided impulse[3] from Lanfranc. He reorganized Christ Church Canterbury, which, though in theory a monastery, had at all times partaken of a mixed character, containing "many clergy who were not monks, and many monks who were only so in name." The Chapter was now placed on a strictly monastic footing, the married canons being expelled, and the unmarried canons reduced to the profession and position of monks.[4] So at Rochester Bishop Gundulf removed the four or five married canons whom he found in possession, replacing them by monks, and adding largely to their numbers and endowment.[5] A like change, again, was effected by William of St. Carilef at Durham, where at his coming there were neither monks nor canons professing any rule. After due consultation with King, Queen, Lanfranc, and Pope Gregory, he handed over the church and relics of St. Cuthberht to monks brought from the newly refounded monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth, the old canons, almost to a man, refusing to 'profess.'[6]

On the other hand there was a party of Secular (as opposed to Regular) bishops, led by Walkelin of Winchester, who wished to expel all monks from the cathedrals, and substitute canons. He had taken steps towards carrying out this purpose in his own church, when he was arrested by the opposition of Lanfranc, and a Bull from Alexander II.[7] On the whole, the struggle between Regulars and Seculars for the possession of the cathedral churches ended in a drawn battle. By the end of the century half the Chapters were in the hands of monks, to remain monastic until the Reformation, the other half resting with the canons.[8]

Norman Architecture.

But in no branch of the national life was such a marked and wonderful change wrought by the Normans as in things connected with the builder's art. Here we have an absolutely new departure. English architecture, whether civil or ecclesiastical, dates from the Conquest. To our Anglo-Saxon forefathers we owe nothing in that domain. Their edifices were humble in design, and inartistic in execution. Both for Minster and Castle the invaders brought in larger ideas of what ought to be done. On the gloomy Keeps of impregnable

[1] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 10. [2] Anselm, *Epp.* III. 40, cited Stubbs, *sup.* 310.

[3] "Coenobialis grex excrevit"; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 278.

[4] Stubbs, *Memorials of Rich. I.* vol. II. xxiii., etc. (*Epp. Cant.*); W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 44. [5] *Anglia Sacr.* I. 337; W. Malm. *sup.*

[6] Symeon, *H. D. E.* p. 120, etc. Above, 120.

[7] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 18; W. Malm. *sup.*; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 376.

[8] See Bp. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 311, and for more, his brilliant sketch of the history of English Monasticism, *Memorials Rich. I. sup.*

masonry that now began to tower above the palisaded earthworks of earlier days the modern spectator looks with an involuntary shudder, as he sees in them monuments of the rule of the sword. Forty-nine castles are named in *Domesday*, and we are told that the list might be doubled. But half of these occupied old sites, and were, in the first instance probably, but developments of old defences. Of the numerous remains of the Norman era it would seem that but little can be attributed with certainty to the reigns either of the Conqueror or of his son Rufus, the bulk of extant structures belonging to the following century, when the work of castle-building was prosecuted with great vigour. The White Tower of London, as a whole, certainly belongs to the time of the Conqueror, but the details have been much altered at different times, and the exterior entirely recased. The masonry is much in advance of that of his time.[1] St. Leonard's Tower, West Malling, Kent, is probably one of the very oldest extant Keeps in the country, being the work of Bishop Gundulf of Rochester (1077–1108). "It does not appear to have been ever repaired or even pointed. It is of rubble, the stones being pretty much as they came from the quarry, of all shapes, but rarely containing more than a foot cube."[2] With these we may take the Keep of Colchester Castle, dating however from the time of Rufus.[3]

Castles.

To the church architecture of the time we turn with more sympathetic interest. Of twenty of our older cathedrals thirteen at least show portions belonging to the Norman era. Lanfranc led the way, undertaking about the year 1070 the rebuilding of Canterbury, recently destroyed by fire. Bishop Walkelin went to work at Winchester about the same time, and Bishop Gundulf at Rochester in 1077. Two years later we have Robert Losenge beginning operations at Hereford. In 1082 Abbot Symeon was rebuilding the Minster of St. Æthelthryth at Ely, and in 1089, Abbot Serlo that of St. Peter at Gloucester. At the very close of the reign, or more probably after it, Remigius laid the foundations of Lincoln Cathedral. Of the actual time of the Conqueror one of the finest relics may be seen in the tower and transepts of St. Albans, built under Lanfranc's supervision by Abbot Paul, his nephew if not his son.[4] But the visible remains clearly belonging to the reigns of William and his eldest son are so slight that the subject will best be taken in connexion with the more important movements of the time of his second son.[5] All equally were an outcome of the Church revival specially associated with the name of Hildebrand, destined shortly to lead to further architectural results in the development of the glorious Pointed Style.

Churches.

[1] For a full description see Clark, *Military Archit.* II. 203, etc.

[2] *Id.* II. 292. [3] *Id.* I. 423.

[4] M. Paris, *Gesta Abbatum, S. Albani*, I. 51; Freeman. The money for the church was said to have been found by Lanfranc, but as the Abbey was in his hands the funds probably came from the Abbey revenues; *Id.* 53.

[5] See below under Henry I.

In the sphere of letters, again, we may see in the works of Eadmer, of William of Malmesbury, and of Orderic the fruits of Norman training upon English intellects. Norman energy, Norman spirit of adventure, Norman turn for organization and method infused new life into the conquered race, and turned its dormant energies to practical purpose. England was now introduced into "the circle of European interests," to which, in spite of "occasional matrimonial alliances and complimentary embassies, it had practically been a stranger."[1]

Literature.

England a European Power.

Among the importations of the Conquest we may reckon the Semitic element, now so prominent in English life. Of Jews before that time we really hear nothing. The clause in the so-called Laws of Edward the Confessor, which places them under the King's special protection is, of course, of Norman date, if not a mere interpolation.[2] Again the passages in the *Penitential* of Archbishop Theodore, which refer to Jews, are not to be found in the best text,[3] and in any case may be taken to have been copied from the canonical legislation of other countries. On the other hand we hear of Jews being brought by the Conqueror from Rouen and settled in London[4]; while our earliest Norman Records exhibit the Jews as a noteworthy class, apparently engaged in trade, and making such profits as to enable them to stand the most cruel exactions.

First appearance of Jews in England.

Two prevalent errors may here be noticed. The one is that Norman French became the language of the higher Law Courts in the time of the Conqueror; and the other is that the Curfew was introduced by him as a special measure of coercion against English discontent. The Curfew Bell was a police regulation universal throughout mediæval Europe; while Norman French was not established as the language of the Law till the time of Henry III. Till then all official documents, laws, writs, charters were drawn up mostly in Latin, but occasionally in English.[5] The two tongues, French and English, flowed on, side by side, without coalescing till the time of the wars of Edward III. The blending was hardly completed in the reign of Henry V. Down to Tudor days Romance words adopted into the language were pronounced according to the French, not according to the English accent.[6]

By Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V., Count of Flanders (she died 2nd November, 1083),[7] William had issue:

William's Issue.

[1] Lappenberg.

[2] C. 25, Thorpe. In Schmid the clause is wholly omitted.

[3] See the *Penitential*, c. xvi. s. 35; c. xlii. s. 1; c. xlvii. s. 1, ed. Thorpe, comparing the *Concilia* of Haddan and Stubbs, III. 173.

[4] So some MSS. of Malmesbury's *G.R.* s. 317 (vol. II. p. 371, ed. Stubbs).

[5] Palgrave. The earliest extant charter in French was granted by Stephen Langton; Pauli.

[6] See *Lancaster and York*, I. 308.

[7] Chron. E; and above, 124. The name appears as Mahtild, Mahelt, and Mahaut.

Robert, Duke of Normandy, born *circa* 1056 (not before 1054),[1] died at Cardiff 10th February, 1134. By Sibylle of Conversana (she died 1102, Ord., 812) he had one son, William, elected Count of Flanders, 1127; died of a wound 1128, *s.p.*

Richard, died, too young to be knighted, either of an accident suffered, or of a fever contracted while hunting in the New Forest.[2]

WILLIAM RUFUS.

HENRY I.

Cecilia, born *circa* 1055 (?), consecrated in 1075 a nun at the Holy Trinity Caen, of which she became abbess in 1112; died there 13th July, 1127.[3]

Adelidis or Adelaide, promised to Harold (?), died unmarried, and probably young.[4]

Matilda, betrothed or promised to Eadwine (?), afterwards betrothed to Alfonso of Leon, Castile, and Gallicia, but apparently died on her way to Spain (before 1080).[5]

Constance, betrothed to Allan Fergant of Brittany in 1076, married to him when Count in 1086, died 13th August, 1090, *s.p.*[6]

Adela, married in 1086 to Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, son of Theobald III. She died 1137, and had, besides other issue, William, by marriage Lord of Sully; Theobald, who succeeded his father; STEPHEN; and Henry, Bishop of Winchester.[7]

[1] Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 123, citing Bouet, *Saint Etienne*, p. 8.

[2] Orderic, 573; W. Malm. *G.R.* ss. 274, 275.

[3] Orderic, 548; Green, *Princesses of England*, I. 3, 8.

[4] W. Malm. *sup.* s. 276; W. Jum. *Cont.* 310. That Adelaide was the second daughter appears from the letter cited by Mrs. Green, *sup.* 9, 10.

[5] Ord. *sup.*, where she is called Agatha, and treated as the betrothed of Harold; so also W. Malm. *sup.* That William had a daughter Matilda appears from *Domesday*, and that she was the third daughter appears from the letter cited by Mrs. Green above; see also *Princesses*, I. 16, 407.

[6] Freeman, *sup.* 637, 651, 816; Green, *sup.* 31.

[7] Ord. 573, 574; W. Malm. *sup.*; Green, *sup.* 34–71.

CHAPTER XI

WILLIAM II., SURNAMED "LE RUS," "RUFUS" OR 'THE RED'[1]

Born 1058–1060 (?)[2] Crowned 26th September, 1087. Died 2nd August, 1100 (killed in the New Forest)

A.D. 1087–1089

Accession and Coronation of the King—Baronial Rising in Favour of his Brother Robert —The English stand by William—The Rising Suppressed—Death of Archbishop Lanfranc

WILLIAM, the second surviving son of the Conqueror, may have been from twenty-seven to twenty-nine years old at the time of his father's death. He was a young man of strong character, marked individuality, and considerable gifts. We are told that his talents would have placed him in the front rank in the estimation of his time had not his position been overshadowed by the greatness of his father.[3] In their personal intercourse the two were linked by the sympathy of kindred natures. The father loved to have his son beside him, and the son had a deep respect for everything connected with his father.[4] Rufus probably looked up to his father as the one being of whom he was afraid, the one man of stronger will and higher intelligence than his own. In outward make the younger William was "a caricature" of the elder, having his strength and stoutness without his height. For Rufus, in his sad career, some allowance might be made as for one suddenly launched, without previous training or discipline, into all the temptations of irresponsible power. William of Malmesbury gives his parents credit for having bestowed upon him a careful education.[5]

William's Relations with His Father.

[1] Ord. 663, etc.; "Le Rus Rei," G. Garmar I. 266 (Rolls ed.); "William the Rede," J. Capgrave, *Chron.* p. 130.

[2] William of Malmesbury says that Rufus was born *pluribus annis* before his father's accession; *G. R.* s. 305. His brothers Robert and Richard certainly, and his sister Cecilia apparently, were older than he was. The Conqueror's children appear to have been born at intervals of about a year and a half on the average. If Rufus was the fourth child, he might have been born about 1059. If there were two elder sisters, he might not have been born till after 1060.

[3] "Incomparabilis procul dubio nostro tempore princeps si non eum magnitudo patris obrueret"; W. Malm. *sup.* The writer was born under Rufus. "In militari probitate et seculari dapsilitate viguit"; Ord. 663. The last phrase may perhaps be rendered 'political resource.'

[4] W. Malm. *sup.* [5] "Ingenti cura parentum altus."

That was doubtless true of athletic training, and perhaps to some extent of literary culture also. But it is clear that the Conqueror's jealousy of power withheld from his sons all opportunities of developing by practice the higher moral qualities essential to rulers. No freedom of action, no special sphere of duty was ever given them. Apart from Robert's one expedition to Scotland they seem to have been kept in leading strings.

His Athletic Training.

In martial exercises, however, young William's strength and courage fitted him to shine. In skirmishing encounters, we are told, no lance was ever more prompt to challenge an adversary than his. But for some ten years, from the time of Robert's first rebellion and disgrace, his ambition had been excited by the hopes of succession thereby opened up. These were so constantly before his eyes that the rising talents of his brother Henry, now nineteen years old, were not viewed by him without suspicion.[1] Naturally, therefore, he lost no time in acting on his father's nomination to the Crown of England, when at last it was announced. He hastened off with his letter to Lanfranc, taking with him two precious hostages—Wulfnoth the brother of Harold, and Earl Morkere. But his first steps were not directed to Canterbury. He went straight to Winchester,[2] the old seat of government, where the Royal hoard was still kept. Having secured his hold on this, and recommitted his prisoners to final captivity,[3] he sought out Lanfranc, who, without demur, accepted his credentials, took him to London, and pushed his cause with such zeal, and to such purpose, that he was able forthwith to arrange for his coronation. On Sunday, 26th September,[4] just seventeen days after the death of the Conqueror, the hallowing rite was performed at Westminster. Of any election to the Crown nothing is said. Some form of the sort may have been gone through. But at any rate the appeal to the people in the coronation office would preserve the memory of the constitutional doctrine.

He is Received by Lanfranc,

and Crowned at Westminster.

With respect to the form of service followed on the occasion Eadmer has it that Lanfranc at first was not altogether favourable to young William, and that the latter, to gain his support, took a voluntary oath to rule with justice, mercy, and equity; to maintain good peace, and uphold the rights of the Church; and to follow

Coronation Oath.

[1] "Jam successioni inhians, maxime post abdicationem fratris majoris, cum et tirocinium minoris nonnihil suspiceret"; W. Malm. *sup.*

[2] Florence. As Rufus sailed from Touques he probably landed at Porchester or Southampton.

[3] Morkere ended his days in bonds. Wulfnoth, apparently, was allowed to exchange his prison for the cloister, as he is said to have died a monk at Salisbury; Lappenberg, 220; Freeman, *Wm. Rufus*, I. 14.

[4] Chron. E, and Florence (27th September, Malm.; 29th September, Orderic). The Peterborough Chronicle, E, is now the only one left.

the Archbishop's counsels in all things.[1] Apart from the promise to follow Lanfranc's lead, the pledges ascribed to William follow so closely the words of the coronation oath, that we may take that to have been the real basis of Eadmer's statement, which thus becomes a valuable testimony to the continuity of the coronation ritual. But Lanfranc may well have taken pains to impress upon his Royal pupil—he was said to have had some hands in his education[2]—the solemn import of the pledges that he was giving to the nation.

Of the claims of the representatives of the native dynasties, of Eadgar the Ætheling, or of Ulf the posthumous son of Harold,[3] no question was raised, or could be raised, for this reason among others, that the men whose thoughts might have turned to such a quarter, the native English, were just the men who supported Rufus. It is clear that his accession was hailed by them with satisfaction,[4] not from any preference for him personally, but because his rule implied separation from Normandy, and offered a prospect of a King who would live at home and follow a domestic policy. To secure the affections of these well-disposed people, and show his regard for his father's Will, the young King hastened back to Winchester to make lavish distribution of his father's wealth. We are told that he gave varying sums of gold and silver to every minster and every 'upland' church in England. To the counties £100 apiece were said to have been sent for distribution among the poor.[5] The autumn passed without further incidents, the Christmas Feast being kept in London.[6]

His Accession Hailed by the English.

But the reign of peace was not to last. To the great feudatories with estates on both sides of the Channel, William's accession to the Crown of England was as distasteful as it was welcome to the native English. They objected to the severance of England from Normandy; they foresaw that between the two over-lords they would have a difficult part to play, and that sooner or later they would be driven to elect between their allegiance to the King and their allegiance to the Duke. If there was to be one ruler for both countries Robert was clearly preferable to his brother. Robert's rule would certainly be nominal; the government of William Rufus would

Dissatisfaction of the Norman Barons.

[1] "Coepit Lanfranco promittere justiciam misericordiam et æquitatem se per totum regnum si rex foret in omni negotio servaturum; pacem, libertatem et securitatem ecclesiarum contra omnes defensurum," etc.; Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 25.

[2] So W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 305; "nutrierat."

[3] Ulf was in William's hands at his death. Robert set him free along with Duncan of Scotland, son of Malcolm Canmore by his first wife; Florence.

[4] So the Chronicle 'all men in England submitted to him and took oaths to him.'

[5] Chron. I don't know if the figures can be trusted. Sixty pence are said to have been given to each 'upland' church, and from six to ten marks of gold to each minster. As the mark contained eight ounces, and each ounce of gold was worth £6, the gifts to the minsters would run from £288 to £480 each.

[6] Chron.

probably be pretty effectual. They declared therefore for the rights of primogeniture.

The scheme was laid before Duke Robert, who, without calculating the chances of success, accepted the offer of the Crown of England off-hand.[1]

The Crown Offered to Robert.

He urged his friends to hasten over to England to pave the way, promising speedy support. Among the leaders named were Bishop Odo, Eustace II. of Boulogne, and Robert, eldest son of Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, lord through his mother of the inheritance of Alençon and Bellême.[2] As for Odo, he was not satisfied with the prospect of the position that he would hold in England under Rufus. He bore a deadly hatred to Lanfranc, who would hold the first place in the young King's councils; nor could he even aspire to the second place, as William had taken the Bishop of Durham, William of St. Carilef, as his chief executive Minister.[3]

Leaders of the Conspiracy.

That the Norman barons were not actuated by any regard for Robert's rights is plain from the fact that their first move on hearing of the Conqueror's death was to show their contempt for his son's authority by ousting the Royal garrisons prudently kept by William in the chief castles, and replacing them by men of their own. The people shuddered at the prospect of a return to unbridled feudalism and landlord government.[4] That Odo was the heart and soul of the conspiracy all are agreed. He doubtless provided the brains of the party. Among those prepared to follow his lead were his brother Robert of Mortain—a dull, heavy man,[5] of no personal influence; Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances, his nephew, Robert of Mowbray (*Molbrai, Mulbrei*)[6] Earl of Northumberland,[7] and Hugh of Grand-Mesnil Sheriff of Leicester.[8] Earl Roger of Montgomery himself held a middle course, to be paralleled by the action of great men in much later days. His eldest son went out openly; his third son, Roger of Poitou, Lord of Lancaster, kept pretty loyal; while he himself, though reckoned an enemy to the King, kept close to his side.[9] Another prelate who was induced to desert was William of St. Carilef, the Bishop of Durham. The conduct of the two Bishops seems most strange, and in fact disgraceful. Geoffrey had been constantly employed, and enriched

[1] "Ille utpote levis et inconsideratus valde gavisus est promissis inutilibus"; Ord. 666. [2] Ord. *sup.*

[3] Freeman, *Wm. Rufus*, I. 23, 24. William of St. Carilef became Bishop of Durham in 1081, in succession to Walcher; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[4] Orderic, 664. William Count of Evreux, Robert of Bellême, William of Breteuil, Roger of Beaumont, Ralph of Conches, are all named in this connexion.

[5] "Crassi et hebetis ingenii hominem"; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 277.

[6] Now Montbrai, Manche, South of St. Lo, and near Percy, the original home of another great name.

[7] Orderic. Robert became Earl of Northumberland in or before 1082, in succession to Earl Alberic, or Albri, who held it for a short time after the death of Bishop Walcher in 1080; above, 121. [8] For his estates see Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 429.

[9] Orderic, 667; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 306; and Sym. *H. D. E. Anct.* 181.

to a degree by the Conqueror, and was bound to be true to his wishes. But he drew the sword against his son and legatee without hesitation. William of Durham was a high churchman, of character and ability, held a perfect Ahithophel in counsel.[1] Rufus had taken him into his innermost confidence, but the Bishop promptly left him in his hour of need. We must suppose that with these two prelates feudal instincts overpowered all higher principle.

The forces under the control of the conspiracy were very considerable; but on the King's side we find Hugh of Avranches Earl of Chester, Allan Rufus Earl of Richmond, Odo of Champagne Earl of Holderness,[2] William of Warenne Earl of Surrey, Robert fitz Hamon the Welsh Marcher,[3] and the other Bishops with Lanfranc at their head. But Rufus found his best support in the sympathy of the native population, readily enlisted against their foreign lords.

The King's Supporters.

Early in 1088 Odo and the barons who had been with the late King at his death came over to England, each man making for his own district. Odo, of course, re-entered on his authority as Earl of Kent. He established himself at Rochester, where he would have a landing place ready for Robert when he came.[4] The Count of Boulogne[5] brought over a garrison to hold the place, Robert of Bellême acting with him. With respect to the fortifications of Rochester, the lofty Keep, that still looks down on the waters of the Medway, had not yet been reared. That was to be the work of Bishop William of Corbeil (1126–1136). Gundulf, the Bishop at the time when Rufus became King, built a certain wall on the lines of existing earthworks. But it is doubtful if that had yet been constructed. If so the defences of the 'castle' would consist of earthworks and a mound.[6]

We are told that the time of Lent (1st March–9th April) was spent in preparation,[7] castles being put in order, manned, and victualled. But as a matter of fact as early as the 12th of March Rufus had outlawed the Bishop of Durham, who had left Court without leave.[8] Actual hostilities did not begin till after Easter, when the rebels began to waste all loyal estates. Odo, as his part of the work, harried the private manors of Rufus and Lanfranc. In the East Roger Bigod[9] seized Norwich Castle, and 'did his

Outbreak of the Rebellion.

Ravaging of the Country.

[1] See Sym. *H. D. E.* 119–125.

[2] Both Allan and Odo are styled *comites* in the proceedings against the Bishop of Durham, though neither had any earldom except in England; Symeon, *H. D. E.* 176.

[3] Orderic, 667, and Symeon, *sup.*

[4] Ord. [5] Chron. "Eustatius junior comes Bononiæ"; Flor.

[6] See *Anglia Sacra*, I. 339; Clark, *Military Arch.* II. 405; Hartshorne, *Archæol. Journal*, XX. 205; Irvine, *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* XXXI. 471; J. H. Round, *Mandeville*, 337. Relics of Gundulf's work may be seen on the southern and eastern sides of the existing wall. [7] Ash Wednesday–Palm Sunday. [8] Symeon, *sup.* 171.

[9] For his estates in East Anglia see Ellis, *Domesd.* I. 383; II. 295.

worst.' Hugh of Grand-Mesnil was equally active in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire. On the Welsh March the men of Earl Roger, supported by Bernard of Neufmarché,[1] Roger of Lacy,[2] and Ralph of Mortemer,[3] overran Herefordshire; then pushing on with a mixed host of English, Normans, and Welsh, they burst into Worcestershire. It was feared that the "Port" (city) of Worcester would fall into their hands, minster, castle, and all. But the place was in the keeping of stout old Wulfstan, whose faith and patriotism never failed him. Encouraged by his confidence, and inspired by his blessing, the men of the garrison, the church-retainers, and the citizens[4] joined forces, and boldly marched across the Severn Bridge to attack the enemy. Falling on them while dispersed in plundering, they repulsed and scattered them with heavy loss.[5]

This achievement arrested the progress of the chief rebel army, and cut it off from co-operation with its friends in the South.

In Gloucestershire William of Eu,[6] son-in-law to Earl Hugh of Chester, overran the Royal manor of Berkeley.[7] Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances, and his nephew Earl Robert made themselves masters of Bristol Castle. Sallying from thence, the Earl attacked Bath, a Royal city, sacked and burned it. Entering Wiltshire, he committed great havoc there. Sweeping round again into Somersetshire, he laid siege to Ilchester. But the castle held out, his men were repulsed and defeated, and he had to fall back ingloriously on his base of operations at Bristol.[8]

Hostilities in the South and West.

Meanwhile the King had not been slumbering. Well aware of the mischief that was brewing, he had held a grand national *gemôt*, presumably in London, at or before Easter time. The native English gentry (*Anglos naturales*) had been specially invited to attend. William explained the situation and his need of help. 'He promised them the best law that ever had been on this land; all unright gelds he forbad, and to each man he gave his woods and his hunting.' The last pledge carried matters back to the days of Cnut.[9] We may point out that the class to which it appealed would not be the lowest one. The disclaimer of 'unright gelds' would mean either the abolition of the so-called Danegeld, or its exaction at the old rates of the time of Confessor, say sevenpence the hide, instead of two, four, or

William Appeals to the Native English.

[1] Seine Inf. For the man, subsequently lord of Brecknock, see Freem., *N. C.* III. 132; Ellis, II. 294. [2] Son of Walter; Ellis, I. 442. For Walter, see above, 97.

[3] Of Wigmore, said to have been conferred upon him for his services in subduing Wild Eadric. [4] "Castellani . . . episcopalis familia . . . cives."

[5] Florence; Chron. The former adds that the insurgents were smitten with blindness through an excommunication launched against them by the Bishop when he heard that they were ravaging Church lands.

[6] Son of Count Robert of Eu. For his estates in Gloucestershire, etc., see Ellis, I. 463. For his descent see above, 108, Append.

[7] Flor. [8] Flor.; Chron. [9] See his *Laws*, II. c. 80.

six shillings the hide, as under the late King. The 'best law' would imply a strictly just and impartial administration.[1]

The King's appeal was well received, and a moderate army, mainly composed of Englishmen[2] was soon on foot, a naval force also being organized to keep a watch against landings from Normandy. **The King's Operations.** We are told that William's first steps were directed against his uncle Odo, his most formidable adversary, who was established at Rochester. But we are also told that Tonbridge was taken on the way, from which fact we must infer that the Royal muster was held somewhere on the Surrey Downs. Tonbridge Castle, a mound-fort, was **Sieges of Tonbridge,** held for Odo by Gilbert of Clare,[3] but, after two days' assault, in which he himself was wounded, he capitulated. On nearing Rochester it was found that Bishop Odo, not caring to abide a siege, had betaken himself to Pevensey Castle, held by his brother Robert. Determined to bring the Bishop to terms, William followed him to Pevensey. But the Roman walls with their huge buttress- **Of Pevensey,** towers kept him at bay for six weeks.[4] Duke Robert, still too much engaged with other matters to come over in person, had raised a force to support his friends in England. His tardy ships crossed the Channel, but only to be intercepted, defeated, and driven back by the English fleet. Starved out by blockade, Pevensey had to surrender. Odo was required to deliver up Rochester, and then leave England, never to return, 'unless the King should send for him.' In pursuance of this agreement the Bishop was sent with an escort to Rochester; but when he came to parley with the garrison they seized him and his, and carried them all, nothing loath, into the castle to renew the struggle.

For the reduction of this stronghold, a serious undertaking, a fresh *fyrd* was called out. Every man not prepared to be branded as *nithing* was **Of Rochester.** required to come to the King. French and English, 'port' and 'upland' (*town and country*), were equally summoned. William established a thorough blockade, building two towers, or counter-works, probably of wood, so as to cut off all communication with the

[1] Chron.; Ord.; Symeon, *H. R.*

[2] So Florence. "Congregato. . . . maxime Anglorum, equestri et pedestri, licet mediocri, exercitu." The 30,000 men (triginta millia Anglorum) of Orderic are a palpable absurdity; p. 666.

[3] Son of Richard of Bienfaite, the Conqueror's justiciar, and grandson of Gilbert of Brionne, the Conqueror's guardian. Above, 108; Ord. 765. The earthworks at Clare, in South Suffolk, may yet be seen, intersected by the railway from Cambridge to Colchester.

[4] The Keep within the Roman walls does not go back to this time, but some repairs to the Roman walls may be ascribed to Earl Robert. Clark, *sup.* II. 360.

[5] Chron.; "Nithing quod nequam sonat," W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 306. The writer explains that it was the greatest term of opprobrium known to the language. It was the term applied to Earl Swein for the murder of Beorn. See above, I. 447.

exterior. As at Pevensey, the fortifications resisted assault, but eventually the garrison, succumbing to the insanitary condition of the filthy overcrowded fortress,[1] asked for terms. Amnesty and restitution was their first modest suggestion. William, in his fury, would promise them nothing but the gallows. But his leading supporters intervened. Yielding at length to their instances, he condescended so far as to allow the besieged to march out with their horses and arms, but he would not grant them the honours of war. Amid the triumphant flourish of the Royal trumpets,[2] and the jeers and execrations of the English, Odo came forth to leave England for ever (June).[3] It was on his return from this siege early in July that Robert of Rhuddlan, the lieutenant of the Earl of Chester, fell by the hands of the Welsh at the foot of the Great Orme's Head.[4]

Capitulation.

Banishment of Odo.

The fall of Rochester made an end of the rising. Those who had been most conspicuous before now hastened to efface themselves. In his dealings with the guilty ones, Rufus shewed much of the policy of his father. He abstained from strong measures against those who could still make themselves formidable or useful. Towards the elder Barons, the men who had stood before his father, he was especially lenient. He knew that their time would soon pass away.[5] The Bishop of Durham and the Earl of Northumberland had to leave England for a while, but Geoffrey of Coutances and Roger Bigod are shortly found again at Court, and in full favour.

Collapse of the Rising.

William's Leniency.

The proceedings in the case of William of St. Carilef have been preserved,[6] and they give a most interesting picture of the lengths to which ecclesiastical pretensions could already be carried with the new ideas, and under the new system introduced since the Conquest. According to his own account the Bishop had given the King valuable support at the beginning of the movement, having, as he alleged, saved Dover, Hastings, and London for him.[7] The King, on the other hand, did not tax him with any direct act of hostility, only with abandoning him in the time of need.[8] The King, in March, having ordered the Bishop's estates to be taken into hand, as already mentioned, he wrote at once to Rufus complaining that he had been disseized without trial, and demanding to be reinstated. That done, he said that he would be willing to come, under proper safe-conduct, to clear himself of any charge that might be brought against him 'according to his

Proceedings against William of St. Carilef.

[1] Orderic. The writer describes a pest of flies, only to be compared to the Egyptian plague. For the fortifications of the time see Clark, sup. ii. 406, and above, 159.

[2] "Regalibus tubis clangentibus." [3] Orderic, 667–669; Chron.

[4] Orderic, 670. Robert's private sympathies had been with the rebels; *Id.* 666.

[5] Ord. *sup.*

[6] Symeon, *H. D. E. Anct.* 171, etc., and *Monasticon*, I. 244; an account clearly derived from contemporary sources. [7] Symeon, 189. [8] *Id.* 181.

Order' (*secundum ordinem meum*). That is to say, he would submit to be tried, but only according to the rules of canonical law, and by an ecclesiastical tribunal. The King answered this challenge by then and there making over some of the Bishop's lands to the Earls Allan and Odo. The struggle lasted some nine months. Twice the Bishop came to court under safe-conduct. The first time he went home again because the King would not allow him to clear himself by mere 'canonical compurgation' (*purgationem sceleris*), but insisted on his being tried as a lay tenant (*laicaliter placitare et extra pacem quam rex ei dederat*).[1] An army was then sent to commit further ravages on the episcopal estates. The lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire had already been harried by Ralph Paganel, the Sheriff of Yorkshire. On the second occasion the Bishop was brought to Salisbury on the 2nd November, under a personal guarantee given by the Earls Allan and Odo and Roger of Poitou. The gist of the elaborate agreement entered into came to this: that if the King and the Bishop could not agree, either as to the tribunal or the mode of procedure; or if they should refuse to accept the decision when eventually given, then the Bishop should either be brought back to Durham, or given a safe-conduct and shipping to take him and his, with their personal goods and effects, to Normandy. The case was taken by the King in person, sitting in council, with both Archbishops present.[2] William of St. Carilef stood stoutly on his canonical rights, insisting that his case against the King should be taken in priority to the King's case against him; rejecting all jurisdiction on the part of the lay peers; and even refusing to answer the King's charge, when he did prefer it, because it was preferred by the mouth of a layman, Hugh of Beaumont.[3] Finally he appealed to St. Peter's Chair. In vain Lanfranc pointed out that he was not called in question in respect of his authority as Bishop, but in respect of his territorial fees.[4] In vain he cited the case of Odo, who had been impeached by the Conqueror not *qua* 'Bishop' but *qua* 'Earl and Brother.' Rufus then told William, with an oath, 'By the Face of Lucca, if he wanted to go to Rome he must first surrender Durham Castle.' To this condition St. Carilef had to submit, though the King allowed Lanfranc to intimate that if he would bow to the jurisdiction of the King's Court he might yet be reinstated. On the 14th November the castle was made over to the Royal officers, but the Bishop was not allowed to depart in peace till late in December.[5] Within three years' time we shall find him reinstated. Robert of Mowbray also left England about the same time likewise ere long to be allowed to return.

Ecclesiastical Pretensions.

Rejection of Lay Jurisdiction.

Banishment of the Bishop.

[1] Symeon, *sup.* 171, 172, 175.

[2] Geoffrey of Coutances and Roger Bigod are also named as present. [3] *Id.* 176–182.

[4] "Non de episcopio sed de tuo te feodo judicamus." [5] *Id.* 183–195.

During these proceedings the King had received a visit from his brother Henry,[1] styled by the English the Ætheling, but now Count of the Côtentin in Normandy. Duke Robert, soon after his father's death, had found himself in want of funds. He applied to Henry, the moneyed man of the family, but the prudent young capitalist would give nothing for nothing. Robert then offered him the Côtentin and Avranchin, either for absolute sale or as security for an advance. In one way or other the bargain was concluded, and something like a third of Normandy made over to Henry for £3,000, a very good investment for his money.[2] He now came over to ask for his mother's lands, which had been left to him.[3] The estates in question, however, had been given to Robert fitz Hamon, one of the men who had stood by William in his recent troubles. But the King did what he could to pacify his brother, and allowed him to bring over Robert of Bellême to be received again into favour.[4] In the course of the autumn Rufus sent them both back to Normandy, as if to give trouble to the Duke. Robert evidently suspected as much, because when they landed he had them arrested and imprisoned without any kind of pretext.[5]

The King's Brother Henry.

His Purchase of the Côtentin.

Normandy since the Conqueror's death had been a prey to every kind of disorder, through Robert's culpable remissness. He allowed his Barons to wage war upon each other at will; took no pains to bring offenders to justice; and so gave crime a free hand.[6] His last act, however, involved him in war. Earl Roger hastened over from England to compel the deliverance of his son, and set all his castles in order, including Domfront, Bellême, Mamers, Alençon, and Saint Céneri-le-Geré. By Odo's advice the Duke ordered an army to muster at Le Mans. Maine, for which he had done homage to Fulk Rechin of Anjou, at Blanchelande in 1073, had been nominally his since his father's death. A march through the County would establish his hold on a firmer basis, and enable him as it were to take Earl Roger and his various strongholds in the rear. Odo's plan proved eminently successful. Le Mans and its Bishop, Hoel, always true to the Norman connexion, welcomed Robert within their walls, while the old enemy and the future rival, Geoffrey of Mayenne, and Hélie of La Flèche, alike appeared at his summons. Turning southwards, the Duke first found an enemy prepared to cross his path in one Payen of Montdoubleau, who held the hill fortress of Ballon on the Sarthe. After a

Misgovernment of Duke Robert.

War with the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Robert in Maine.

[1] "Henricus Clito," the regular Latin rendering for Ætheling; Ord.

[2] Orderic, 665; W. Jum. *Cont.* 293.

[3] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 391; Orderic, 510.

[4] Orderic, 672, 689. [5] Ord. 672.

[6] See the dismal picture drawn by Orderic, 672, and illustrated 675, 685, etc.

struggle of some duration Payen submitted on terms. The Duke then came into collision with the Earl's men at Saint Cénery,[1] near Alençon, where one Robert Carrel was in command. A stubborn resistance was offered, the place only yielding to starvation. Robert was so much irritated that he ordered Carrel's eyes to be put out. Several of his subordinates were also mutilated. These penalties, we are told, were inflicted by orders of the Ducal Barons, sitting as a court of justice, the *Curia Ducis*[2] which, imported into England, had become the *Curia Regis*. At the request of Geoffrey of Mayenne and the *Mansel* Barons, the dangerous fort of Saint Cénery was restored to one Robert Geroy, whose family had been deprived of it by the House of Talevas.[3]

Capture of St. Cénery.

Victory now seemed within Robert's grasp. The other rebel garrisons were ready to surrender on demand, but the pleasure-loving Duke, thinking that he had done enough for one season, disbanded his forces without following up his success. When the men of war had been sent home Earl Roger opened negotiations, and, at the cost of a few cheap promises, induced the weak, good-natured Duke to liberate the two captives on whose account the war had been undertaken. Both had been thoroughly irritated without being weakened, and one lived to be amply revenged. Earl Roger's son was a most formidable adversary to provoke, but as matters turned out, we shall find him mostly adhering to Duke Robert. The Lord of Bellême is described as a big able man, of versatile talent, a man of resource and forethought, brave, eloquent, and industrious, but faithless, cruel, and licentious to the last degree.[4] His hand was against every man. To the end of his career we shall find him the terror of his country.

Peace with the Earl of Shrewsbury.

On the 24th May, 1089, Archbishop Lanfranc passed away, an irreparable loss both to Church and State. He perhaps, but certainly he alone, might have exercised some influence over the King. Already we hear that he had ventured to remind him of his pledges, and that Rufus had answered savagely, 'Who can keep all his promises?'[5] The Primate succumbed to fever, the end being associated with the action of a potion prescribed by his physicians; but it is not clear whether the mischief was due to the improper character of the draught, or to the fact that the patient delayed taking it till after he had received the *viaticum*.[6]

Death of Lanfranc.

Lanfranc is entitled to a high place in the list of the distinguished men who have filled the Throne of St. Augustine. His judgment and tact in the management of men must be recognised as well as his high character and scholarship. For the combination of high principle, with good sense, refinement, and knowledge of the

His Character.

[1] Dept. Orne, just within the Norman frontier. [2] "Ex sententia curiæ."
[3] See Freeman, *W. Rufus*, 211–217. [4] Orderic, 674, 675. [5] "Furore succensus"; Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 25; W. Malm. *G. P.* p. 73. [6] W. Malm. *sup.*

world we might compare him with our native Dunstan. His reputation was immense. The saintly Margaret of Scotland begged to have him for her spiritual father.[1] Irish kings and bishops consulted him, and Irish prelates came over to be consecrated by him,[2] a forecast of further connexion between the two Islands in days to come.[3] We must not be hard upon the cultured Italian if he thought the Latinity of Bishop Wulfstan hardly adequate[4]; if he could not see at first the claims of Ælfheah to be held a Martyr.[5] "He lived and died honoured by all men and successful in all his undertakings."

Lanfranc, however, was not really a great theologian. He was a lawyer, a teacher, and a statesman. His writings are said to be wanting in original thought, and destitute of that "metaphysical depth" and "analysis" conspicuous in the works of his successor, Anselm. But his treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, written against Berengarius, gained him much fame. Of greater interest are his *Decreta pro Ordine Benedicti*, giving the rules, with modifications to suit the circumstances of Christ Church, Canterbury, as being at once a monastery and a cathedral chapter. An *Elucidarium*, or theological Primer, and Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, are also ascribed to him. Both of these are mere students' manuals, reflecting ideas of most primitive simplicity.[6] But the Latinity of his letters is beautiful, more elegant than that of Anselm, perhaps unequalled in mediæval literature.

His Writings Lacking in Depth.

With the death of Lanfranc came days of tribulation for the Church. The King had been falling under the influence of a clever, unprincipled official, one of the Royal chaplains, a native of Bayeux, by name Renouf, in English Rannulf, Ranulf, or Ralph. From his birthplace we may suppose him to have been a follower of Bishop Odo. His early history is involved in doubt. Apparently he was of humble origin, the son of a priest. He might perhaps be identified with the "Rannulfus" who was sent to levy tribute at Durham in the time of Bishop Walcher (1071–1081).[7] On the other hand, in the *Lives of the Bishops of Durham* in *Anglia Sacra* it is alleged that he was at first with Bishop Maurice of London,[8] who became Bishop in the year 1086. But this hardly agrees with the fact that Ralph

Ralph Flambard.

His Early History and Character.

[1] *Epp. Lanfr.* No. 41. [2] *Id.* Nos. 36, 43, 44.

[3] "The consecration of Irish Bishops . . . by the hands of the English Primate occurs at intervals up to the time of the Conquest under Henry II."; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 529. [4] W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 143.

[5] See below, 185, and Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, 350–352 (printed with the *Hist. Nov.*).

[6] See Hook, *Archbishops*, II. 89, 96–107. Lanfranc's works will be found in Giles' *Patres*, and Migne; also his *Lives* by Gilbert, and Milo Crispinus.

[7] Symeon, *H. D. E.* p. 107.

[8] Vol. I. 705, 706. Bishop Stubbs suggests that Ralph may really have been with Maurice's predecessor, Bishop William.

appears in *Domesday* as an owner of lands in Oxfordshire and Hampshire; and further as already sufficiently well known to have earned the name of Flambard.[1] This nickname, we are told, was given to him by Robert the Dispenser, meaning 'The Fiery Torch,' that licked up everything. Of fine person, loose life, and convivial habits, his administrative capacity, legal subtlety,[2] audacity, and assiduity had gained him the confidence of the 'Great' William.[3] A passage in Orderic seems to give him the credit of having suggested the Domesday Survey.[4] At any rate he soon made himself necessary to Rufus, under whom he eventually became prime minister, with entire control of the judicial and financial business of the realm, the one end of his government being to extort money for the King's extravagance.[5]

He becomes the King's Chief Minister.

One of the first expedients for raising money laid by him before the young King was the appropriation of the revenues of vacant sees and abbeys. Applying to the Church the principles of the new feudalism as established between Crown and tenants-in-chief, ecclesiastical preferment would be held of the King as a benefice, a fief, in return for certain duties. Where the duties were not performed the right to the emoluments would be suspended. If the endowments were the King's to give, they would be his to keep.[6] If for any reason he happened to defer the filling up of a vacancy, his *interim* right to the profits would not be affected thereby. Rufus took the hint, and, by way of a beginning, left Canterbury without an archbishop for nearly four years. A pittance was allowed to the monks, but the bulk of the revenues went into the pocket of the King.[7]

Feudal Principles Applied to Church Property.

Vacant Sees.

[1] Ellis, i. 420. [2] "Invictus causidicus"; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 314. [3] Orderic, 678.

[4] "Annuente Rege carucatas quas Angli hidas vocant, funiculo mensus est, et descripsit; postpositisque mensuris quas liberales Angli jussu Edwardi Regis largiter distribuerant, imminuit et regales fiscos accumulans colonis arva retruncavit"; 678. This looks very like a reference to *Domesday*, the only reference to *Domesday* in Orderic, who seems to place it in the reign of Rufus.

[5] Flambard has been styled 'Chief Justiciar.' It is very doubtful if that office had yet been instituted. Flambard signs simply as "Thesaurarius," Treasurer; *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptt. Tres*, Append. xxii. (Surtees Society).

[6] See the King's own words to Anselm later: "Numquid abbatiæ non sunt meæ?" (are not the abbeys mine own?); Eadm. *Hist. Nov.* 49; below, 191.

[7] See Orderic, 678, 679; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 314. Both distinctly assert that the practice of impounding the revenues of vacant Sees began with Rufus, and at the suggestion of Flambard: "Nefarius mos tunc inceptus." Before the Conquest the revenues of vacant benefices had been either allowed to accumulate, or else expended under the supervision of the bishop or archbishop, as the case might be.

CHAPTER XII

WILLIAM II. (*continued*)

A.D. 1090–1093

Intrigues of William in Normandy—Struggle for Possession of Rouen—Treaty of Caen—Campaign in Scotland—Homage by Malcolm—Annexation of Carlisle and Cumberland—Last Inroad of Canmore—His Death—English Progress in Wales

TO the Norman feudatories of double allegiance the reunion of England and Normandy was still a matter of vital importance. As Robert could not be put into possession of England, the only course left was to put William into possession of Normandy. With the year 1090 we hear of subscriptions in money going over from England, and of castles on the east border of Normandy receiving English garrisons. The King's cousin Stephen, Count of Albemarle or Aumâle,[1] placed that stronghold in his hands; while the possession of Saint-Valéry, or the neighbouring La Ferté, also made over by Stephen, gave Rufus command of the mouth of the Somme. Gournay-sur-Epte and Gaillefontaine likewise changed their allegiance.[2] Robert Count of Eu, Walter Giffard of Longueville[3] in Normandy, Ralph of Mortemer, and others are mentioned as joining in the movement. For the defence of Caux, however, Robert found a trusty lieutenant in Hélie, son of Lambert of Saint-Saens, whose life-long allegiance was secured by the hand of a natural daughter, with the dowry of Bures and Arques.[4]

Intrigues of William with Normandy.

But the unfortunate Duke was distracted by illness and by the attitude of the men of Maine, who, after supporting him against Earl Roger, now shewed a disposition to break away again. In this predicament Robert's idea was to apply to his over-lord in Maine, Fulk *Réchin*, the Count of Anjou—his father's old enemy—begging him to use his influence with the

[1] Son of Odo of Champagne, Earl of Holderness in England, by Adelaide, the sister or half-sister of the Conqueror. See William of Jumièges, 294 and 312; Ord. 522; Florence, A.D. 1095; *Rot. Scacc. Norm.* II. xxxi.; and *G. E. C. Peerage*, "Albemarle."

[2] Orderic; Chron.; Florence. All these places are in Seine Inferieure.

[3] See Append. to Chapter XV.

[4] Ord. 681. All these places again are in Seine Inferieure.

Manseaux to keep them faithful. For his good offices Fulk demanded the hand of a young Norman beauty, Bertrade of Montfort, he already having two discarded wives living.[1] But the consent of the young lady's friends had to be obtained, and for that Robert had to make over divers places to the Count of Evreux and William of Breteuil.[2] But Fulk's intervention, though bought in this manner, came to little. The *Manseaux*, persevering in their hostility to Normandy, recalled Hugh, the son of Marquis Azzo, who had figured among them in 1073. But again he was found wanting, and so finally was induced to sell his rights for a sum of money to his cousin Hélie of La Flèche, the son of Paula, the third daughter of Count Herbert Wake-the-Dogs, who thenceforward ruled Maine ably and successfully as its native Count (1091).[3]

Robert's Alliance with Fulk Réchin.

Hélie of La Flèche, Count of Maine.

With the Norman Barons perpetually waging war against each other opportunities for introducing English garrisons were multiplied. The movement in favour of Rufus spread to Robert's capital. If the men of Rouen had no special reason for seeking union with England, they could not help seeing that the existing state of chaos would be fatal to industry and trade. The lead was taken by one Conan, the richest man of the city, who brought over a large portion of the inhabitants to his views. In this stress Robert appealed to his brother Henry, who had been carefully strengthening his position in the Côtentin, as if to enable himself to hold the balance in the family politics. Cherbourg, Coutances, Gavray, and Avranches had all been fortified by him.[4] The Duke also called on the more faithful of his Barons, such as the Count of Evreux, William of Breteuil, Robert of Bellême, Gilbert of Laigle. Henry was the first to respond, and joined his brother in the castle at Rouen. Somewhat later, on the 3rd November—a day long remembered in the annals of the city—two little armies appeared from opposite quarters, running a race for entrance into Rouen. Gilbert of Laigle, coming from the South-West to succour Robert crossed the Seine by the bridge, and then drew up to the South Gate[5]; while Rainald of Warenne, coming to support Conan, appeared on the West side, at the *Porte Cauchoise*. Between the two factions, and their

Rival Factions at Rouen.

Conan a Ringleader.

Attack on the City.

[1] So Orderic, *sup.*; but Father Brial has shewn grounds for believing that one was dead, and the other legally divorced; Sismondi, *France*, IV. 507.

[2] Orderic, *sup.* The marriage did not prove a happy one, as Bertrade, treating Fulk as he had treated others, left him for the King of France.

[3] Orderic, 683–684; and the *Life* of Bishop Hoel in Mabillon's *Vetera Analecta*. For more see Freeman, *Wm. Rufus*, II. 193–203. [4] Dept. Manche; Ord. 689.

[5] The South Gate must have been at the North end of the bridge, near the castle, the site of which is now occupied by the *Halles*. A plan is given by Mr. Freeman, *W. Rufus*, I. 249.

efforts to admit their friends and keep out their enemies, Rouen was thrown into a state of indescribable confusion. The Duke sallying from the castle with his brother found himself surrounded by a mob of uncertain disposition, and, losing his nerve, and yielding to the prudent suggestions of his followers, beat a retreat by the East Gate, to make his way across the river in a boat, to abide the issue in the safe retirement of a convent.[1] Henry, who had not lost his head, fought his way to the South Gate, joined hands with Gilbert of Laigle, and then fell on the rebellious citizens, cutting them down right and left, and capturing their ringleaders, while William's supporters fled in all directions to take shelter in the neighbouring woods. The unfortunate Conan was taken to the castle. Henry led him to an upper chamber in the Keep, and lectured him bitterly on his conduct. He begged to be allowed to ransom his life. 'By the soul of my mother thou shalt have no redemption,' said the furious Prince, and then, without even giving him time to make the most hasty shrift, with his own two hands shoved him backwards through an open window, to be dashed to pieces in the court below.

Henry Saves the Situation.

Fate of Conan.

Rouen was saved. The Duke recalled from his Sanctuary would have dealt gently with his subjects, but his fierce Barons would hear of no mercy, and carried off the 'best' citizens as lawful prey for ransom.[2]

If a crisis had been staved off by Henry's energy, the distracted state of Normandy still gave Rufus his opportunities. In the course of this same month of November the Count of Evreux, at the instigation of his Countess Heloïse, declared war against Ralph of Conches, to avenge certain offensive remarks made by Isabel or Elizabeth of Conches (his own niece), a lively popular person, who could don armour and ride on an expedition with the best of her husband's knights. She had indulged in banter at the expense of the Countess Heloïse, a domineering woman of no personal attractions. Ralph, unable to obtain help from Robert, applied to Rufus, and at once received a garrison under Stephen of Aumâle.[3] Yet again within the year we find Hugh of Grand-Mesnil and his son-in-law Richard of Courcy[4] driven to arms to resist the intolerable aggressions of Robert of Bellême. This time Duke Robert felt called upon to interfere, and in the course of December laid feeble siege to Courcy. While he was engaged in petty assaults on this insignificant stronghold, the startling

Private Wars in Normandy.

[1] *Notre Dame-du-Pré*, otherwise *de Bonne Nouvelle* (Le Prevost).

[2] Orderic, 689–690. Malmesbury's notice of these events, *G.R.* s. 391, is not really worth citing.

[3] Orderic, 687–688. The war lasted three years, and ended in favour of Conches, who took his nephew Wm. of Breteuil (also nephew to Evreux) prisoner; *Ib.*

[4] Calvados.

intelligence came in that his formidable brother, King William of England, had crossed the Channel with a formidable fleet, and was established at Eu.[1] The siege of Courcy was dropped at once, Robert and his supporters hastening off to consider their position under this new state of things.

Landing of William Rufus.

The situation was indeed an alarming one. Rufus was meeting with a most flattering reception. Not only was all Normandy flocking to his court, but Bretons, Flemings, and even Frenchmen were pressing forwards to lay their services at his feet. The defection of the whole Duchy seemed imminent.[2] For help Robert turned to his suzerain King Philip I., who could not possibly be indifferent to the reunion of Normandy and England. Leaving the eating and drinking to which he was said to be devoted,[3] Philip called out an army for action against the King of England—the beginning of a long historic antagonism. But the diplomacy and the gold of the wily Rufus worked their way. The only result of the intervention of the French King was the adjustment of a treaty settled at Caen, on terms most unfavourable to Robert. The agreement was based on the recognition of the *status quo* in Normandy. Robert ceded to his brother all the places that had already declared for him, or received garrisons from him, including Gournay, Aumâle, Eu, Fécamp, Conches, 'a great part of Normandy,' threatening Rouen both from North and South. But the clear-sighted William doubtless apprehended that the chief obstacle to the realization of his ultimate plans would be found in the opposition of the younger brother Henry, and accordingly the Duke, to his infinite disgrace, was induced to agree to his expulsion from the Côtentin, and a partition of his possessions. Of these Cherbourg and Mont Saint Michel were claimed as William's share, the one to command the Côtentin proper, the other to command the Avranchin. In return the King was most liberal in his promises. He would guarantee to Robert all the rest of their father's Continental possessions, including Maine, which had revolted. He would reinstate all Robert's men of 1088 in their English possessions, and find some estates—not too distinctly specified—for Robert himself. Lastly, it was provided that if either Robert or William should die without lawful issue, the survivor should succeed to

Defections.

Treaty of Caen.

Partition of Henry's Estates.

[1] January 19–26, 1091; Ord. 691–693. I can make nothing of the succour brought by King Philip of France in 1090 to Duke Robert while besieging a castle with an English garrison in it, as alleged by the Chronicle, Florence, and Malmesbury. Orderic strangely does not notice Philip's intervention at all, and the Continuator of Jumièges clearly places it in 1091; pp. 293, 294.

[2] Ord. 693–697.

[3] "Cotidianam crapulam ructans, ad bellum singultiens ingluvie veniebat"; W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 307; Sismondi, *France*, IV. 472.

all his dominions. Twelve Barons on either side subscribed the treaty as guarantors.[1]

In pursuance of the stipulations embodied in this compact the Côtentin was at once attacked. Henry, as already mentioned, had been making preparations against a day of trouble; but the Earl of Chester and others, who would have stood by him as against Robert, could not venture to try conclusions with the King of England. The Ætheling soon found himself reduced to Mont Saint Michel. There he was beleaguered about the middle of Lent (23rd March). Fifteen days the siege lasted, the besieged being reduced to great distress, especially from want of water,[2] perched as their stronghold was on a thirsty rock by the sea shore, and cut off from the land at high tide. The hostilities were marked by two well-known incidents, illustrative of the chivalrous side of mediæval warfare; that is to say of war, as waged between gentlemen, and, to a certain extent, as a gentlemanly pursuit. In the skirmishing encounters that took place at the foot of the rock at low water Rufus one day charged a party of the enemy single-handed. His steed was mortally wounded, and he himself unhorsed and dragged for some distance. His assailants came up, and one, drawing his sword, was preparing to despatch him when Rufus, in terror for his life, cried out, 'Hold! rascal; I am the King of England.' The man fell back, and bowing deferentially, tendered him a fresh horse. Rufus sprang to the saddle; then, turning round, demanded to know which of them had unhorsed him. The man answered respectfully but firmly, 'I did; but I took thee for a simple knight, not for a king." "*Par le vo de Luche*" (By the Holy Face of Lucca),[3] answered William, with his favourite oath, 'From this day forth I take thee to be my man.' The other anecdote tells how, at the end of the time, Henry, coming down to draw water from the river Couesnon at the foot of the hill, found the stream guarded by Robert's men. Overcome by thirst, he sent a message to his brother, calling on him either to fight it out or let them have a draught of nature's element. The good-natured Duke withdrew his men, and let them drink their fill. But Rufus found great fault with such a slipshod mode of waging war. 'Nay,' urged Robert, 'But if we let our brother die of thirst, where shall we find another?'[4] Henry, however, had to yield his stronghold on condition of being allowed to march out with all his effects. Apparently, he retired to Brittany, but only for

Siege of Mont St. Michel.

Chivalrous Incidents.

Robert's Mercy.

[1] Chron.; Flor.; Orderic, 697; W. Jum. 293. The last gives Caen as the place of execution. [2] Orderic, 697.

[3] "Per vultum de Luca"; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 309. "Li vo de Luche en a juré"; *R. Rou*, II. 328. The volt, vou, or vo of Lucca was a miraculous head of Christ, on a crucifix carved in cedar, and reputed the work of Nicodemus. It must be distinguished from the head crowned with thorns on the *Sudarium* of Veronica. See Martin Rule, *St. Anselm*, I. 323; Sir T. D. Hardy on W. Malm. *sup.*, and Lappenberg (Thorpe), 239.

[4] W. Malm. *G.R.* ss. 309, 310.

a short time, as within a few months we find him again in friendly intercourse with his brothers.[1]

The King remained at Rouen as his brother's guest till August, when affairs recalled him to England, both his brothers, strange to say, going with him.[2] Robert probably wanted to see what his brother was going to give him; and it may be that some promises had been made to Henry also.

The Three Brothers in England.

Among the things required of Robert by Rufus was the expulsion of Eadgar the Ætheling, who for some time had been living in Normandy under the protection of the Duke. He retired to his sister's court in Scotland. In May, Malcolm, as if to avenge the cause of his brother-in-law, burst for the fourth time into Northumberland, advancing as far as Chester-le-Street, near Durham, committing the usual ravages, but retiring, as usual, on the approach of superior forces. Rufus made it his first business to punish this outrage. His movements were so expeditious that, although he had only reached England in August, by the 11th September he found himself at Durham, where he reinstated William of St. Carilef, three years to a day from the time of his retirement.[3] The Bishop had made himself useful to the King during the recent operations in Normandy, had regained the King's favour by making himself useful, and specially by saving one of the castles held in the royal interest from being lost.[4] The campaign against the Scots, if not a failure, did not prove a brilliant success. In the last days of September the auxiliary fleet that the King had in attendance was wrecked on the East coast, and in consequence the army during its further advance suffered severely from want of supplies. William, however, held on his way till he reached the 'Scots Water,' that is to say the Forth,[5] where he

Eadgar Ætheling Expelled from Normandy.

Northumberland again Harried by Malcolm.

William of St. Carilef Reinstated.

Campaign against the Scots.

[1] Orderic, 697, says of Henry: "Brittaniam transiit . . . et confines postmodum Francos expetiit." He then represents him as spending parts of two years in the Vexin. If he retired to the Vexin at the present juncture, his stay there must have been very brief, but most likely he went thither at the end of the year, on his return from England.

[2] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 310; Ord. 693, 697; Chron. Henry's visit is proved by his attestation of a charter at Durham, below, 175.

[3] Symeon, *H. R.* ss. 172, 174. His date of Sept. 11 is confirmed by the statement of the Chronicle that Rufus entered Scotland towards Michaelmas. The agreement between the Bishop and the three Barons in 1088 was signed Sept. 8, so that the former might have left Durham on the 11th.

[4] Symeon, *H. D. E.* p. 128.

[5] "Usque ad magnum flumen quod Scotté Watra dicitur"; Ord. 701. His further description of the scenery, with hills and plains intermixed, leaves no doubt as to the locality. The Chronicle represents Malcolm as having advanced a step further, namely, 'into Lothian, in England.' But there he would find no such strategic line as on the Forth. Lothian might be called English, but it had ceased to have any political con-

found Malcolm posted with an army at the head of the Firth, to dispute the passage of the river, the natural bulwark of Scotland proper. Not caring to attack the enemy in such a position, Rufus allowed negotiations to be opened through Robert and his friend Eadgar. According to Orderic, Malcolm expressed a willingness to do homage for Lothian, and that to Robert, as the eldest son of the Conqueror, but not to Rufus. But the Duke assured him that those limitations could not be accepted.[1] The upshot of it was that Malcolm came in, and declared himself William's 'man' to the same extent that he had been his father's 'man,' William in return promising that Malcolm should have 'in land and in other things all that he under his father erst had.'[2] Florence explains this promise as referring to twelve manors (*villas*) of land in England, and an annual pension of twelve marks of gold (£72).[3] As to these twelve manors, of which nothing has been told us before, we must suppose them to have been granted by the Conqueror at Abernethy in 1072.[4] As they are not mentioned in *Domesday*, we may suggest that they may have been in Cumberland, or Northumberland, where we shall find later Scottish Kings holding lands. It was the policy of the English Kings to indulge the Scots with English fiefs, to which the homage might be supposed to refer. Nationality on one side and the other battled over the question then just as it does now. The homage was clearly simple, not liege homage, which would involve liability to service. But it is also plain that the holdings in respect of which the homage was rendered were not specified, but left indeterminate, so that the Scots could contend that it was only rendered for Lothian or English fiefs, and the English could insist that it was rendered for the Scottish Crown, "a very pretty quarrel."[5] For the subsidy of

Malcolm does Homage.

The Homage Question.

nexion with England, at any rate since the Battle of Carham in 1018; above, I. 397. Florence misrenders "Lodene" by "Loidis."

[1] Orderic's idea of the facts, which, *more suo*, he puts into the shape of a speech, was that Lothian had been ceded to Malcolm as the dowry of Margaret, and by the Confessor; that the cession had been confirmed by the Conqueror, who had indicated Robert as his heir; and that Robert, again, had been accepted as such by the Scottish King (query in 1080?). The Confessor, of course, died a year, perhaps three years, before the marriage of Margaret. Orderic, however, also mixes up the events of 1091 and 1093.

[2] Chron.; Ord. 701; H. Hunt. [3] Symeon and Fordun repeat the statement.

[4] Lingard would identify these manors with the "mansiones in itinere," alleged by Roger of Wendover (A.D. 975) to have been granted by Eadgar to Kenneth for the entertainment of the Scottish Kings on their journeys to the English court; and Mr. Freeman quite accepts the view; *Rufus*, I. 304 and II. 544. But the "mansiones" belong to the time of Henry II.; if they had been held by the Scottish Kings for a hundred years before the Conquest we must have heard of them.

[5] See the words attributed by Orderic, *sup.*, to Malcolm, in which he clearly makes a concession as to Lothian, which he distinguishes from the rest of Scotland: "Fateor quod Rex Edwardus . . . Lodonensem comitatum mihi donavit." The writer's own view seems expressed in the words "rebellavit" and "debitum servitium," which he applies to Malcolm.

twelve marks of gold we may compare the subventions given by our Indian Government to native border chiefs.

The three Royal brothers now turned southward, the Ætheling Eadgar accompanying them. A Durham charter, clearly executed on their return journey, bears their signatures, as well as those of Duncan son of King Malcolm, and Siward Barn.[1] Duncan, one of the hostages for the treaty of Abernethy, had been set free at the Conqueror's death. Apparently he had been content to live on in England ever since. Robert remained till two days before Christmas, when he sailed for Normandy, little satisfied with the results of his visit, or the prospects of his obtaining fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty of Caen. Eadgar was allowed to return with him.[2] Henry also, as we may suppose, took his departure, retiring to the French Vexin, where he lived awhile with a household deemed very modest for a man of his rank. One knight, one chaplain, and three esquires was all the retinue that he could support.[3] But this state of depression did not last for long.

Robert Returns to Normandy.

Henry in the Vexin.

From what he had seen and heard during his expedition to the North the King had come to the conclusion that his West March towards Scotland ought to be defined and strengthened, a very sound conclusion, if the end could be attained consistently with regard for existing obligations. What he resolved to do was to annex and incorporate the parts of our Cumberland and Westmorland between the Solway and the Derwent, and on to Rere Cross on Stainmore. This was the old boundary of Scottish Cumbria or Strathclyde; it clearly had been under Malcolm in 1070, and its retention by him must have been included in the arrangements made at Abernethy in 1072,[4] and just confirmed by Rufus. On his way northwards to put this purpose into execution Rufus visited Lincoln to assist at the consecration of the new minster, for which the 9th May (1092) had been fixed. The seat of the great Middle-Anglian diocese, which stretched from the Thames to the Humber, had been removed by Remigius or Rémy from its original home at Dorchester on the Thames to the more commanding site in the rich city of Lincoln.[5] The cathedral church was sufficiently advanced to be now ready for dedication, but Archbishop Thomas of York had raised some difficulty, claiming authority over the church on the ground that Lindesey had been originally converted by Paulinus of York.[6] This

Consecration of Lincoln Cathedral.

[1] See the charter, *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, Append. xxii.; Freeman, *Wm. Rufus*, I. 305; II. 535. [2] Chron.; Flor. [3] Orderic, 697.

[4] See above, 79 and 84, and Sym. *H. R.* ss. 155, 156. For Rere Cross, as the old boundary claimed by the Scots, see Skene's *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 204. The population, however, are described as Saxon; *Id.* 10 (A.D. 971–995).

[5] Florence, A.D. 1092. The change was effected before *Domesday*; Freeman.

[6] See Freeman, *W. Rufus*, I. 311.

opposition, however, had been counteracted by the one and only expedient available under Rufus, namely payment of money to the King. On receipt of a suitable *douceur* from Remigius he gave orders for the consecration of the church, convening a concourse of bishops for the purpose. But two days before the time Remigius died,[1] and for eighteen months the See remained vacant. Continuing his march, William entered Cumberland, and expelled the existing ruler Dolphin, brother of Gospatrick II. and son of Gospatrick I., formerly Earl of Northumberland and afterwards of Dunbar. Dolphin, of course, held the country under Malcolm.[2] The city of Carlisle was refounded, a castle being added, with a garrison to hold it. A further measure was the plantation of an English colony, with wives and families brought from the South, to occupy the country, which was probably but thinly peopled.[3]

William Occupies Cumberland.

Vehement protests from Malcolm naturally ensued. In the simple words of the Peterborough chronicler, 'He asked for that that had been promised him.'[4] Diplomatic exchanges followed, and the Scottish King was induced to come to the English court, of course under proper guarantees for his personal safety by delivery of hostages. Rufus, as we shall see, had been brought to death's door in the spring of the year (1093) by illness. His temper for a while had been softened, and the Magnates of the two countries hoped that a lasting pacification might be established. Travelling southwards 'with mickle worship,' the Scots King was at Durham on the 11th August, and assisted with Bishop William and Prior Turgot at laying the foundation stone of our Durham Cathedral.[5] But when he came to Gloucester, where the court was, William, who had long since recovered his health and his spirits, refused even to see him, requiring him to submit his case to the jurisdictionof the English Barons, or *Curia Regis*.[6] As this would imply that the King of Scots owed suit and service to the English Court, and that his homage was liege homage, and not simple homage, Malcolm very properly refused, insisting that the Scots Kings had never submitted to the jurisdiction of any but a mixed court of the Barons of the two realms, held on a common frontier. Thus he had to leave

Malcolm's Visit to England.

Foundation of Durham Cathedral.

[1] Florence, *sup.*; W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 177. For the remains of the church of Remigius see below under Hen. I.

[2] Symeon, I. 216; II. 199; and the Holyrood and Glasgow charters, cited by Douglas, *Peerage of Scotland*, 438; Skene, *C. S.* I. 456.

[3] Chron.; Flor. The county revenues were very small. £14 6*s.* 6*d.* was the *vetus Firma*, doubtless fixed by Rufus. A tax on animals, *geldum animalium*, replaced Danegeld, the country not having been reduced to hides; Pipe Roll 31 H. I.

[4] Mr. Freeman seems unable to trace any connexion between the operations in Cumberland and Malcolm's protests, and assumes some new ground of quarrel; *N.C.* V. 119. But see *Rufus*, II. 8. [5] Symeon, *H.D.E.* p. 129; *H.R.* p. 220; J. Fordun, p. 218.

[6] "Ut secundum judicium tantum suorum baronum in curia sua rectitudinem ei faceret." The wording of the sentence would imply that Malcolm was being called to account, but of course that is not the real meaning.

Gloucester without having obtained any satisfaction.[1] In this matter Scotland clearly had good grounds for complaint. Her King had been induced to render homage on conditions that, acccording to the primary English authority, were ignored by the English King. Yet we are to suppose that the homage so obtained involved an indelible obligation which became for all time "part of the public law of the Isle of Britain."[2]

Last Raid of Malcolm.

Burning with indignation, Malcolm hastened back to his own dominions to call out forces for a fifth and last inroad into Northumberland. Advancing without proper precautions, he fell into an ambush on the river Aln, near Alnwick. The river was in a state of flood, but the Scots plunged boldly into it to be met and driven back by Robert of Mowbray, who had been restored to his earldom of Northumberland.

He is Killed at Alnwick.

Those who escaped the sword were drowned in the river. Malcolm himself fell by the hand of his own godson, Morel of Bamborough, the Earl's nephew and steward. Tradition fixes the spot at Malcolm's Cross, on the North side of the river.[3] The King's eldest son by Margaret, Eadward, who should have succeeded him, was mortally wounded; while the saintly Queen, who had long been in failing health, died in Edinburgh three days later on receipt of the news.[4]

Parties in Scotland.

The death of Malcolm Canmore was followed by four years of confusion caused by struggles between the parties in favour of, and those hostile to friendly relations with England. Margaret's influence of course had been all in favour of the former. She had encouraged visits of men of good position from the South, and endeavoured to settle them in Scotland. These men would find themselves at home among the Anglic population of Lothian, an important element. But their presence, and Margaret's innovations as a whole, were viewed with jealousy by the preponderating Celtic tribes, whether Picts of the East coast, Gael of the Western Highlands, or Welsh or Britons of Strathclyde. By way of returning to genuine native traditions, they set up Donald Bane (*Bán* =

[1] Chron; Florence. The former distinctly states he was refused the conditions promised to him, doubtless in 1091.

[2] Freeman, *N.C.* I. 61, etc. [3] Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 15.

[4] Chron.; Flor.; Symeon, *H.R.*; Orderic, 701; *Chron. Picts and S.* 175, 206, and the Life of St. Margaret printed with Mr. Hinde's *Symeon*, I. 253. The tone of all the writers except Symeon is sympathetic towards Malcolm. He was buried at Tynemouth, to be eventually removed to Dunfermline by his son Alexander; J. Fordun, I. 219. For Malcolm's issue by Margaret, six sons and two daughters, see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 434; Robertson, *Early Kings*, I. 151. Eadward the eldest son fell with his father. Æthelred, Abbot of Dunkeld and Earl of Fife, died young. Eadmund ruled Scotland for a time in conjunction with his uncle Donald Bane; Eadgar, Alexander, and David all came successively to the Throne. Of the daughters, Eadgyth-Matilda became the Queen of Henry I., and Mary married Eustace III. of Boulogne, by whom she had Matilda, the wife of King Stephen (Orderic, 702). By his first wife Ingebiorg, widow of Thorfinn Earl of Orkney, Canmore had Duncan the hostage to England, and Donald who died before him.

Red), a brother of the late King, on the old mischievous system of alternate succession. His promotion was followed by the expulsion of all the English,[1] that is to say of the newly come English established in the country.

Accession of Donald Bane.

But Duncan, eldest son of Canmore by his first wife Ingebiorg, the hostage of Abernethy, who had been set free at the death of the Conqueror, was still at the English court, and in favour with Rufus. The King, glad of an opportunity of placing a man of his own on the Northern Throne, took Duncan's fealty,[2] and sent him to Scotland with an Anglo-Norman force by whose help he ousted his uncle (1094). Six months only had the Red Donald reigned. In this matter the Scots appear to have been taken by surprise, because we hear that shortly afterwards they returned to the charge, attacking Duncan and killing most of his men. But he himself was allowed to remain King 'on the agreement (*gerâd*) that never eft should he any Englishmen or Frenchmen bring into the land.'[3] This compromise did not last out the year, Duncan's connexion with England being fatal to him. At the end of another six months a fresh rising broke out in which Duncan's half-brother Eadmund took part on behalf of Donald Bane. Duncan was killed, falling by the hand of Malpeder, Mormaer of the Mearns (Kincardineshire), of course a Pictish chieftain. An existing monolith at Mondynes near Fordoun is said to mark the spot. For three years more Donald reigned, Eadmund apparently being to a certain extent associated with him.[4]

He is ousted by Duncan.

Restoration of Donald Bane.

We may point out that the setting up of Duncan was the first attempt at intervention in Scottish internal affairs by a King of England.

To return to English affairs. The incorporation of Cumberland in 1092 was followed by further extensions of England's borders in 1093. Wales had never been allowed to recover from the blows inflicted on it by Harold in 1064. His conquests had not only been retained, but extended all along the line. Robert of Rhuddlan had carried his dominion to the line of the Conway, as already mentioned. He fell on the 3rd July, 1088, on his return from the siege of Rochester. He met his death while repelling a piratical descent made by King Gruffudd, apparently Gruffudd ap Cynan of North Wales,[5] on lands lying at the foot of

Welsh Affairs.

English Advance in North Wales.

[1] Chron.; Robertson, 156; Skene, *sup.* 434; etc.

[2] In the words of the chronicle (1093), Duncan gave William 'such pledges (getrywða) as he would have of him'; *i.e.* submitted to all William's terms. So too Florence.

[3] Chron.; Flor. (A.D. 1093).

[4] *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 175, 206, 370, (*Ann. Ulster*); Chron.; Flor., 1094; W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 400; Robertson, *sup.* 158; Skene, 438.

[5] A prince of this name appears in the *Brut*, A.D. 1073, and again in the *Annales Camb.* and the *Brut*, A.D. 1076 (=1081), as contending in North Wales with the family of Cynvyn, the father of Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, of whom we heard in Harold's days.

the Great Orme's Head, being English territory.[1] We are also told that Robert had established a very strong fort near the sea at "Dagannoth."[2] This was plainly Dugannu or Dyganwy, at the mouth of the Conway, a river that he had frequently crossed in his expeditions against the natives.[3] The Conway, therefore, may be taken as the western limit of the English advance on the North Welsh coast at the time of William's accession. But by 1092 they must have worked their way round as far as Bangor, as in that year we have a Breton, Hervé by name, consecrated Bishop for that See by Thomas of York, and evidently by William's appointment. But he failed to maintain his position, and returned to England, where further promotion awaited him.[4]

The measure of the English progress in other quarters cannot be so clearly traced. But in Powys, or Mid-Wales, Earl Roger of Montgomery had established himself in the district that still bears his name; and still earlier William fitz Osbern had made further conquests in our Radnorshire; while in South Wales the building of the castle of Cardiff (1081) indicated that the English frontier had been carried from Gwent into Morganwg.[5]

In Mid-Wales.

The whole of the Southern kingdom now had to succumb. In Easter week (April 17–24), 1093, Rhys ap Tewdwr was killed by the 'Frenchmen' established in Brecknock. By the 1st July the invaders had taken possession of Dyfed and Ceredigion,[6] securing their position by the building of forts. There ended the line of Kings of South Wales, and seemingly of North Wales also, the rulers thenceforth contenting themselves with the humbler style of Princes.[7] It also appears that by this time the English had established a footing in Anglesey, and built a castle there, though with other recent acquisitions it was wrested from them for a time in the ensuing year.[8] The conquest of Brecknock was the work of Bernard of Neufmarché, who in the old barbaric style made himself at home in his new position by taking for his second wife a native lady, Nest, granddaughter of Gruffudd ap Llewelyn,

In South Wales.

In the last-named year (1081) Gruffudd became King of N. Wales and Rhys ap Tewdwr King of S. Wales.

[1] "Sub montem qui Hormaheva dicitur"; Ord. 670, 671. Hormaheva is plainly Hormaheafod=Horm's Head or Orme's Head. [2] Ord., *sup.*

[3] See Ord. *sup.*, where Robert's epitaph, rehearsing his deeds and composed by the writer, is given. Robert's body was taken to St. Evroult. For Dyganwy see Giraldus, *Itiner. Camb.* 136, 176. (Dimock, Rolls Series, No. 21, vol. VI.)

[4] *Decem S.* c 1707; *Reg. Sacrum*; W. Malm. *G.P.* 325, 326. See for more Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* I. 299, 303.

[5] Gwent corresponded to the modern Monmouthshire, (qy. up to Sirhowy River?), and Morganwg to Glamorganshire, but only roughly, as Glamorganshire includes the promontory of Gower in addition to Morganwg.

[6] Corresponding, but again not exactly, with Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire.

[7] Flor.; *Ann. Camb.*; and *Brut-y-T.* (A.D. 1091); Giraldus, *sup.* 89, where the events are ascribed to the time of Henry I.

[8] Flor. A.D. 1094; W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 327.

by Ealdgyth, afterwards the wife of Harold.[1] About this time also, probably, Philip of Braouse was established at Builth, and Robert fitz Hamon became lord of Glamorgan and Cardiff.[2] The possession of Rhyd-y-Gors on the Tawe, Tawy, or Towy,[3] proves that this English occupation had made its way into modern Caermarthenshire; while we hear of the building of the first fort at Pembroke (Penvro), a rude structure of turf and wattle, the work of Ernulf of Montgomery.[4] The conquest of Welsh territories by buccaneering Norman chiefs acting on their own account, is a distinct feature of the period. Rhyd-y-Gors was fortified by one William fitz Baldwin, under orders, however, from the King.[5] But their hold on the country was, as yet, but precarious. In the very next year, the King being in Normandy, we hear that the natives rose, captured all the forts except Pembroke and Rhyd-y-Gors, and reduced Dyfed and Ceredigion to a desert.[6] Anglesey also was recovered, as already mentioned. Cadwgan son of Bleddyn, a man of whom we shall hear more, is named as taking the lead, apparently in Gwynedd, and defeating 'the French' in the wood of "Yspwys" or "Yspys."[7] If Cadwgan was acting in Gwynedd it must have been as the ally of Gruffudd son of Cynan, as his own sphere of action was clearly in Mid-Wales—Ceredigion and Powys.[8]

Risings of the Native Welsh.

[1] Girald. Camb. VI. 28, 29; Freeman, 109. This Nest, the name of whose father is not given, must be distinguished from the Nest the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the fallen King of South Wales, who became successively the mistress of Henry I. and wife of Gerald of Windsor, and Stephen constable of Aberteivi (Cardigan); Girald. VI. 91, 130; *Brut-y-T.* p. 83.

[2] A letter of Anselm's on behalf of the clergy of St. David's diocese (1100–1102?) is addressed to Robert Earl of Shrewsbury, Ernulf of Montgomery, Ralph of Mortimer, and Bernard of Neufmarché as the men at whose mercy the district was; *Epp.* IV. 23, Haddan and Stubbs, I. 300. For Robert fitz Hamon see Freeman, *Rufus*, II. 79–92; *N. C.* V. 820. [3] Near the town of Caermarthen.

[4] "Castrum. . . . ex virgis et cespite satis tenue"; Giraldus, *sup.*

[5] *Brut*, A.D. 1094. [6] *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut* (given as 1092). [7] Yspithy? There is one place of the name on the Conway, another in Cardiganshire.

[8] See *Ann. C.* and *Brut*, 1091–1113, *passim.* Both these chronicles were connected with South Wales, and give prominence to everything connected with South Wales.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII

The Kingdom of Scotland, A.D. 1093

THE kingdom bequeathed by Malcolm Canmore to his successors was held to comprise, South of the Forth, the districts of Lothian, Galloway, and Strathclyde or "Cumbria," bounded as at present by the line of the Cheviots from Berwick to the Solway, Cumberland and Westmorland having been annexed by Rufus. North of the Forth extended the old Alba, now called Scotia. But Malcolm's effectual dominion probably did not extend much West of the Spey. Caithness and the Orkneys were under the sons of Earl Thorfinn; and the whole West coast, and Western Islands, including Man, seem to have been under Scandinavian influence (see Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I. 435). South of the Dornoch Firth, the great district of Moray (= Rosshire, Invernesshire, etc.) had its native Mormaers, but, from the great victory over the Mormaer Maelsnechtan, son of King Lulach, recorded by the Worcester Chronicle under the year 1078 (see also *Annals of Ulster*, 1085), we may take it that the supremacy of Malcolm was fully recognised there. See the valuable tract printed *Chron. Picts and Scot*, 153.

CHAPTER XIII

WILLIAM II. (*continued*)

A.D. 1093–1095

Anselm—His Early Life—Prior and Abbot of Bec—Visits to England—Appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury—First Differences with Rufus—Campaign in Normandy—Question of the *Pallium* and of the Recognition of Urban II.—Reference to Rome and triumph of Anselm

THE year 1093 witnessed an event of greater interest than the break up of the Kingdom of South Wales. About the beginning of March the King was taken suddenly ill at "Alweston," near Gloucester.[1] He was removed to that city, but continued ill, so ill that it was reported that he was dead. Perhaps the wish was father to the thought: at any rate the King's career of extortion and tyranny received a momentary check.

Illness of the King.

"When the Devil was ill the Devil a saint would be."

Under fear of death William's cynical hardihood deserted him. In the simple words of the Peterborough chronicler we are told that 'he made many promises to God in his trouble: his own life he would lead aright, and God's churches in *grith and frith* (protection and peace) keep, and never more for fee sell them: and all right laws would he among his people have.'[2] Eadmer the Canterbury monk gives us a more exact account of what happened. A certain distinguished churchman, of whom anon, having been called to the Royal bedside, prescribed as the first thing to be done, confession, to be followed by promises of amendment in case of recovery. This was done, the King's pledges being embodied in a charter, and solemnly placed on the altar. Besides general promises of 'good law,' we are told that the King announced an Act of Grace, undertaking to release prisoners and remit Crown claims and so forth. A further concession urgently pressed upon him was the appointment of an Archbishop of Canterbury.[3]

His Promises of Reform.

It is clear that the vacancy in the Primacy weighed heavily on the public mind. Great was the scandal caused by the sight of the archiepiscopal revenues being farmed out year by year to the highest bidder.[4] Nor was there any doubt as to the man on whose

Vacancy in the Primacy.

[1] Florence; qy. Alstone 4½ miles N.W. of Winchcomb? [2] Chron.; Flor.
[3] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 31, 32. [4] *Id.* 26.

shoulders the mantle of Lanfranc ought to fall. England and Normandy were at one on that point. The claims of the saintly Abbot of Bec were in every man's mouth.[1]

Anselm of Aosta.

Anselm of Aosta was born between the 21st April, 1033, and the 21st April, 1034. His mother Ermenberg was a native of the place, then reckoned part of Burgundy, while his father Gundulf was a Lombard. Both were 'noble,' that is to say certainly persons of landed property and independent means, perhaps, indeed, persons of very high connexions.[2] From an early age their son shewed himself an apt and diligent scholar, with an imagination inspired by the grandeur of the surrounding scenery. Looking up at the mighty Pennine summits—Velan, Combin, or the Ruitor—he would ask of his mother if God's Hall was up there. Once he dreamed that he had made the ascent. On his way up he was grieved to see the negligent way in which the Lord's peasant-women were getting in his harvest. He found the Almighty sitting in the Hall with His Steward (*Dapifer*). The boy was graciously invited to draw near, and state his errand, and was given a piece of wondrous white bread for his refection.[3]

His Early Life.

At the age of fifteen, apparently during a fit of illness, he thought of taking vows, but with returning health came a renewed sense of the joys of life, and for some years he led the life of other lads of good position.[4] His mother, while she lived, exercised a happy influence on him, but at her death Anselm found himself unable to remain under the paternal roof, his father being represented as harsh and tyrannical to him.[5] He went forth, with an ass laden with things needful, and an attendant cleric,[6] and, having crossed the Mont Cenis,[7] wandered for three years in Burgundy and France. Of his doings in that period we hear nothing, but at the end of that time we find him at Bec, attracted by the reputation of Lanfranc. Anselm became his favourite pupil, assisting in the work of teaching. He had not yet made up his mind as to his final career in life. His father was now dead, and his position independent. His thoughts were turned towards the cloister, but an excusable sense of his own powers created a difficulty. The only two

Studies under Lanfranc.

[1] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 27–30.

[2] See Martin Rule, *Life and Times of St. Anselm*, I. 1 (London, 1883). The writer believes Gundulf to have been son or grandson of Manfred I. Marquis of Susa; and Ermenberg to have been granddaughter of Conrad the Pacific, King of Transjuran Burgundy; *Id.* 426. That would make her cousin to the Imperial House of Saxony.

[3] Eadmer, *De Vita, etc., Anselmi*, p. 315 (M. Rule, Rolls Series, No. 81).

[4] For a certain amount of irregularity in Anselm's early life, see his address to his sister Richera or Richeza, *Meditations*, No. XVI.; Hook, *Archbishops*, II. 172. She eventually married and had a son named Anselm. See also *Meditations*, No. III.

[5] At the same time we are told that Gundulf took vows at his wife's death; Eadmer, *supra*, p. 314.

[6] "Uno qui sibi ministraret clerico comitatus."

[7] "Transcensu montis Senisii."

monasteries to be thought of were Cluny and Bec. But the strictness of the rules at Cluny would interfere with study. At Bec he was doomed to be eclipsed by the pre-eminence of Lanfranc. After much thought within himself he went to Lanfranc, and consulted him as to his decision between three ways. He was in doubt, he said, whether to become a monk, or an independent hermit,[1] or whether living on his property to devote himself to works of charity. Lanfranc refused to take upon himself the responsibility of deciding this momentous question, and advised a reference to Archbishop Maurille (Maurilius). The two went to Rouen together to see the Primate. He had no doubt as to which course to recommend, and Anselm returned to Bec to take the cowl there in the twenty-seventh year of his age. Herlouin was still Abbot, and Lanfranc Prior.[2]

He Takes the Cowl.

Three years later, when Lanfranc was translated to Caen, Anselm succeeded him.[3] This rapid promotion excited the jealousy of the seniors over whose heads he was raised, but their hostility was overcome by his gentleness, tact, and good sense.[4] His life was ascetic, but not to excess; 'he eat and drank as other men did, but with great moderation, knowing that his body could not be supported without food.'[5] Of his position as Prior he availed himself for the purposes of study. He was diligent in correcting the text of faulty manuscripts. His faith in the Scriptures was great, and his ambition was to elucidate the problems and difficulties in connexion therewith that could not fail to suggest themselves to an enquiring mind. His turn of thought was distinctly metaphysical. We hear of works composed by him at this time "*De Veritate*," "*De Libertate Animi*," "*De Casu Diaboli*." These titles speak for themselves. We also have "*De Grammatico*," a scholastic dialogue in which the Qualities of things are discussed; and the *Monologion* and *Proslogion*, treatises on Natural Religion and the *a priori* conception of the Deity. The idea embodied in the latter work came to him in the waking hours of the night. In the former he expounds the Trinity "as the self-knowledge, the intelligence, and the love of the Divine Being."[6] Anselm's meditations on these deep mysteries were such as to interfere with his attention to his monastic duties, and even with his sleep and peace of mind. He con-

Becomes Prior of Bec.

His Metaphysical Works.

[1] "Heremi cultor." [2] A.D. 1060; Eadmer, *Vita A.* 315–320.

[3] *Id.* A.D. 1062; *Chron. Bec*, 197 (ed. Giles), cited Freeman. See also Ord. 549, where it is again stated that Anselm became Prior at the end of three years, thus correcting the date of 1066 given at p. 494 as that of Lanfranc's promotion.

[4] Eadmer, *sup.* 322, where an instance is given of the opposition of a promising neophyte being overcome by considerate treatment. [5] *Ib.*

[6] Eadmer, 332–334. The teaching of the *Proslogion* was attacked by one Gannilo, a monk of Marmoutier. Anselm published a reply; *Id.*; Hook, *Archbishops*, II. 268, 271.

sulted Maurilius as to resigning his position as Prior. Again the Archbishop urged him not to prefer his own soul to the good of others.[1]

His Views on Education.

Very enlightened and interesting were Anselm's views on the subject of education and the treatment of the young, whom he would compare to virgin wax 'in need of careful tempering to make it useful and good.' On one occasion, when conversing with an Abbot, held a man of high character (*admodum religiosus*), the latter complained of his difficulties with boys sent to be trained in his monastery. 'We flog them,' he said, 'night and day,[1] but they never seem any the better for it.' 'Indeed,' said Anselm, 'you flog them incessantly, and pray, what do they grow up like?' 'Stupid brutes' (*hebetes et bestiales*), was the answer. 'Surely,' said Anselm gently, 'that seems a poor result of your nurture if it turns human beings into brutes?' 'We cannot help it,' pleaded the Abbot. 'We coerce them on every side to force them onwards, but still we make no progress with them.'[3] 'Just so, my Lord Abbot,' retorted Anselm. 'If you were to take a plant from your nursery and surround it so that it could not put out shoots on any side, what kind of a tree, think you, would it grow to? So with your boys; you hem them in with threats and floggings till no liberty whatever is left to them, and then, perforce, they grow awry, and put out thorns instead of healthy shoots.'[4]

His Love of Animals.

Nor was Anselm's tender sympathy restricted to the human species. We also hear of his kindness to animals. On one occasion he carefully protected a hunted hare that had taken refuge under his horse's legs. At another time he ordered a boy to release a bird that he was tormenting, holding it tethered by a string tied to its foot, letting it fly and then pulling it in again.[5]

Becomes Abbot of Bec.

At the death of Herlouin (August, 1078)[6] Anselm was unanimously elected Abbot; but again he showed great reluctance to undertake an office that would further involve him in secular work. Five months elapsed before he would allow himself to be consecrated.[7] As Abbot he took little part in the business affairs of his House. When he did interfere it was to prohibit sharp practice, and any attempt to press inequitable or excessive claims. 'Do as you would be done by,' was his motto. But he was not slow to detect fraud in an antagonist. In his hospitality he was almost prodigal, taking the bread from the mouths of his monks, and often reducing his establishment to the verge of want. He would take no care for the morrow, always 'trusting in the Lord,' and, somehow or other, the morrow always did

[1] Eadm. 322, 327, 333; "Nec te a subvectione aliorum tui solius curam gerens velis retrahere." [2] "Die et nocte non cessamus eos verberantes."

[3] "Modis omnibus constringimus eos ut proficiant, et nihil proficimus."

[4] Eadmer, 339.

[5] *Id.* 378, 379. [6] Orderic, 549. [7] 22nd Feb. 1079; Orderic.

bring help. Either a vessel would come in from England up the Rille, or some wealthy benefactor or postulant would appear with money in his pocket.[1]

The abbey of Bec owned lands in different parts of England, as, for instance, the manor of Tooting-Bec in Surrey.[2] Business connected with these called Anselm to England more than once. His first visit was in 1079, when he must have landed at Lymne, near Hythe, as Lanfranc received him at his manor of Lyminge, and took him on to Canterbury.[3] It was on this occasion that the well-known argument as to the merits of St. Ælfheah or Elfege took place. Lanfranc, still new to England and things English,[4] had been revising the Anglo-Saxon Calendar, striking out the names of persons whose merits he could not understand. Being in doubt as to the case of the Greenwich Martyr[5] he consulted Anselm. The discussion between them is most interesting as shewing the small amount of consideration for the labouring poor entertained even by the educated classes of the time. Lanfranc urged that Ælfheah had been put to death, by pagans no doubt, but not 'for the name of Christ,'[6] but merely because he refused to pay a ransom that would have impoverished his 'men,' perhaps reduced some of them to beggary. Anselm differed. He argued that the man who would face death rather than commit a venial offence (*leve contra Deum peccatum*) would surely die rather than commit a grave offence. If Ælfheah had refused to overtax his tenantry, a small sin, much more would he have refused to deny Christ, the greatest of sins. John the Baptist, an acknowledged martyr, had not died for the name of Christ, but for the sake of truth. Ælfheah had died for justice. Both in fact had died for Christ, who Himself was the embodiment of truth and justice. Lanfranc submitted at once, replaced Æltheah's name on the Calendar, and ordered the chanter Osbern to write his Life, the Life of which the reader has already heard.[7]

His Visits to England.

A Plea for St. Ælfheah.

If we have condemned the Conqueror for his treatment of the poor it must be confessed that in doing so we judged him by a standard higher than that of his own time. Lanfranc thought death endured to spare the pockets of the poor too trivial a merit to be recognised by the Church. Anselm admitted that to overtax tenantry would not in itself be a grave sin. But his spiritual insight as compared with that of Lanfranc is very remarkable.

Anselm created a great impression in England during this visit. The

[1] Eadmer, 346, 347.

[2] Rule, *St. Anselm*, I. 240. Other estates were Winchcomb, Oxon, and Brixton-Deveril, Wilts.

[3] *Anselmi Epp.* b. II. No. 9 (Migne).

[4] "Adhuc quasi rudis Anglus."

[5] See vol. I. p. 367.

[6] "Pro confessione nominis Christi."

[7] *Anglia Sacra*, II. 122. See Eadmer, *sup.* 348, 352.

magnates pressed invitations on him; the countesses were devoted to him. Even the rough Conqueror became another man in his presence.[1]

It would seem that Anselm again came to England on abbey business in 1083 and 1088.[2] A visit fraught with more important consequences occurred in 1092. Lanfranc had been dead for more than three years, and the Primacy was still vacant, to the great distress of the nation. The Abbot of Bec was everywhere looked to as the man for the post. Hugh the Earl of Chester took the lead in asking him to come over. He wished, he said, for Anselm's advice as to his proceedings in replacing the canons of St. Werburh's Chester by monks.[3] Anselm, who suspected ulterior designs, excused himself. A second and a third time the Earl pressed his invitation, declaring himself dangerously ill. Finally, the affairs of Bec calling for his presence in England, Anselm went over.

The Primacy. Crossing from Boulogne to Dover, he reached Canterbury on the 7th September.[4] Finding the people there inclined to hail him offhand as Archbishop, he hastened on next day to Court. The King, leaving his seat, received him at the door of the hall, kissed him, and brought him in by the hand. After an exchange of compliments, a private audience ensued, in which Anselm thought it his duty to inform the King of certain discreditable rumours that were current.[5] Anselm then went about his business, not omitting a run to Chester. He was at Gloucester during the Christmas festivities. He had applied for leave to go home, but Rufus, as if through caprice, refused it. The question of the Primacy was naturally much discussed by the Magnates in private; and the King was asked if he would allow prayers for his own conversion in that matter to be offered up, a most singular request. At first he looked very black, but, swallowing his wrath, he answered contemptuously that the Church might pray as it pleased, he would act as he pleased. The task of drawing up the strange form of prayer was committed to Anselm. Again a favourite courtier brought Anselm's merits before the King, laying stress on his complete indifference to worldly promotion. 'Canterbury included, I suppose,' said William sarcastically. 'Canterbury most especially,' was the answer. 'Indeed,' retorted the King, 'well know I that if Anselm thought that he had the slightest chance of getting Canterbury he would rush to embrace me, clapping hands and feet for joy.[6] But by the Holy Face of Lucca neither he nor any one else except myself shall be Archbishop.'[7]

Anselm was still in the neighbourhood of Gloucester when the King fell ill. He was promptly summoned to his bed-side, and to him William

[1] "Rex ipse Willelmus qui armis Angliam ceperat," Eadmer, 355.

[2] See Rule, *Anselm*, I. 247, 249. I cannot verify the authority for the first of these visits. [3] For this change, effected in 1093, see Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 314.

[4] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 27-29; *Vita Ans.* 359. [5] *Vit.* 359, 360.

[6] "Manibus ac pedibus plaudens in amplexum occurreret." [7] *Hist. Nov.* 29, 30.

made his confession, and gave the promises of amendment already noticed. We are told that a Royal charter to that effect was immediately sealed. As a further instalment of performance, Rufus was pressed about the Primacy, and asked whom he would name as most fit. Of course he named the Abbot of Bec. Anselm was then again brought to the King's Chamber. An extraordinary scene ensued, Anselm protesting utterly against the honour proposed to be conferred upon him, making every excuse for refusing, and appealing to one man after another for support. But nobody would support him. Finally he was pushed up to the bed-side and forced in some manner to accept the pastoral staff or crosier—the symbol of investiture—from the hands of the King. The *Te Deum* was raised amid shouts of congratulation, and the Archbishop-Elect was carried bodily to the chapel of the castle, to have his appointment sealed by a service of quasi-consecration.[1] Royal orders were also issued for the delivery of all rights and possessions, intrinsic and forinsic (*intus et extra*), enjoyed by Lanfranc, including the city of Canterbury and the Abbey of St. Albans.[2]

Reluctance of Anselm.

His Appointment.

Writing to the monks at Bec, Anselm himself describes the proceedings at his nomination as tumultuous. 'Whether they were madmen dragging a sane man, or sane men dragging a madman might have been doubted.'[3] He adds that he is still resisting, but that the force of circumstances would be too much for him; and that he felt that he would have to yield, 'willy nilly' (*velim nolim*).[4] Talking to the bishops and nobles, he said, 'What are you about? You are seeking to yoke a young unbroken bull to a weak old sheep. The Church plough needs a better matched pair than that.'[5] As it turned out, the old sheep proved the stronger-willed of the two.

As on the occasion of his promotion to the abbacy so in the case of Canterbury, a considerable time elapsed before Anselm was consecrated. The consents of the Duke of Normandy, of the Archbishop of Rouen, and of the Bec monks had to be obtained.[6] Meanwhile the King had recovered, and soon "repented of his repentance."

The King's Recovery.

"When the Devil was well, the devil a saint was he."

All the promises of amnesty and remission were recalled; prisoners were detained, or, if set free, recommitted to bonds. The suits and claims previously released were revived. The whole kingdom was thrown into

[1] Sunday, 6th March, 1093; *Id.* 31–35; *Vita*, 360. [2] *Hist. Nov.* 37.

[3] "Ita ut dubium videri posset utrum sanum insani, an insanum traherent sani"; *Epp.* III. No. 1 (Migne).

[4] So too another letter, III. No. 10. [5] *Hist. Nov.* 36.

[6] See *Hist. Nov.* 38; *Anselm. Epp.* III. 4, 6, 9, etc. The monks made some difficulty. Though subject to their Abbot, they had rights over him in return.

confusion. When his confidant Gundulf of Rochester ventured to remonstrate the King said, 'O Bishop, the Lord will get no good of me for the ill that he sent me.' A first quarrel between Anselm and the King ensued on the subject of Canterbury lands detained by William. Anselm also warned him among other things that he, Anselm, recognised Urban II. as Pope,[1] intimating that he would expect William to do as much. William consulted the Bishop of Durham (William of St. Carilef) and Robert Count of Meulan.[2] By their advice he said that he would restore all lands of which Lanfranc had died seized; as to lands enfeoffed to undertenants, and the other matters raised by Anselm, he would take time to consider.[3]

Detention of Canterbury Lands.

The point at issue in the matter of these lands should be noted as illustrating the bold illegality of William's proceedings. Lanfranc, in pursuance of the system that we have already described,[4] had enfeoffed certain Englishmen of lands on condition of military service (*milites*).[5] Some of these men had died without heirs, whereupon their fiefs without doubt would revert to the church. Rufus pretended that they had escheated to him, over the head of the Archbishop, as if he and not the Archbishop were their immediate lord.[6] To this pretence he still clung. Hoping that Anselm would give way, he summoned him to Windsor, and pressed him to allow himself to be consecrated without insisting on the restitution of the subinfeudated lands. But Anselm was firm in his purpose not to impoverish a church for which he had done nothing. The matter hung long in suspense[7]; so much so that Anselm was beginning to hope that he would after all escape the burden he so greatly dreaded.[8] At last, however, the King, yielding to the clamours of the nation, gave way, and so, late in September,[9] Anselm did homage in a Council held at Winchester, and received an order for

[1] Odo Bishop of Ostia, elected 12th March, 1088; H. Nicolas.

[2] Son of Roger of Beaumont. [3] *Hist. Nov.* 37–40; *Anselm. Epp.* III. No. 24.

[4] Above, p. 140.

[5] These were doubtless just some of the "drengs" whom Lanfranc had converted into "milites"; *Epp. Cantuar.* 225; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 213.

[6] *Anselm. Epp.* III. No. 24. The tone of Anselm's letter shews that the incidents of military tenure were well known, and no mere inventions of Ralph Flambard, as has been suggested by a well-known writer.

[7] "Decurso non exiguo tempore"; *Hist. Nov.* 41; "Post longum temporis spatium"; *Vita*, 361. [8] *Id.*; *Anselm. Epp.* III. No. 24.

[9] So seemingly *Hist. Nov.* 41. Dr. Hook and the writer in the *Dict. of National Biography* speak of investiture at Winchester, at Easter (April 17), when no doubt Anselm was at Winchester. But Eadmer says nothing of homage then (see *Vita*, 361). On the contrary, his words show a long interval between the King's recovery and the homage, which is given as followed immediately by the enthronement. The King's concession is not very clearly stated. The *Hist. Nov.* says: "promisionibus persuasit," *i.e.*, Anselmum. The *Vita*, however, says that the causes of difference had been removed (ablatis de medio rationibus, etc.).

institution in all the rights granted to Christ Church by the Confessor.[1]

Enthronement of Anselm.

From Winchester he went to Canterbury, having till then lived chiefly at Rochester, as the guest of Bishop Gundulf. On the 25th September he was enthroned amid great rejoicings. But the Red King would not allow even that glad day to pass without a declaration of war. The Archbishop-elect was no sooner installed than Ralph Flambard came forward to serve him with a writ, citing him to appear before the King's Court, and that, we are told, for a matter relating to the rights of his church[2]; and one, therefore, over which, in the eyes of churchmen, the King's Court had no jurisdiction.

The consecration followed on the 4th December. This ceremony again could not pass off without a hitch, the question between Canterbury and York cropping up again. Walkelin, the Bishop of Winchester, in his opening address having referred to the Southern Archbishop as 'Metropolitan' of all Britain, provoked an immediate protest from Thomas of York, in deference to which the word 'Primate' was substituted.[3]

Another ecclesiastical appointment of the year which may be noticed here was that of Robert Bloet, the Chancellor, to the See of Lincoln, vacant since 1093 by the death of Remigius.[4]

Anselm duly repaired to court for the Christmas festivities.[5] The first three days passed amicably, but on the fourth day fresh troubles began.

Troubles with the King.

William was preparing for an expedition to Normandy, and raising money by every expedient. The Archbishop was most unwilling to do anything that could be represented by his enemies as in the nature of simony; but by the advice of friends, and to conciliate the King, he offered a contribution of £500. His offer was rejected, and he was informed that £1,000 was the least that could be accepted. Anselm, perhaps rashly, ventured to address the King himself on the subject. 'My Lord,' said he, 'do not refuse the offering of your Archbishop. If it be his first it will not be his last gift to you. Better to take a little of freewill than much under servile compulsion.' 'Keep thy money to thyself,' answered the churlish Rufus, 'I have enough of mine own.' The festivities over, Anselm left court announcing that he would give the £500 to the poor.[6]

The stipulations of the treaty of Caen in Robert's favour still remained unperformed. Far from keeping faith with his helpless brother, Rufus was still plotting his overthrow. William, the young Count of

Robert and William.

Eu, had been seduced from his allegiance to the Duke, and brought over to England, to declare himself the King's man.[7]

[1] *Fœdera*, I. 5. [2] "Quod negotium . . . ad jura ecclesiæ pertinebat."
[3] *Hist. Nov.* 40–43; *Vita A.* 361.
[4] Chron.; Flor. Bloet was consecrated February 12, 1094; *Reg. Sacrum.*
[5] Held at Gloucester; Chron.
[6] *Hist. Nov.* 43–45; *Vita*, 361; *Anselm. Epp.* IV. No. 24. [7] Florence, A.D. 1093.

At Christmas time Robert sent envoys to Gloucester to insist once more upon the fulfilment of the pledges made to him. These it may be remembered included the guarantee of Maine, and the grant of some substantial estates in England. The last undertaking, not difficult of performance, was probably the one to which the Duke clung most, as shewn by his visit to England in 1091. Failing performance, his agents were instructed to denounce William as false and forsworn. The King answered by a declaration of war. At the beginning of February (1094) he went down with his army to Hastings. The bishops were summoned to give his enterprise the benefit of their prayers, the last thing one would have expected Rufus to care for. Their presence was turned to account by dedicating the memorial church of St. Martin's Battle, the Conqueror's foundation (11th February).[1] On the next day Robert Bloet, the new Bishop of Lincoln, was consecrated.[2] Herbert Losinga, or more properly Losenge,[3] the Bishop of Thetford, who had assisted at the consecration of Anselm on the 4th December, does not appear on the list of those who assisted at the hallowing of Bloet.[4] This man (Losenge), previously Prior of Fécamp and Abbot of Ramsey,[5] had literally bought his bishopric from Rufus, together with the abbacy of the New Minster Winchester, for his father Robert. It would seem that he was found to be meditating a journey to Rome, doubtless to clear his conscience; and for his presumption was immediately suspended by the King.[6] But the wily Flatterer knew how to deal with his Royal master, and so shortly was allowed to proceed on his pious errand. At Rome again he had difficulties to contend with, but, again making friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, returned to England, fully absolved and confirmed as Bishop. The transference of the See from the barren earthworks of Thetford to the populous trading city of Norwich followed immediately.[7]

William Declares War.

Dedication of St. Martin's Battle.

[1] Chron.; Flor.; 11th February, *Chron. Battle*, but A.D. 1095.

[2] *Reg. Sacrum.* Henry of Huntingdon speaks well of the new Bishop, "quo non erat alter forma venustior, mente serenior, affatu dulcior"; A.D. 1093. Malmesbury describes him as a humorous man (parum gravis), an excellent man of business, but no churchman; *G. P.* s. 177. The claim of superiority was again raised by the Archbishop of York, and again defeated by large payments made to the King by Bloet; H. Hunt. *sup.*; conf. Eadmer, *H. N.* 47.

[3] With respect to this appellation, "Losinga" (Florence), or "Losange" (Chron. E), Florence tells us that it was acquired by the Bishop's skill in the art of flattery (ars adulationis), but adds, rather inconsistently, that it was also borne by his father Robert before him. Malmesbury in his *G. P.* copies him verbatim. "Losenge" in the French of the period is given as = flattery or deceit (Godefroy); conf. Ital. "lusinga," "lusingare."

[4] *Reg. Sacrum.*

[5] Flor.; *Hist. Ramsey*, 208.

[6] See Chron. E, and the account in the Lambeth MS. of Florence, Thorpe, II. 34 note; followed by Symeon, *H. R.* The confused account in Thorpe's primary text is copied by Malmesbury in his *G. P.* p. 151.

[7] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 339; and *G. P.* p. 151. T. Rudborne places the transference in

Returning to affairs at Hastings, we hear that the manners and morality of the court had sunk to the lowest ebb. Detestable vices were paraded.[1] The young courtiers wore long hair, curled and bound with ribbons (*vittæ*) like that of girls, and in other ways also affected the gait and airs of women. Another new fashion—much condemned by the clergy—were the long-toed shoes, with points like horns (*pigaciæ*, Fr. *pigaces* or *pigaches*). This conceit, of French origin, had been carried to its height at the court of William Rufus.[2] We are told that on Ash-Wednesday (22nd February) Anselm preached with great effect against these malpractices, and, in particular, that he refused his blessing, and the ceremonial sprinkling of ashes to all men whose heads were not properly cut.[3] He also thought it his duty to approach the King on certain other delicate subjects. He asked to be allowed to hold episcopal Synods for the reformation of manners, and the suppression of nameless vices. He pressed for the appointment of abbots to keep the monasteries in proper order. With respect to the Synods Rufus told him that when he wanted one he would summon one, at his own convenience, and not at Anselm's. On the subject of the abbeys he lost his temper. 'Are not mine abbeys mine own? Thou doest as thou willest by thy manors; shall not I do as I will by my abbeys?' Anselm pleading that the abbeys were the King's to cherish and protect,[4] not his to invade and despoil, William cut him short. 'Know that thy words offend me much.[5] Thy predecessor would never have dared to speak to my father as thou hast spoken to me. Be sure that I will do nought for thee.'

The King at Hastings.

Vices of the Court.

Anselm's Efforts for Reformation.

Rufus Obdurate.

Sensible that without the King he could effect nothing, Anselm sent an humble message begging to be restored to the King's good graces, and offering to make amends if he had offended. The King answered that he had no complaint to make against the Archbishop, but that he would not take him into friendship, 'and that,' said he, 'because I don't see why I should.'[6] Anselm was puzzled as to the meaning of these words, but the

1095; *Angl. Sacra*, I. 264. Herbert signs as Bishop of Norwich 8th June, 1096; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[1] *Anselm. Epp.* III. No. 62.

[2] See Eadmer, *H. N.* 48; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 314; Orderic, 682; H. Hunt., A.D. 1100. The long-toed shoes are said to have been first introduced by Fulk Rechin the Count of Anjou, who had broad feet disfigured by bunions. One Robert, a jester at the English court, hit on the plan of stuffing the points of his shoes with tow to make them stand up like horns. This invention gained him the name of *Cornard*; Ord. *sup.*

[3] "A cineram susceptione . . . suspendit." 'Dust thou art and to dust shalt thou return,' were the words with which the ashes were sprinkled on the forehead.

[4] "Ut illas quoad advocatus defendas." Anselm here introduces a word new to English Church history, but well known on the Continent.

[5] "Mihi valde contraria" (qy. Fr. "Me contrarient beaucoup"?).

[6] "Quia non audio quare." One seems to hear the words in (modern) French, "Parceque je n'entend pas pourquoi."

bishops who acted as go-betweens explained that with Rufus the phrase always meant money. They urged him to renew his offer of the rejected £500, with a promise of as much more as he could get out of his men. Anselm flatly refused to set a precedent that might be turned against him at any moment. 'Besides,' said he, 'my tenants have been stripped to their skins during the vacancy. Am I now to flay them alive?'[1] Incensed beyond control, Rufus sent back a message renouncing the Archbishop and his spiritual authority, and promising him ever-increasing enmity for the future. Anselm then retired from court.[2]

Campaign in Normandy.

After a detention at Hastings of some six weeks the King finally crossed the Channel about Mid-Lent (19th March) probably landing at Eu. The campaign proved much less eventful than that of 1091, and much less favourable to Rufus. Robert, unable to cope with his brother in the field, asked for an interview. The two met, but could come to no conclusion. The Duke then appealed to the signitaries of the treaty of Caen, who had guaranteed its execution. Their award was altogether against the King. 'But he recked nought of it, neither would he keep his fore-words.' William then proceeded to lay siege to the Castle of Bures,[3] held by Hélie of Saint-Saens, and took it. On the other hand, Robert, supported by King Philip of France, attacked and took Argentan,[4] though held by Roger of Poitou with seven hundred men-at-arms. This success was followed up by the capture of La Houlme,[5] though strongly garrisoned under William Peverel. As this place was not six miles distant from Rouen, the reader will see what a footing King William had contrived to establish in the country. Finding, however, that he was not strong enough for his purposes, he sent orders to England for calling out a force of 20,000 men to be sent over to him in Normandy. The accuracy of the figure may be questioned; but, whatever the numbers, the measure was unconstitutional. The military tenants under the new feudalism might be liable for service abroad, but not the national militia. But who could venture to talk of law or precedent to William Rufus? The King's move, however, again meant nothing but money. When the men had been brought to the sea-coast, Ralph Flambard, the King's financial factotum, took ten shillings apiece from them, and so sent them home. Twenty shillings, we may point out, was the sum that they would have received from their townships for forty days' service.

Meanwhile Robert and King Philip were marching to attack William in his head-quarters at Eu, and had reached Longueville, some twelve miles

[1] "Jam eos nudos spoliarem, immo spoliatos decoriarem?"

[2] Eadmer, *H. N.* 48–52. The writer must have been with Anselm, as he says, "discessimus"; *Anselm. Epp.* IV. 24 and 37.

[3] Seine Inf. Between Dieppe and Neufchâtel.

[4] "Argentinum"; Florence. (Orne.)

[5] Seine Inf. "Æt Hulme," Chron. Mr. Freeman identifies it with a place in Manche that I cannot find.

to the South of Dieppe.[1] But the money taken from the English *fyrd* enabled William to disarm the King of France, and so the inglorious campaign again came to a close.

William Sends for Henry.

William now bethought him of the talents of his brother Henry, who had given such valuable support to Robert in 1091, and had been so shamefully rewarded for his pains. He was now comfortably established at Domfront, the men of the place having taken him for their lord.[2] The way from Domfront to Eu through Normandy being closed, the Earl of Chester was sent with shipping to bring Henry round by sea, presumably from Dol or St. Malo, on the coast of Brittany. Unable to make Eu, they landed at Southampton on the 31st October.[3] William himself returned to England on the 29th December, having spent his Christmas Day at Witsand.

We have already referred to the wild uprising in Wales that broke out in the course of the year (1094) the Welsh taking advantage of William's absence. We are told that the 'French' yoke was thrown off throughout Gwynedd Ceredigion and Dyfed, and that all the new castles, except Pembroke and Ryd-y-Gors, were demolished.[4] On English authority we have inroads into Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire.[5] In connexion with this struggle we hear of a new Earl of Shrewsbury, Hugh of Montgomery.[6] His father, the great Roger, passed away on the 27th July. His eldest son, the notorious Robert of Bellême, was a supporter of Duke Robert. Rufus therefore gave the earldom to his younger brother Hugh.[7]

Death of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

The King probably had not returned to England without cause. At any rate the year 1095 provided for him plenty of occupation at home. Unwilling, however, to drop his schemes in Normandy, he sent his brother Henry back to Domfront, to keep up the struggle and worry Robert (Lent, 17th February–18th March).[8]

Henry Despatched to Normandy.

Already the quarrel with Anselm had entered on a fresh phase. From the earliest days of the English Church archbishops had been wont to go to Rome to receive the *Pallium*, the symbol of Papal confirmation. Since the death of Gregory VII. (1085), the Conqueror and Rufus, taking advantage of the schism in the Papacy, had refrained from recognising either Victor III. or Urban II., or their rival the Antipope Wibert of Ravenna, otherwise Clement III. The English clergy had been content to follow

The King and Anselm.

The Schism in the Papacy.

[1] There seem to be four places of the name in Normandy alone, but the one in Seine Inférieure comes in best.

[2] A.D. 1093. See Orderic, 698. The people of Domfront invoked Henry to deliver them from the tyranny of Robert of Bellême, who stood by Duke Robert.

[3] Chron.; Flor. Orderic is silent as to William's campaign in Normandy, but he has much to say of the baronial wars and their cruel incidents.

[4] *Ann. Camb.* (A.D. 1092). [5] Florence.

[6] Chron. [7] Orderic, 581. [8] Chron.; Orderic, 706, 722.

the Royal lead; but Urban was generally held the true Pope in Italy and Gaul, and Anselm, as Abbot of Bec, had fully accepted him.[1]

Anselm Supporting Urban. On the King's return from Normandy, Anselm asked leave to go to Rome to obtain his Pall. 'From which Pope?' enquired Rufus. 'From Urban,' was the inevitable answer. Before his consecration Anselm had warned the King that he held by Urban, and Rufus, for the moment, had shirked the question. Now he protested that he had never accepted Urban; that neither his father nor himself had ever allowed a Pope to be recognised without leave; and that to force his hand in such a matter would be a clear invasion of his prerogative. Finally he declared that Anselm could not consistently with his bounden fealty to him obey a Pope against his will.[2] The King having put the case as one of conscience and moral obligation, Anselm at once accepted the position, and demanded the holding of a council to decide the question whether there were any real incompatibility between his duty to the Pope and his duty to the King,[3] in which case he said he would feel bound to leave the country, rather than for one hour abjure his allegiance to St. Peter and his Vicar.[4]

In accordance with Anselm's demand, the spiritual and lay Magnates of the realm were summoned to Rockingham for the third Sunday in Lent (25th February).[5] During the proceedings that ensued we find

Council at Rockingham. the King with his inner circle of confidants sitting in an inner chamber, and the general assembly sitting in the chapel of the castle, messages being carried to and fro by suitable envoys. Doubtless this was the regular practice when councils were held.

Anselm laid his difficulty before the outer assembly. It was grievous (*grave*) to him to reject the Vicar of St. Peter; grievous to break the fealty pledged to the King; grievous to think that he could not be true to the one without failing to the other.[6] The courtly bishops almost laughed at him. 'If he came to them with cases of conscience no man could see farther into such deep matters[7] than himself. If he simply wished to please the King they would gladly help him with advice.' The meeting then adjourned.[8]

On the morrow (26th February) the bishops told Anselm plainly that if he hoped to get from them, 'under God,' any encouragement to resist

[1] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 52. Urban had written to Lanfranc to notify his accession within a month of the time; so that Rufus had been fully apprised of the fact; Rule, *St. Anselm*, I. 366. [2] "Contra suam voluntatem."

[3] "Utrumne possim, salva fidelitate regis, servare obedientiam apostolicæ sedis"; *Hist. Nov.* 55.

[4] *Hist. Nov.* 52, 53; *Vita*, 375.

[5] *Vita, sup.* Mr. Rule, Preface, lxii., shows that this, and not the 11th March given in the *Hist. Nov.*, was the true date.

[6] "Unum horum altero non violato custodire."

[7] "In tam profunda re." [8] *Hist. Nov.* 53–55.

the King's will he was hoping in vain.[1] Then the Archbishop, his face bright with subdued enthusiasm, rose, and, rejecting the counsels of 'the self-styled shepherds and rulers of the people who could bow to the will of one man,' appealed to the Chief Shepherd and Ruler of all. Quoting Scripture with great effect, he said that he would render to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that were God's. This declaration was received with loud expressions of dissent, the bishops leaving the chapel, declaring that they could not report Anselm's words to the King. As there was no one left to whom Anselm could safely entrust a message of such importance, he had to deliver it by his own word of mouth to the King in his inner chamber, returning immediately to resume his seat in the chapel, waiting for the King's reply.[2]

The Bishops.

But the King and his advisers were at a loss how to deal with Anselm's position, which could not be openly impugned. Groups of two or three could be seen laying their heads together to concoct an answer. So long they took to make up their minds that when they did come with the King's deliverance Anselm had dosed off to sleep, with his head against the wall. The line taken was to put pressure upon Anselm by assuring him that the whole kingdom condemned his disloyalty: he was urged to throw off all Papal supremacy, and live a free (!) archbishop under the rule and governance of his own King.[3]

Here we gain an insight into the King's real purpose. He did not want to make his choice between two Popes. Clement is never named. He wanted to be free of any Pope, a state of things which no conscientious churchman of the time could accept.[4]

When Anselm asked for a further adjournment it was refused. William of St. Carilef, who took the lead on the King's side, threatened him with immediate condemnation. But popular sympathy now began to declare itself for the Primate: a knight came forward, and, kneeling before him, in the name of his spiritual sons, bade him be of good cheer. The King then, cursing the Bishops for their want of success, agreed to the adjournment.

The Laity.

On the 27th, in private consultation, the Bishop of Durham suggested that Anselm should be deprived of his ring and staff.[5] This was that very same William of St. Carilef, who, in his own case, had refused to recognise the jurisdiction of any lay court. But the lay barons, with Robert of Meulan at their head, protested. The other bishops too refused to sit in judgment on the Primate of all Britain.[6] The King then made a proposal

[1] "Si secundum Deum quod ullatenus voluntati regis obviare possit consilium a nobis expectas, etc." [2] *Hist. Nov.* 56, 57; *Vita*, 376.

[3] "In cunctis actibus tuis voluntatem domini regis et jussionem expecta."

[4] *Hist. Nov.* 56-60. [5] "Ablato baculo et anulo." [6] "Primas est non modo istius regni, sed et Scottiæ et Hiberniæ necne adjacentium insularum."

of his own, namely that they should shame Anselm into compliance by renouncing all canonical obedience to him, and all bonds of private friendship with him. By way of a beginning he then and there rejected him as spiritual father, and withdrew all royal protection from him. After some demur the prelates, to their infinite disgrace, all but Gundulf of Rochester, renounced their Archbishop. The lay barons, again showing better feeling, refused to comply.[1] Being out of the King's protection, Anselm now had no course open to him but to ask for a safe-conduct to the nearest seaport. But this again would not suit the King, who, though beyond measure anxious to be rid of Anselm, could not be blind to the risks of allowing him to depart in 'full seisin' of his pontificate.[2] 'The latter scandal might be worse than the first'; a third adjournment was found necessary.

Anselm Asks to Leave the Kingdom.

By the fourth day (28th February) the King and his lay advisers, without the bishops, had bethought them of a plan, a strange plan no doubt, and one that would require time for its execution. For this purpose the King's agents proposed a 'truce' or adjournment (*induciæ*), as they said, to allow of friendly mediation; the adjournment to last till 'the Octaves of Pentecost' (20th May), all questions meanwhile being held in suspense. Anselm, without affecting to put much trust in the result, accepted the offer, as in duty bound, and returned to Canterbury, there to be subjected to further persecutions. The monk Baldwin of Tournay, his chief adviser, and two clerics were banished, for having caused the breach between the King and Anselm. His chamberlain was arrested in his actual presence, and several other of his men sued and fined on frivolous charges.[3]

Question Adjourned.

As to the question of the recognition of the Pope, whatever view we may take of the Royal Supremacy, the Primate had set his hands free by warning Rufus at the first that he was bound to Urban. The King could be under no misapprehension on that point. On the other hand Anselm's rejection of all lay jurisdiction, even in respect of civil duties,[4] however consonant to the High Church doctrines of the time, must, to our minds, appear quite unreasonable. Of Anselm's constancy and moral courage during the four days' struggle there should be but one opinion.[5]

The King's device for getting the better of Anselm was to make terms with Urban, and to obtain from him, as the price of his recognition, if not the deposition of Anselm, at least the gift

The King's Scheme.

[1] *Hist. Nov.* 62–64; *Vita*, 376.

[2] "Pontificatus dignitate saisitum discedere."

[3] *Hist. Nov.* 65–67; *Vita*, 376.

[4] See more of this below, 207.

[5] I must protest against Dean Hook's account in his *Archbishops*, as unfair to Anselm. It is not easy to see how anyone could write: "The bishops . . . behaved extremely well throughout"; II. 207. Two of them afterwards apologised to Anselm. See *contra* the charming *Life of Anselm* by Dean R. W. Church (1891); and those by Mr. Rule, and by Prof. Tout (*National Dict.*).

of a Pall to be disposed of by the King. If it should have to be bestowed on Anselm he would be placed in the position of receiving the badge of his spiritual authority from the hands of the King, and the King's supremacy would be fully established. The agents sent to negotiate this affair, namely Gerard, afterwards Bishop of Hereford and Archbishop of York, and William of Warelwast,[1] afterwards Bishop of Exeter, were relieved of the necessity of a journey to Rome. In Lombardy they would find Urban triumphant, preaching the Crusade, and putting the Emperor and his party to confusion.[2] Terms were quickly adjusted, and the Royal chaplains returned to England escorting a Papal Legate, Walter Bishop of Albano, the secret bearer of a *Pallium*. Passing through Canterbury, without taking any notice of Anselm, the party hastened to court. Great must have been the astonishment of the Archbishop when he heard Urban publicly proclaimed as Pope, without any previous communication with himself.

A *Pallium* Brought to England.

The Legate had approached the King in most deferential attitude, with assurances that all his wishes would be consulted.[3] Of sympathy for Anselm in his troubles he evinced no sign. Churchmen, whose hopes had been excited by the reports of his coming, began to murmur that at Rome 'gold went for more than righteousness.' Rufus, satisfied with the Legate's professions, then gave the order for the recognition of Urban. That done, he began to press for the deposition of Anselm, offering the most liberal subventions both to the Bishop and the Holy See. But Walter, having gained his point, stood firm, and would stoop to no measures against Anselm. To Anselm, and Anselm alone, the *Pallium* must be given. With profound mortification William realized that he had been outwitted; that he had gained nothing by his recognition of Urban, and that he must resign himself at any rate to an ostensible reconciliation with the Archbishop.[4]

On Whitsunday (May 13), the King keeping the Feast at Windsor, and Anselm at Mortlake, the latter was summoned to Hayes, another episcopal manor, to receive a concourse of bishops. The arrival of the Pall was announced, and a last miserable attempt made to extort money from the Archbishop, 'if only what the journey to Rome would have cost him.'[5] Anselm remaining inflexible, he was brought to Windsor, and formally restored to favour. It would seem that in return Anselm was induced to pledge himself to observe the laws and customs of the realm, and to defend them as against all men, saving his allegiance to Urban.

[1] "De Guarelguest"; Ord. 764, *i.e.* of Waravel, Seine Inf.; M. Rule.

[2] See Milman, *Latin Chr.* III. 215.

[3] "Cum . . . ei (sc. regi) ad singula quæ sue voluntati accepta fore didicerat bonæ spei fiducia respondisset."

[4] Eadmer, *H. N.* 68-69.

[5] See *Hist. Nov.* 83, where this fact comes out incidentally, having been wholly ignored in the narrative, so that the exact time when the promise was given cannot be

The Legate was then brought in and introduced to Anselm. A feeble effort was made to induce Anselm to receive the Pall from the King, but he would take it from no hand but that of St. Peter, or his representative. On the 27th May, the First Sunday after Trinity, the Legate entered Canterbury in solemn procession, bearing the holy vestment in a silver casket. The Archbishop, barefooted but in full pontificals, went out to meet him. The Pall was brought into the cathedral, laid on the altar, and there Anselm with his own hands, took it up and assumed it.[1]

The Pallium Presented to Anselm.

From Eadmer's tone, and that of certain letters of Anselm to the Legate, it would seem that the Archbishop was not altogether pleased with Walter's proceedings.[2] They were no doubt tricky. But he was quite right in keeping aloof from Anselm. Any semblance of concert with him would have been fatal. As it was the Archbishop had been given a complete victory. Two of the Bishops, Robert of Hereford and Osmund of Salisbury, came to him to ask for absolution for their conduct at Rockingham.[3] After a stay of some time in England Walter of Albano went home, taking with him Peter's Pence, which had not been levied in England for some years[4]; presumably not since the death of the Conqueror, at any rate.

His Victory Complete.

fixed. It is only stated to have been given after the proceedings at Rockingham, at a time when Anselm was making peace with the King. See p. 71.

[1] *Hist. Nov.* 70–73; Chron.; Flor. Mr. Rule corrects the date alleged by Eadmer (June 10) by the Gospel for the day, recorded by Eadmer, viz., that for the First Sunday after Trinity. [2] *Epp.* IV. Nos. 35–36. [3] *Hist. Nov.* 72. [4] Chron.

CHAPTER XIV

WILLIAM II (*continued*)

A.D. 1095–1098

Conspiracy of Robert Mowbray Earl of Northumberland—Wars with the Welsh—Preaching of the First Crusade—Robert Mortgages Normandy to William—Final Rupture between the King and Anselm—The Latter Leaves England

A VERY different trouble from that of his struggle with Anselm, and one with which Rufus was better fitted to cope, was a conspiracy against his life and Throne—a conspiracy that might have assumed formidable proportions had it been given time to mature its plans, but which, in fact, through the King's promptness, was kept within the limits of an isolated baronial outbreak.

Conspiracy of the Earl of Northumberland.

With a King so generally unpopular as William a spark might kindle a conflagration. Robert of Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, had taken an active part in the rebellion of 1088; but he had been pardoned and reinstated, and even allowed to take up the great inheritance of his uncle Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances, estimated at two hundred and eighty manors.[1] A valiant knight, proud of his valour to the point of being haughty even to his equals, and much puffed up by his victory over Malcolm Canmore, Robert is further described as being a conceited intriguer, of gloomy countenance and silent manners, big, dark, and hirsute.[2] His social position had just been strengthened by a marriage with Matilda, daughter of Richer of Laigle by Judith sister of Earl Hugh of Chester.[3] In earlier days he had been one of the unruly youths who supported Robert in his opposition to his father.[4] Now he was found plundering four large Norwegian ships, known as "Canarts," or "Canas."[5] When called to account by the King he refused to make restitution, and moreover neglected to attend the Easter Court. Rufus summoned him peremptorily to appear at Whitsuntide. He refused to come, except under safe-conduct 'to come and go.' Anselm's affair having now been disposed of, William called out his forces and marched to the North.

William Marches North.

[1] The Bishop died 2nd February, 1092; Orderic.

[2] "Audacia et militari feritate, superbus, pares despiciebat, vana ventositate turgidus, audax et dolosus, etc."

[3] Orderic, 703. [4] *Id.* 570. [5] "Quas Canardos vocant"; see Godefroy.

With respect to the Earl's misdeed, the morality of the sea in much later days was very lax. The plunder of merchant shipping on a distant shore would not from a political point of view seem a very serious offence. Still less can we suppose it to have been intended as a challenge to the King, who only heard of it through the accident that the sufferers were able to make their way to court to complain. We would rather suppose that the King, aware that mischief was brewing, seized the opportunity of bringing Mowbray to book; and this view may be supported by the fact that when Rufus started on his journey to the North a descent on the South coast was apprehended, and that Anselm in consequence was ordered to remain in Kent to keep watch.[1] This alarm might be connected with the circumstance that William of Eu was found to be one of the chief conspirators. Again Mowbray's reluctance to come to court implied a consciousness of some guilt deeper than that involved in the offence for which he was called to account. The King's suspicions as to the treachery with which he was surrounded would be turned to certainty when Gilbert of Tonbridge and Clare—another pardoned rebel of 1088—came forward, with prayers for forgiveness, to confess complicity in a heinous plot, and to warn Rufus of an ambush to be laid against his life.[2] Thus fully apprised of the men from whom danger might be expected, the King held on, and laid siege to the Earl's castle at Tynemouth.[3] Newcastle, it would seem, was in the King's own hands. The reduction of Tynemouth proved a lengthy business—a matter of two months we are told. Finally it was taken, and in it the Earl's brother. Meanwhile a minor stronghold, whose name is not given,[4] had been captured with more of Mowbray's 'best' men in it. The King then advanced to Bamborough, where the Earl himself was established. Finding the place too strong to be stormed, the King cut it off with a counter-work, 'which he in his speech hight Malvesin, that is in English Evil Neighbour.'[5] At this juncture William was called away from Bamborough by reports of trouble in another quarter.

The Plot Revealed.

Siege of Bamborough.

The uphill struggle in Wales was being kept up by the natives with a certain alternation of success, the real set of the tide, however, being all one way. The great advance made by the English in 1093 had been followed by a temporary relapse in 1094, as already mentioned. But, if the attempt to establish an Anglican Bishop at Bangor in 1092 had not been successful, we nevertheless now find Anselm's

Welsh Affairs. Alternate Successes.

[1] See *Anselm. Epp.* III. 35, 36; Freeman. [2] Ord. 703.

[3] For a description of this castle on the North bank of the Tyne, see Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 47.

[4] 'Quædam munitiuncula,' Flor.; 'fæsten,' Chron. The word is evidently used in contradistinction to the 'castels' at Tynemouth and Bamborough, and 'the New Castel.' Huntingdon takes it on him to state that it was Newcastle; but as Florence and the Peterborough Chronicle both mention Neweastle a few lines further on, we may be sure that it was not Newcastle, *contra* Freeman. [5] Chron; Flor.

authority fully recognised by the native Bishop of St. David's.[1] So again in 1095 we hear of the 'French' in the South-West reversing the issue of the previous year, and overrunning the districts of Gower, Kidwelly, and Strath-Tiwy, or the vale of the Tawe or Tawy (*i.e.* Glamorganshire and Caermarthenshire).[2] But in the North the Welsh assumed the offensive, storming 'a castle hight Muntgumri,' and putting Earl Hugh's garrison to the sword. William called out another fyrd, and invaded Wales in October. We are told that he divided his force in order to surround and invest Snowdun,[3] the name being probably used to denote something more than the single hill that now bears that appellation. 'But aye the Welsh fared aforehand to the mountains and the moors, so that man might not come at them. So the King turned hamewards, for that he saw that he might do no more of that winter.'[4]

Montgomery Castle Taken.

William Invades Wales.

The blockade of Bamborough dragging on, a plan was arranged to entrap Earl Mowbray. A feigned message was sent to him, as from the garrison of Newcastle, to the effect that they would receive him, and espouse his cause, if he came in secret. Glad of an excuse for escaping from the tedium of a siege, the Earl slipped out of Bamborough by night, with thirty men, and rode to Newcastle, to find the Keep closed against him. Pushing on from one place to another, he was eventually brought to bay in 'the Minster of St. Oswine, King and Martyr,'[5] presumably the church at Gilling, near Richmond in Yorkshire, erected in memory of the King of Deira, put to death by Oswiu of Bernicia in 651.[6] After six days' siege and some desperate fighting the Earl was dragged out of the church badly wounded in the leg. By the King's orders he was taken back to Bamborough, which still held out under the command of his countess-bride and his steward Morel, the man by whose hand Malcolm Canmore had fallen. They were told that unless they surrendered their lord would be deprived of his eyesight. Of course they yielded. Morel was taken into the King's service, turned approver, and gave valuable information as to the persons implicated in Robert's plot. The scheme was nothing less than a conspiracy to dethrone Rufus, and make his cousin Stephen of Aumâle[7] King. The list included Roger of Lacy, a man of great estates on the Welsh March, Philip of Montgomery, younger

Capture of Mowbray.

Surrender of Bamborough.

Aim of Mowbray's Conspiracy.

[1] June, 1095; Eadmer, *H. N.* 72.

[2] 1095; *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut-y-T.* (given as 1093).

[3] "Snawdune." [4] Chron.; Flor.

[5] Florence. [6] See above, vol. I. 186; and Bæda, *H. E.* III. c. 14.

[7] See above, 74, 168. William of Jumièges, 312, calls Stephen's mother Adelaide, "soror uterina" of the Conqueror. Orderic, 522, says that she was the daughter of Duke Robert, and so full sister to William. The proposal to make Stephen King coincides rather with the latter view. They would hardly take a man not descended from the Ducal stock.

brother of Earl Hugh of Shrewsbury, and Odo of Champagne; besides Gilbert of Clare and William of Eu already mentioned. Count William, a distant relative of the Royal family, had recently deserted Duke Robert for William, as Stephen of Aumâle had also done. Now both were prepared to turn against the King. Mowbray having been taken in arms, no further proceedings were needed against him; he was committed to prison, there to linger for some thirty years.[1] It is said that at the last he was allowed to retire to St. Albans, to die invested with the sanctity of the Cowl[2]—an end much sought after at the period by persons in dying circumstances. Gilbert of Clare, again, had earned forgiveness by his timely confession. With regard to the other men implicated, the King delayed taking any measures till after the Christmas Feast, which was kept at Windsor. But on the 13th January, 1096 (Octave of the Epiphany), a Grand Council was held at Salisbury (*i.e.* Old Sarum) to take cognizance of the conspiracy. The Count of Eu, as the chief culprit, was impeached of treason by Geoffrey Baynard,[3] in the presence of the King and assembled Witan. A judicial combat, according to Norman law, ensued. The result having gone against William, he was deprived of his eyesight, and otherwise foully mutilated. This severity, we are told, was due to the hostility of his brother-in-law, Earl Hugh of Chester, one of the men on whom Rufus could depend.[4] The Count's nephew and steward William of Alderi was flogged through the town and hung, protesting his innocence. Odo of Champagne and Philip of Montgomery were imprisoned. The Earl of Shrewsbury himself fell under suspicion, but was allowed to purchase forgiveness with a heavy fine. Roger of Lacy was banished, and his lands given to his younger brother Hugh. Minor offenders were brought to London and mutilated.[5] Penalties so unprecedented when inflicted on men of rank, must have created a deep impression. The reader will note the change in William's treatment of his enemies since 1088. Then he was indulgence itself; now he was merciless in his severity.

Men Implicated.

Council at Salisbury.

William's Severity.

Cruel Mutilations.

The year 1095 had witnessed the deaths of two conspicuous Churchmen. On the 18th January the worthy old Wulfstan of Worcester, the last Englishman left on the Episcopal Bench, was gathered to his fathers. He passed away in the thirty-second year of his pontificate and the ninetieth of his age.[6] It was at his suggestion that Lanfranc had urged the Conqueror to put down the export of slaves from Bristol to Ireland. The See of Worcester was kept vacant

Death of Bishop Wulfstan.

[1] Ord. 704; Chron.; Flor.; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 319. For the subsequent history of the unfortunate Countess, parted from her husband after three months' union, see Ord. *sup.*; Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 54. [2] Doyle, *Official Baronage*; see Freeman, *sup.*

[3] Of Baynard's Castle, London, within the precincts of the later Blackfriars.

[4] Orderic, 704. [5] Chron.; Flor.; W. Malm.; and Ord. *sup.* [6] Florence.

for eighteen months, while the Bishop's death gave occasion for the exaction of the Worcester Reliefs already noticed,[1] an imposition entirely worthy of Ralph Flambard, and, for utter illegality, quite on a par with the King's usurpation of the Canterbury fiefs. The levy, however, may have been connected with a special need for money that arose shortly afterwards, as we shall see.

The Worcester Reliefs.

The other death was that of William of St. Carilef, Bishop of Durham. The most thoroughgoing asserter of ecclesiastical immunities in 1088, in 1095 he had shewn himself their most unscrupulous opponent. Unstable in his ways, he had managed since the winter to incur the King's hostility. Summoned to court at Christmas to give an account of himself, he pleaded the failing state of his health. Rufus swore "*Par li vo de Luche*" that he was shamming, and insisted on his attendance. He dragged himself to Windsor to take to his bed on Christmas Day. Eight days he lingered. Anselm visited him and gave him his blessing. On the 1st January, 1096, Thomas of York, with the Bishops of Winchester and Bath, administered the last sacraments. On the following morning, about cockcrow, he passed away. He was taken to Durham to be buried at his own request, not in the church, out of reverence for St. Cuthberht, but in the Chapter House, among the monks for whom he had done so much.[2] Whatever we may think of him as a politician we must not forget that to him we owe Durham Cathedral.[3]

Death of William of St. Carilef.

But events of surpassing interest were now happening on the Continent, which were destined, as one of the least of their consequences, to put the Red King in possession of the much coveted Duchy of Normandy. The zeal of the hermit Peter and the oratory of the Second Urban were calling on the chivalry of the West to rescue the Sepulchre of Christ from the hands of unbelievers, and to purchase remission of sins by an armed pilgrimage to the romantic East. For nearly five hundred years "the condition of Palestine had been a source of sorrow and shame to Christendom." Jerusalem, captured by Chosroes in 614, and recovered by Heraclius in 628, had finally been captured by Omar in 637, to remain under Mahommedan rule ever since. At no time in that period had it been possible for "either East or West to attempt a rescue." But matters had been aggravated since 1077, when the empire of the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt had been overthrown by the Seljukian Turks, fanatical nomads from the banks of the Oxus. Complaints of their cruelty and oppression were carried far and wide by the visitors to the Holy Places. Europe was at last emerging from chaos, while

Preaching of the First Crusade.

[1] Above, 141, 143; and Round, *Feudal England*, 308. Rufus compelled the under-tenants of the church to pay Reliefs to him on the death of Wulfstan, though even in the case of lay fiefs Relief would accrue, not on the death of the lord, but on the accession of a new tenant, and of course would be payable to the immediate lord, not to the lord's over-lord, as Rufus was.

[2] Symeon, *H. D. E.* p. 133; W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 133. [3] See below, under Henry I.

the Moslem power seemed sinking to its fall. That which before had seemed but a dream had now become feasible. Thus it fell to Urban and his humble coadjutor, the hermit of Picardy, to realize the scheme of hurling a united Christendom against the forces of Islam.[1]

Councils of Piacenza

At the Council of Piacenza in 1095 (March 1–7) the Pope propounded his views with moderate success. At Clermont, in Auvergne (Nov. 18–28), among his own countrymen, he found a more responsive audience. He appealed to every motive, earthly and spiritual; the spoils of their enemies would be theirs; they would serve a Heavenly Leader, who would not permit his followers to lack bread; he offered absolution for every sin—absolution without penance—to all who should take up the Banner of the Cross. The effect was electric. His hearers interrupted him with the cry: 'It is the will of God! the will of God!'[2] The sound went forth into all lands, and the remotest corners of Europe soon echoed response.[3] "The impulse seemed to set not armies but whole populations in motion."[4]

and Clermont.

No crowned head was tempted to join the First Crusade, but the lesser potentates North of the Alps came in with enthusiasm. Among the first to declare themselves were Raymond Berenger of Toulouse, and Robert of Normandy. Their example was quickly followed by Robert II., Count of Flanders,[5] Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois, brother of the King of France; Stephen Count of Blois, son-in-law of the Conqueror; Eustace III. Count of Boulogne,[6] and his two brothers Godfrey and Baldwin. The former, known as Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine[7] (now Brabant), proved the hero of the war, and was elected the first King of Jerusalem. Baldwin too was destined to play a conspicuous part, and to become King, first of Edessa, and then, in succession to Godfrey, of Jerusalem.[8]

Enthusiasm of Europe.

As for Duke Robert, to leave his Duchy under the circumstances was an act of unpardonable folly. Twenty of his castles were said to be in the hands of the King of England. But, as if more clearly to mark his contempt for prudential considerations, Robert actually proposed to raise the funds needed for his enterprise by mortgaging his dominion for five years to his faithless and

Normandy Mortgaged to William.

[1] See Bishop Stubbs' *Memorials of Richard the First*, I. lxxxi.; conf. Gibbon, X. 375, etc.; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, III. 222, etc.

[2] "Deus lo volt"; "Diex el vult"; Milm. 229–234; Gibbon, XI. 4–14, citing Labbe, *Conc.* XI. 506; Mansi, *Conc.* XX. 815; W. Malm. *G. R.* ss. 344–348.

[3] See Chron. and W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 348. [4] Church.

[5] Afterwards distinguished as Robert of Jerusalem; he was son of Robert the Frisian; Freeman, *N. C.* V. 181.

[6] Eustace III. succeeded his father Eustace II. about the year 1093; *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, XII. 354.

[7] This title Godfrey had by Imperial grant. Bouillon was the name of a property in the Ardennes, belonging to his mother. [8] Orderic, 721–724; Florence.

aggressive brother. William of course closed with the offer. Ten thousand marks (£6,666 13*s.* 4*d.*) was the sum required.[1] According to the compiler of the so-called Laws of Eadward the Confessor (1130–1150), the money was raised by a double Danegeld of four shillings the hide, all exemptions in favour of demesne lands, even of those of the clergy, being arbitrarily suspended.[2] A Danegeld at that rate, if fully levied, would have yielded more than the requisite amount. Under Henry I. we shall find a Danegeld, at the rate of two shillings the hide, with nearly half remitted, producing £2,800. But under whatever name Rufus levied the money, the pressure was severely felt. In many cases we are told that the clergy had to part with the very vessels of the altar, books, relics, and so forth. The laity squeezed the money out of their tenants as best they could. We have already dwelt upon these facts as bearing upon the credibility of the sums of Danegeld alleged to have been raised by Cnut and others.

A Double Danegeld.

Anselm was advised to offer 200 marks (£166 13*s.* 4*d.*) as his contribution. Unprovided with funds of his own, he had to borrow the amount from the Canterbury monks, on a mortgage of his manor of Peckham, worth £30 a year, for the term of seven years. The bargain proved a good one for the monks, who, with the Peckham rents, built a good piece of their new cathedral, 'from the great tower eastwards.'[3]

In September William went over to Normandy with the money, to take possession, and Robert started on his pilgrimage. With him went his uncle Odo, who would not have found Normandy a comfortable dwelling-place under Rufus. The Duke also took with him the Breton Ralph of Wader, ex-Earl of Norfolk,[4] and a considerable band of young men, sons and younger sons. Their fathers, be it noted, knew better than to leave their property at the mercy of their neighbours. Crossing the Alps, Robert found Urban at Lucca, marched on with him to Rome, and lent a hand to the final expulsion of Wibert of Ravenna. Taking leave of the Pope, and moving southwards, the Duke settled down for the winter among his countrymen in Apulia.[5] Bishop Odo went over to Sicily on a visit to the Great-Count Roger, and died at Palermo (February, 1097). Essentially an ambitious and unscrupulous man of the world, he could make a

He Takes Possession.

Death of Bishop Odo.

[1] Ord. 722, 723, 764; Eadmer, *H. N.* 74; Florence.

[2] *Leges Edw. Conf.* c. 11. The writer states that the tax was granted (concesserunt) by the Barons, the clergy protesting. The 'Barons' would be the King's Council. That the clergy considered themselves much aggrieved by the measures taken for raising the money appears from the other writers also.

[3] Eadmer, *sup.*; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 318. For the building see under Henry I.

[4] "Radulfus Brito de Guader"; Ord. Neither Ralph nor his wife lived to return; Orderic, 535.

[5] See W. Malm. *G. R.* ss. 350, 353; Orderic, 724, 765; Florence. Malmesbury's account of the Crusade is taken from that of Fulcher of Chartres, who accompanied Robert.

good use of his money. He gave Archbishop Thomas of York his education at Liège; he founded or enriched a monastery in the outskirts of Bayeux, and rebuilt St. Mary's, his own cathedral church (dedicated 1077). His liberality and his stout defence of all the rights of the Order gained him the good word of the clergy. He left a son John, who attained to a good position at the English court (Orderic, 665). Odo's church will be remembered in connexion with the Bayeux Tapestry.[1]

In England the year was noted as one of especial suffering, partly through the King's exactions, partly through failure of crops, the whole aggravated by the calling out of levies for the never-ending Welsh war.[2] The king, however, allowed two bishoprics to be filled up. Samson, brother to Thomas of York, became Bishop of Worcester, *vice* Wulfstan; while the King's chaplain and agent Gerard became Bishop of Hereford, *vice* Robert "Losenge," who had passed away (26th June, 1095). Both were consecrated by Anselm at St. Paul's on the 8th of June.[3]

After spending the autumn and winter in Normandy, William returned to England for Easter (5th April) 1097. Shortly after he started on a second personal invasion of Wales. In the previous year the Anglo-Norman settlers had suffered a loss in the death of William fitz Baldwin, the founder and Constable of Rhyd-y-Gors. At his death, according to the native accounts, the fortress was abandoned, and a general uprising took place. Howel son of Goronwy, a leading chieftain in the vale of the Tawy, assisted by Uhtred son of Edwine,[4] made an attack on Pembroke, driving off much cattle, but making no impression on the fort, while the men of Brecknock and the upper basin of the Usk overran the lower parts of Gwent,[5] which had been under English control since the time of Harold. Repeated expeditions sent out by the English March authorities led to nothing but 'loss of men and wasting of money.'[6] Rufus threatened to exterminate the rebels, but of the line of country through which he marched, or the incidents of the campaign, we hear nothing, except that the general result was loss 'in men and in horses and in other things.'[7] A reference in the Chronicle to Cadwgan as the chief 'Elder' on the Welsh side implies that Rufus invaded Brecknock and Powys. Baffled in the field, the King fell back on the quiet effectual policy of castle-building.[8] To their castles the invaders clearly owed the hold that they maintained on the conquered districts. With respect to the causes of the failure

Fresh Campaign in Wales.

Castle-building.

[1] See W. Jum. 275; Ord. 664, 665; Freeman, *N. C.* II. 208.

[2] Chron. [3] Eadmer, *H. N.* 74; Florence; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[4] Edwine and Uhtred must have been old English settlers domesticated in Wales. Their seat is given as Cymmer, *Ann. Camb.* 1116. We have one place of the name in Merioneth near Corwen, and two in Glamorgan. The events of 1096 seem to connect Uhtred with the South, but again we have him distinctly connected with Merioneth, *Brut.* p. 101. [5] So I read the facts. [6] *Ann. Camb.* p. 30; *Brut-y-T.* p. 59; Chron. [7] Chron. [8] *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut.* p. 61; Chron.; Florence.

of the regular campaigns, it has been pointed out that the heavy cavalry in which the Normans put their trust was a kind of force totally unsuited to hill warfare.[1] The constant references to loss of horses support the view. Again, we have the statement of the native annalist that 'the French,' unable to penetrate 'the rocks and the woods,' kept to the open country. Lastly, Rufus gave himself no time to effect any real conquest. The expedition, undertaken after Easter, was ended before Whitsuntide.[2]

Insatiate in his ambition, we next have Rufus imposing another King upon the Scots. Donald Bane, the brother of Canmore, and Eadmund, presumably the eldest surviving son of Canmore by Margaret,

A New King for Scotland.

had ruled jointly for three years, since the death of Duncan, set up by Rufus. In October, Eadgar Ætheling, who must have been brought over from Normandy, was sent down to the North with an army, and after some stiff fighting got rid of both Donald and Eadmund, setting up instead his nephew and namesake Eadgar, of course to rule in subjection to England.[3]

The Welsh campaign helped to precipitate the inevitable crisis between Anselm and the King. The Archbishop found himself in a thoroughly false position, surrounded by a system in which he could not acquiesce, bound in duty to combat it, but powerless in face of the King's persistent opposition.[4] William, himself the greatest sinner in the realm, invariably abetted all wrong-doing.[5] Returning from the war discomfited and sulky, he wrote to the Archbishop to complain of his contingent; the men sent were neither efficient nor properly equipped; Anselm must hold himself in readiness to answer for his short-comings, and that before the tribunal of King's Court. The Archbishop sent no answer to the King's letter, hoping that it might prove a mere *brutum fulmen*, simply intended to annoy. At the same time it would seem that he had made up his mind not to appear before the Court if summoned, resting his intention on the ground of the servile submission of the *Curia* to the King's will.[6] This allegation, however, even if well founded, could hardly be pleaded in bar to the jurisdiction of a tribunal. Of the validity of the King's complaint we have no evidence beyond his word. But if it was at all justified by the facts no question more properly appertaining to a lay court could be con-

Fresh Attack on Anselm.

Anselm Rejects the Authority of the Curia Regis.

[1] Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 112.

[2] See Eadmer, *H. N.* 77–79. The Chronicle places the campaign between Midsummer and August, a still shorter space of time.

[3] Chron.; Flor.; *Chron. P. and S.* 175; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 400. Eadmund apparently was carried off to England, and died at Montacute; J. Fordun, p. 223. Donald Bane, according to the continuator of Tighernac, did not die till 1099.

[4] See his letter to Urban: "Videbam multa mala quæ nec tolerare debebam nec . . . corrigere poteram," *Hist. Nov.* 92; also a later letter to Pascal, *Epp.* III. No. 40.

[5] "Principem aut ea facere aut eis favere perspicuum erat."

[6] *Hist. Nov.* 78, 79.

ceived. If Anselm was at all legally liable for a contingent the cognisance of the way in which he had discharged that obligation would clearly rest with the *Curia Regis*. To claim a reference to a spiritual tribunal on a question of military efficiency would be preposterous. Cæsar was to have the things that were Cæsar's, but what would be left for Cæsar under such a system? With all respect for Anselm as a man, we must admit that he carried his ecclesiastical pretensions to lengths incompatible with civil government.

Anselm, however, attended the Whitsun court at Windsor as usual, hoping against hope, we are told, that he might yet win the King to better things. But Rufus was not to be turned from his ways, and Anselm found that the suit against him was to be pressed. The King's advisers thought that if the affair were properly managed Anselm would be forced either to pay a heavy fine, or else to beg for mercy, and bow his head submissively for evermore.[1] Anselm then sent a message to the King through some of the barons asking for leave to go to Rome. Rufus, aghast, answered, 'Certainly not. Anselm is not such a sinner as to need apostolic absolution. If he talks about advice, he is better fitted to counsel the Pope than the Pope to counsel him.' The proceedings against Anselm, however, were dropped, and he was allowed to leave Windsor in peace,[2] a certain concession on the part of the King. But Anselm's mind was made up. At the end of a Council held in August he renewed his request, but without result. A third time he returned to the charge in October, when summoned to Winchester for another meeting. The King was greatly irritated at Anselm's pertinacity. He was conscious that Anselm's retirement would be held throughout Europe an emphatic condemnation of his government. To turn him from his purpose he warned him that if he went he should not return, and that all the temporalities of the See would be taken into hand (October 14th). With his low views of human nature Rufus doubtless thought that that would settle the question. But even in the Council dissentient voices were raised, "some cheering the King and some the Archbishop." In the hope of effecting a compromise an adjournment was proposed and agreed to. But on the morrow Anselm in a long colloquy assured the bishops that his purpose was unaltered, and that he would go with or without leave. 'He must obey God rather than man.' Considering that the root of the quarrel was the sufficiency of his military contingent the quotation was rather far-fetched. The bishops, thinking as much, asked Anselm if he really meant what he said. 'Most fully,' was the answer. After consultation among themselves, and a reference to the King, they told the Archbishop frankly that they could not rise to the height of his contempt for the things of the world; they had relatives dependent on them, they could not forget their duty to

He Asks to Go to Rome.

The King Demurs.

Anselm's Reasoning.

[1] "Caput amplius non levaturus." [2] Eadmer, *H. N.* 79, 80; *Vita*, 377.

the King.[1] At last a message came from the King himself, taxing Anselm with a breach of his promise to uphold the laws and customs of the realm. It was an unheard of thing for a man in his position to go to Rome without leave. He must either abjure all appeals to Rome, or else leave the kingdom, and the sooner the better. William evidently considered the journey to Rome as an appeal from his jurisdiction to that of the Pope. Eadmer adds a further requirement on the part of the King to the effect that if Anselm stayed he would have to pay a fine into court for the trouble that he had given. This seems hardly credible, as Rufus did not want to drive Anselm to extremities. On receipt of the message Anselm calmly rose, and proceeded unbidden, with his attendants, to the Royal chamber, to argue out the question with the King in person. He asked William if he had sent the message. 'He had.' The Archbishop then attempted to explain away his promise by a mental reservation, amounting to a subterfuge. He had promised to uphold the customs of the realm, meaning of course such as were consonant to righteousness and the laws of God.[2] At this King and Council broke out upon him that neither 'God's Law,' nor 'righteousness' had been named. 'Not named?' retorted the undaunted Archbishop. 'What of that? Could any law or custom stand that was not consonant to righteousness and the laws of God?' Again the assembly murmured dissent. Anselm then went on with a discourse on the right of souls to consult St. Peter; the essential loyalty of his course of action; fealty to God, and fealty to man; and so forth, till the King and Robert of Meulan, losing patience, exclaimed, 'This is a mere sermon.'[3] Anselm's last word was that to abjure appeals to St. Peter would be tantamount to denying Christ. With that he left the chamber and returned to his seat outside. A message from the King followed him to say that he might go, but must carry nothing with him that belonged to the King. 'So be it,' said Anselm. 'Horses I have, also clothing and goods, which somebody perchance may say belong to the King. But if I go naked and afoot I will go.' The King, ashamed of his own meanness, modified the order, saying that he would arrange what the Archbishop might take with him, but that he must be gone by the eleventh day. Overjoyed at having carried his point, Anselm returned to the King's chamber to take leave and offer his blessing. Rufus did not reject it. He bowed his head, and Anselm with his right hand made the sign of the cross over it.[4]

A Mental Reservation.

The King Gives Way.

It is clear that on this occasion Anselm failed to enlist the lay sympathy that had gone with him at Rockingham. The points at issue were very different. In demanding the recognition

Lay Opinion.

1 "Ad sublimitatem vitæ tuæ surgere nequimus, nec huic mundo tecum illudere."

2 "Consuetudines quas per rectitudinem et secundum Deum in regno tuo possides."

3 "O! O! prædicatio est quod dicit."

4 Thursday, 15th Oct.; Eadm. *H. N.* 80–87; *Vita*, 379.

of Urban he was clearly within his rights; not so when he rejected the authority of the King's Court on a strictly secular question. As for the journey to Rome, Lanfranc had refrained from going when the Conqueror would not give him leave to go.[1]

Anselm hastened to Canterbury to take leave of the monks. He assumed the pilgrim's scrip and staff,[2] and next day went to Dover.

Anselm leaves England.

After fifteen days' detention by bad weather he crossed to Wissant (November). At the last moment his bags and bundles were overhauled[3] on the beach by William of Warelwast, a clerk of the King's chapel, who had been deputed to see that Anselm took no money with him. None was found.[4] As travelling companions the Archbishop had with him Baldwin of Tournay[5] and Eadmer his biographer. The former is described as the manager of Anselm's household and business affairs; Eadmer would act as his secretary. As they passed through France and Burgundy, the clergy and lower orders received them with open arms, the lay magnates were more doubtful in their attitude. Odo, Duke of Burgundy, pounced down upon the rich Primate of England as a prize. Disappointed by the utter poverty, and disarmed by the fearless dignity of the Archbishop, he bent apologetically to receive his kiss. Christmas was spent within the congenial walls of Cluny.[6] At Lyons they made a considerable stay, enjoying the hospitality of Archbishop Hugh. Anselm wrote to Urban, telling of his anxious desire to see him. He explained his own position; his original reluctance to be made archbishop; his helplessness for good as archbishop; the persecution he had suffered from the King, who had even treated an application for leave to go to Rome as a grave offence. He had been brought to that state of mind that he would rather die out of England than live in it. He begged the Holy Father to relieve him of his office, and allow him to serve God in peace.[7] An invitation to Rome having come in due course, the three, Anselm, Baldwin, and Eadmer, left Lyons on the 16th March, 1098, taking the Mont Cenis route to Italy, a road already known to Anselm. Beset as the passes were by men in the Imperial interest, they had to observe the strictest *incognito*, concealing their names even from friendly churchmen. On the 20th they rested with some monks at Apremont—an hour's ride from Chambéry—remaining there over the 21st March, Palm Sunday. On the Monday they resumed their

His Journey through Burgundy.

Communications with Urban.

Crosses the Mont Cenis *incognito*.

[1] See above, 113. [2] "Peram et baculum perigrinantium more coram altari suscepit."

[3] "Bulgiæ et manticæ reseratæ sunt," etc.

[4] *Hist. Nov.* 87–88; *Vita*, 381–387. Anselm was allowed to take with him the MS. of an unfinished work, the *Cur Deus Homo*.

[5] "Domnum Balduinum quem provisorem et ordinatorem rerum Anselmi supra diximus"; *Vita*, 386.

[6] Saone et Loire; on the Crosne; N.W. of Mâcon. [7] *Hist. Nov.* 91.

journey, reaching Susa, on the other side of the Pass, about the 24th. There they were entertained by the Abbot of St. Just. Having betrayed some acquaintance with Bec, they were pressed with questions as to Anselm and his welfare. Baldwin got out of the difficulty by saying that he had not seen Anselm at Bec since he became Archbishop. Their next stage was to the great Benedictine monastery of St. Michael's Chiusa, some ten or twelve miles below Susa. There they halted from Holy Thursday to Easter Monday (April 25–29). Of their further route we hear nothing, except that they reached the Eternal City without adventure.[1] Urban gave them a hearty welcome, and entertained them for ten days in the Lateran Palace. But he refused to accept Anselm's resignation.[2] On the contrary, he wrote to the King requiring him to reinstate the Archbishop.[3] From Rome Anselm retired for cooler air to the monastery of St. Salvator near Telese,[4] and thence again, the heats increasing, to the abbot's summer quarters in the hills at a place called Schiavi. There, amid refreshing scenery, Anselm finished his *Cur Deus Homo*, a work began in England. Duke Roger of Apulia invited him to his court.[5] Thus the Archbishop was able to assist at the great Council of Bari, which settled the doctrinal question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost (1 October, 1098). To Anselm's logic was ascribed the chief credit of having established, in opposition to the Greeks, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father.[6] Other matters having been disposed of, the case of the King of England was taken up. Urban proposed to excommunicate him as utterly contumacious and reprobate. His brethren of the Sacred College were prepared to agree; but the anathema was arrested by the kindly intervention of Anselm, who, having kept silence till then, rose from his seat, to fall on his knees before the Pope, and pray for further indulgence to the King.[7] The Council over, Anselm followed the Pope back to Rome. Thither shortly came the King's trusty agent, William of Warelwast, charged to negotiate and intrigue on behalf of his Royal master as against Anselm. Urban refused to listen to William's pleas, such as they were, again insisting on the recall of Anselm. But Warelwast played his cards so dexterously among persons connected with the *Curia* that Urban granted the King a respite (*inducias*) till Michaelmas, 1099.[8]

Reaches Rome.

Attitude of Urban.

Council of Bari.

Anselm pleads for Rufus.

[1] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 74–95; *Vita*, 389, 390; Rule, *St. Anselm*, II. 178, 179.

[2] Anselm renewed the petition later in the year, but again without effect.

[3] *Hist. Nov.* 95, 96; *Vita*, 390. [4] On the Calore, near Beneventum.

[5] *Hist. Nov.* 97; *Vita*, 391–393. Anselm joined Roger at the siege of Capua, a city in revolt, about the end of May; *Id.* and Rule, *sup.*

[6] *Hist. Nov.* 104; *Vita*, 395.

[7] *Hist. Nov.* 106. [8] Christmas, 1098; *Hist. Nov.* 110, 111; *Vita*, 396.

CHAPTER XV

WILLIAM II. (*continued*)

A.D. 1097–1100

The King established in Normandy—Attacks on French Vexin and Maine—He is recognised as Count of Maine—His death—His personal appearance, character, and Government.

ABOUT the 30th November (1097), not many days after Anselm had left England, William went over to Normandy.[1] The establishment of the Red King in the Duchy boded no good to his Continental neighbours. Treating Normandy as out and out his own, he soon made it clear that whatever his father had held, or claimed, he meant to have. Hostile intentions were promptly indicated towards France and Maine. The French part of the Vexin was still in the hands of the French; while Maine had gone back to a native Count. It will be remembered that the last enterprise of the Conqueror's life was an attack on the Vexin; while the reduction of Maine was, next to that of England, his greatest achievement. Rufus, probably, had during his visit to Normandy in 1066–1097—the date is uncertain—called on Philip to surrender the disputed Vexin; which included the important fortresses of Pontoise, Chaumont, and Mantes. The demand was rejected with natural contempt.[2]

William Established in Normandy.

He Claims Maine and the French Vexin.

Hélie of La Flèche, son of Paula, the third daughter of Herbert Wake-the-Dogs, had ruled Maine since 1091. A kind-hearted and upright man, he was also respected as a stout soldier. He had been one of the first to take the Cross at the preaching of Urban[3] in 1095. When William came to Normandy in 1096 he hastened to Rouen to obtain an assurance that his territory would not be molested in his absence. William answered that he would not wage war against actual Crusaders, but that Le Mans had belonged to his father, and that he might be expected to appear there with an army at his back. Hélie took the hint, dropped the Crusade, and remained at home to guard against the threatened storm.[4]

Hélie of La Flèche.

[1] Chron. Flor. [2] Ord., 766.

[3] Le Mans was honoured by a visit from Pope Urban in 1095; Freeman, *N. C.*, V. 103, citing Mabillon, *Vetera Anal.* 312 (ed. 1723). [4] Orderic, 768, 769.

The declaration of war against the Vexin placed the barons who held lands both there and in Normandy in some difficulty, but they could not really hesitate as to which lord to follow. King Philip was a man of sensual life, inert and incapable; and his son Louis, who had been given charge of the Vexin,[1] was still young. Rufus was at all events a man of war, with a band of very able captains to support him. Among these were his brother Henry, Robert of Bellême, William Count of Evreux, Hugh of Chester, and Walter Giffard.[2] Robert of Meulan of course held Meulan, the key of the Vexin, at the King's disposition. The lords of La Roche-Guyon and Vétheuil also declared for him,[3] but the bulk of the local gentry remained true to France, and kept the English fairly at bay. As a basis for future operations William built a border stronghold at Gisors, according to plans prepared by the talent of Robert of Bellême.[4] The French faced the place at Trie, Chaumont and Boury.[5] But though we are told that the current of the petty warfare was against the French, Rufus gained nothing by it. In April (1097) the King had gone back to England, remaining there till the end of November. But during that time an excuse for intervention in the affairs of Maine was found in the conduct of the *Manseaux*, who had elected them a new Bishop, the See of Le Mans having fallen vacant through the death of Hoel.[6] Count Hélie accepted the election, but Rufus denounced the act as an infringement of his rights.[7] When he came over, warfare in his name was begun by Robert of Bellême, the standing plague of the land of Maine.[8] In the course of some skirmishing actions under the walls of Dangeul,[9] a fortress newly established by Hélie to confront Alençon and Bellême, the Count fell into the hands of his adversary, who straightway carried him to Rouen.[10] Rufus was most courteous—he always was to the chivalry—and ordered Hélie to be kept in easy confinement at Bayeux.[11] The designs on Maine now took shape. The Norman Barons having been duly consulted, levies were called out, and mercenaries enlisted from France, Burgundy, Artois, and Brittany. The *Manseaux*, on the other hand, had called in their over-lord, Fulk Réchin of Anjou, who assisted them to put Le Mans

Attitude of the Barons.

Hostilities in Maine.

Capture of Hélie.

[1] Orderic, 700. He seems to give the appointment as dating from 1092.
[2] See Appendix to this Chapter. [3] All three places are in Seine et Oise.
[4] "Ingeniosus artifex Robertus."
[5] Oise. A.D. 1096–1097; Orderic, 765, 766. The date however is not clear. The war may only have broken out 1097–1098.
[6] 29 July, 1097. Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 210.
[7] Mabillon, *Vet. Anal.* 313 (1 vol. edn.); Ord. 770.
[8] For his castles in Maine, see Ord. 669, 670.
[9] Sarthe, South of Mamers.
[10] 26 April–1 May, 1098 (week before Rogation Sunday).
[11] "Honorifice custodiri præcepit."

in a state to defend itself. In the month of June, 1098, William led a formidable army through Alençon into Maine. The campaign was marked by some picturesque incidents. The army advanced without opposition to the walls of Le Mans. Geoffrey of Mayenne, who was still living, Ralph Viscount of Beaumont, and other barons who held lands on the line of advance, had persuaded Rufus to grant truces, under which they were allowed to suspend their choice of allegiance till the capital city had made up its mind.[1] At Coulaines, in the green meadows of the Sarthe, outside Le Mans, Rufus pitched his countless tents. Robert of Bellême was detached to besiege the town of Ballon. The castle, apparently a mound fort (*mota*), had been surrendered by a friend, Payen of Montdoubleau; but the town held out. Round both places the country was devastated in the usual ruthless fashion. The vineyards were destroyed, the crops trampled under foot. But the army soon found itself in straits for provisions; bread for the men and oats for the horses were alike at famine prices, the new harvest not having been got in yet, and William had to return to Normandy for supplies. As soon as the coast was clear Fulk pressed forward to attack the surrendered fort of Ballon. After a few days of active assault he was repulsed, under circumstances illustrative of the unscientific way in which the warfare of the times was waged. Personal courage and enterprise there was of the highest order, but the commonest military precautions were often neglected. The besieged, having sent out some beggars as spies, found that their assailants were all at dinner, about 'the third hour,' say towards noon, keeping no watch. A prompt sally being made, Fulk and his men were surrounded at dinner, in their tents. Some hundred and forty men-at-arms (*milites*) were captured, with a multitude of footmen. Fulk and a fortunate few escaped, leaving however a rich booty behind them. Here again we may point out that the nobility of the times, living so much on the road, carried everything about with them.[2]

William invades Maine.

Siege of Ballon.

Repulse of Fulk Réchin.

In the third week of July William returned to Maine, making for Ballon. We must suppose that the prisoners recently captured were paraded for his inspection, because we hear that they greeted him with loud cries of 'Noble king, set us free!' In the spirit of chivalry he granted their request, ordering them to be given a dinner with his own men, and releasing them, on parole, till after dinner-time. When his attendants remonstrated he answered, 'Far be it from me to doubt the word of worthy knights, who, if they broke their word, would for ever after be held in contempt.' Whether the King's generosity was extended to the foot soldiers does not appear.

Clemency of Rufus.

The march to Le Mans was resumed. Fulk was there in a monastery, watching the course of events. Both *Angevins* and *Manseaux* alike were

[1] Ord. 771. [2] Ord. 771, 772.

satisfied that further resistance to the King would be useless. Negotiations were opened, and a conference arranged between Fulk and Rufus. Terms were quickly adjusted. William would be recognised as Count; Le Mans and all castles held by his father would be placed in his hands; Hélie and all other prisoners on either side would be set free. On these conditions William took possession of Le Mans, entering by cautious stages. First of all Robert of Montfort, son of Hugh,[1] was sent with 700 men-at-arms, fully equipped, to receive the surrender of the castle, the Conqueror's donjon, situate close to the cathedral. The native garrison having marched out the Royal Standard was hoisted. Next day a further force of 1,000 men was sent to occupy the other holds, inside and outside the town. Lastly, on the third day, the King's peace having been proclaimed, and order provided for, the new Bishop, the well-known Hildebert, went out with clergy and people in procession, and, amid general rejoicings at the return of peace, brought in the King.

Submission of Maine.

William recognised as Count.

He takes possession of Le Mans.

Rufus made no long stay at Le Mans. Having placed William Count of Evreux, and Gilbert of Laigle in charge of the city, with a well-found garrison in the castle, he returned to Normandy. True to their pledges, Geoffrey of Mayenne and the others who had signed conditional truces surrendered their castles.[2]

Hélie now had to be released. Grimy and unshorn[3] he was brought from Bayeux to Rouen. "Before the victorious King, short, bulky, ruddy, fierce of countenance, hasty and stammering in speech, stood the captive Count, tall, thin, swarthy, master of eloquent and winning words."[4] A reigning Count no more, deprived of the dignity to which he was born, he humbly asked to be allowed to enter the King's Household (*familia*) with his old rank and title, if haply in time, by faithful service, he might earn restitution. William, taken aback, was disposed to close with Hélie's offer. But Robert of Meulan, we are told, objecting to the presence at court of one whose position might rival or overshadow his own, turned Rufus the other way. Finding fair words useless, Hélie changed his tone, and made a defiant speech, promising Rufus trouble in the future. The self-confident King, scorning his threats,[5] bade the Count be off and do his worst. But he gave Hélie his safe-conduct, and sent him back to his private

Hélie and Rufus.

Hélie at Liberty Again.

[1] Hugh of Montfort had been Constable of Dover. See above, 50; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 73.

[2] Ord. 773, 774. The *Life* of Bishop Hildebert, *Vetera Analecta*, 314, represents the terms of the convention as having been settled after communication with Hélie, who was in prison at Bayeux. But it is not easy to see how there could have been time for that, as William was back at Rouen in August, having entered Maine late in July.

[3] "Niger et hispidus."

[4] Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 242. I cannot help transcribing this fine passage.

[5] "Turgidus Rex."

possessions in the South of Maine, there to prepare for a renewal of the struggle at the earliest possible opportunity.[1]

But the campaigning of the year was not yet over. Late in September[2] William led his forces to devastate the French Vexin. A notable ally had come forward in the person of William X., Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine. Formal siege was laid to Chaumont, while raids were pushed in different directions to Montfort-l'Amauri and Epernon, to Maule, and to Pontoise, that being the furthest point reached.[3] The district must have been wasted in all its length and breadth. The siege of Chaumont proved disastrous to the King and his followers in the matter of horseflesh, the French archers directing their fire against the animals. Scores of gallant men-at-arms had to recross the Epte on foot. Finding that he could do no more, Rufus consented to a truce.[4] In Normandy he remained till the ensuing spring.[5]

Devastation of the French Vexin.

With all this warfare abroad we naturally again have at home groans over the manifold unrighteous exactions (*ungyld*) of the Government, aggravated by 'rain that ceased not.' Almost all the crops in the Fen country were lost.[6]

Distress in England.

But for the British Isles as a whole the event of the year 1098 was a great Scandinavian invasion under the King of Norway, Magnus surnamed Barfod (*Barefoot*),[7] son of Olaf Kyrre, and grandson of Harold Hardrada, who fell at Stamford Bridge. We are told that he had with him a son of the English Harold, presumably Ulf, his son by the Lady Ealdgyth, who, having been set free at the death of the Conqueror,[8] now for one instant emerges from obscurity again to vanish for ever. A Norse attack on Britain seems to carry us back to days supposed to be past. But the old times had not come back. Fifty years earlier, England would have trembled for her safety. Now Magnus did not venture to attack the mainland even of Scotland, much less that

Invasion by Magnus of Norway.

[1] August, Ord. 773. For the latter part of the interview with Hélie conf. W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 320 (wrongly given under 1099).

[2] The date is fixed by the fact that on the night of the 27th September, William being at Conches, on his way to invade 'France,' 'the heavens were lighted up,' evidently by an Aurora Borealis, also noticed by Florence and the Chronicle.

[3] Epernon ("Sparlo") is in Eure et Loire; Chaumont in Oise; the other places named are in Seine et Oise. Maule is between Mantes and Saint Germain-en-Laye.

[4] Ord. 766, 767. [5] Chron.; Flor.; H. Hunt. Orderic, 774, makes the King leave Normandy in the autumn. [6] Ord. 773; Chron.

[7] Magnus is said to have gained the name of Barefoot from his having adopted the Highland garb, to which he had taken a fancy. From the use of the word 'barefoot' we may gather that the kilt-men of the period discarded hose as well as breeks, only wearing sandals or brogues of leather on their feet; Robertson, *Scotland under Early Kings*, I. 167.

[8] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 329. But he gives the name of Harold to King Harold's son. The genealogy in Florence, I. 276, also gives the name of Harold to the son of Ealdgyth; but the name Ulf seems fairly established.

of England. According to the best account the primary quarrel was with Murchertach,[1] King of Dublin, whose daughter Magnus had married under a contract, the stipulations of which had not been fulfilled.[2] On his way to attack Ireland he took the opportunity of over-running and bringing under control the Western Islands, where the population, largely tinged with Norse blood, had long been subject to Norse rule. According to the Saga he wrested the Northern Isles, *i.e.* the Shetlands and Orkneys, from the sons of Thorfinn, namely Paul and Erling, of whom we heard at Stamford Bridge, installing his own son Sigurd instead.[3] The Sudreyia, or Southern Isles, meaning the whole group from the Hebrides to the Isle of Man, both included,[4] were won from the sons of one Guthred, surnamed Crouan, another chief who had figured at Stamford Bridge.[5] But the attack on Ireland failed, the Irish being forewarned and forearmed.[6] From the Irish coast Magnus turned towards Anglesey, apparently at the suggestion of the Welsh Princes Cadwgan son of Bleddyn, and Gruffudd son of Cynan.

He Overruns the Islands

and Lands in Anglesey.

In 1094 we were told that the Welsh had risen both in North and South Wales, and that even in the latter districts the 'French' had retained nothing but Pembroke and Rhyd-y-Gors. This was the native account; but the failure of expeditions led by the King in person in 1095 and 1097 is admitted by the English writers. Now it appears that in 1098 Cadwgan and Gruffudd, the two leading men in Wales, were so pressed by the Earls Hugh of Shrewsbury and Hugh (the Stout) of Chester, that they had to retire to Anglesey.[7] Such, however, were ever the vicissitudes of irregular warfare. But it is quite conceivable that, as partisan leaders, the two Earls, March Lords, might manage *guerilla* warfare better than the King with his cumbrous armies, whose coming would be heralded long beforehand. However, the Earls pressing their advantage, followed up the retreating Princes, crossing into Anglesey, and establishing a fort at Aberlleiniog,[8] between Penmon and the present Beaumaris, probably on the spot formerly fortified by the Earl of Chester, but captured by the Welsh in 1094.[9] They then proceeded to ravage "Mon" in the most barbarous fashion, butchering and mutilating the natives.[10] Driven out of the Island, Gruffudd and Cadwgan took ship for Ireland. Thus they were brought into contact with Magnus.[11] It would

Condition of Wales.

[1] See his signature to the letter to Anselm asking for the consecration of a bishop; Eadmer, *H. N.* 77. [2] Orderic, 767. [3] Laing, *Heimskringla*, III. 129.

[4] Hence the name of our Bishopric of Sodor and Man.

[5] *Chron. Manniæ*, A.D. 1047 (1066), and notes, Munch, p. 50; Freeman. Guthred ruled Man 1075–1095; and for fifteen years of the time he was also King of Dublin. Robertson, *sup.* 165. [6] Orderic, *sup.*; *Ann. Ulster.*

[7] *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut.* (the latter, A.D. 1096). [8] *Brut. sup.*

[9] Florence. For remains of the fort at Aberlleiniog, see Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 129.

[10] Florence. [11] *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut. sup.*

seem that both parties had already been trafficking with Wicking forces, which must have been connected with the Norse King's armament. Magnus listened to the prayers of the Welshmen, and sailed over to Anglesey. At what place he found the Earls does not appear, but it was on the coast, not far from the mainland, and very likely near Aberlleiniog.[1] Hugh of Montgomery entering the water to skirmish with the invaders fell pierced by an arrow in the eye. His body, carried off by the tide, was not recovered without trouble. Seventeen days later he was laid to his rest in his father's Minster at Shrewsbury, the only kindly-natured man of all the sons of Earl Roger and Mabille Talevas of Bellême.[2]

Death of Hugh of Montgomery.

The Earldom of Shrewsbury was given to Hugh's elder brother Robert of Bellême, whose claims could no longer be overlooked. But we are told that this recognition cost him a fine of £3000 to the King;[3] another acquisition for which Bellême paid handsomely was the inheritance of one Roger of Busli, Buthly or Bully,[4] broad lands on the borders of Yorkshire and Notts. With his ambition and his political instincts he lost no time in strengthening his position by castle-building. He set up a new fortress at Bridgenorth, not on the site of the "burh" of Æthelflæd, but a little higher up, on the same side of the Severn. The shattered remains of the existing Keep are his work.[5] The Bully estates round Blyth, weakly conceded to him by Rufus, were fortified with a castle, sometimes known by the name of Blyth, but more correctly by that of Tickhill. Robert also built a fort at Careghova or Caroclove in Wales, on the line of Offa's Dyke,[6] and probably strengthened the works at Shrewsbury and Arundel. Altogether he soon established for himself a position analogous to that already held by him in Normandy, and probably without parallel in the history of England. We may wonder at the imprudence of the King, who permitted such an accumulation in such hands. But Rufus was too impulsive and self-confident to be politic.

Robert of Bellême Earl of Shrewsbury.

His Castle-building.

As for the Welsh Princes, it would seem that they remained in Ireland till the next year, when they were allowed to return under a convention with the English, by which Anglesey was restored to Gruffudd, Cadwgan retaining his possessions in Central

Settlement of Welsh affairs.

[1] So Mr. Freeman suggests. Orderic, whose account here is not free from confusion, says that the parties met "in regione Dagannoth," *i.e.* near Deganwy, the spot where Robert of Rhuddlan fell, near the Conway. But the Welsh writers place the meeting in Anglesey.

[2] July–August, 1098; Orderic, 768; *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut. sup.* The latter gives Magnus the credit of having slain the Earl, but this seems negatived by Orderic, who says that the King mourned when Hugh's death was reported to him.

[3] Orderic, 768. [4] Seine Inf., Freeman.

[5] Ord. *sup.* See Clark, *Military Arch.* I. 273–277.

[6] Ord.; and Clark, *sup.* Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 159; Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 226, 389.

Wales; Ceredigion and part of Powys are specified.[1] But Gruffudd must be regarded as continuing King or Prince of Gwynnedd, and in the enjoyment of a position much more independent than that of his rival.

William Returns to England.

William apparently came back to England in the spring of 1099;[2] at any rate we hear of him on Whitsunday (29th May) as holding his feast at Westminster, and inaugurating his great architectural work, Westminster Hall. Magnificent as its proportions appeared to the men of the time,[3] Rufus, with his usual extravagance, declared that it was not half big enough. One important appointment, at any rate, was announced in honour of the occasion. The rich See of Durham had been vacant for three years and a half. It was now conferred upon the King's faithful satellite, the man who for ten years had done his dirty work, the clever Norman official, Ralph Flambard. A week later (5th June) he was consecrated at St. Paul's.[4]

Westminster Hall.

Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham.

For some eight months, from August, 1098, to April, 1099, that is to say, apparently just so long as the King remained in Normandy, the dispossessed Count of Maine kept quiet. William once across the Channel, Hélie began to move again, mustering his forces. Four castles he had in right of his wife, namely Chateau-du-Loir, Mayet, Lucé-le-Grand, and Outille,[5] all in the southern part of Maine, besides his own inherited La Flèche.[6] In the month of June he took the field with a considerable force, and, crossing the Huisne at Pontlieue,[7] near its junction with the Sarthe, appeared before the walls of Le Mans.

Hélie in Arms Again.

Siege of Le Mans.

The Norman garrison boldly sallying out to skirmish, were overpowered and driven back, their assailants entering the town pell-mell with them. Le Mans was won, but not the forts. The citizens received their popular Count with joy, but their joy was quickly turned to sorrow when the whole lower town was fired with missiles showered down by William's men from the Keep and other strongholds on the heights above, an easterly wind causing the flames to spread.[8] A report of what had happened was promptly forwarded to Rufus in England. The messenger found him hunting at Clarendon, near Salisbury,

[1] *Ann. Camb.* and *Brut.* [2] Towards Easter (10th April), Chron.

[3] "Ædificium permaximum," W. Malm.; *G. R.* s. 321. "Aulam . . . magnam vel æquo majorem," H. Hunt.

[4] Chron.; Flor.; H. Hunt; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 180.

[5] Orderic, 684, 769, 773. [6] All in the Dept. of Sarthe.

[7] "Ad Pontem Leugæ;" Mabillon, *Vet. Anal. sup.* "Ad Planchias Godefredi vadum Egueniæ fluminis pertransivit," Ord. The "Planchiæ" would be a wooden footbridge along side of a ford. Mr. Freeman identifies this with the existing Ford of Mauny, a little below Pontlieue, *Rufus*, II. 287.

[8] Orderic, 773, 774; and Mabillon, *sup.* See also the interesting description of Le Mans, Freem. *N. C.* III. 203.

on the outskirts of the New Forest. On receipt of the news, William, we are told, simply turned his horse round, and, without waiting to take counsel of any one, or to make the smallest preparation of any sort, galloped down to the coast, doubtless to Southampton,[1] the nearest harbour. But, for the moment, only one crazy old vessel was available for transport. The weather was boisterous, and the sailors hesitated to face the waves. But William, with a proud confidence in his own destiny, ordered them to loose, asking them if they had ever heard of a king who was drowned at sea. Next morning they landed at Touques, near Trouville, then as now a seaside resort in time of summer. With a cheery laugh the King himself announced his own arrival to the wondering idlers on the sands.[2]

William Hastens to the Rescue.

His Confidence in his Destiny.

The King's promptness met with its due reward. A force having been quickly raised and marched to Le Mans, Hélie retired in confusion. But if the Red King could vie with his father in swiftness of action, in thoroughness and persistency of purpose he fell far behind him. Following the retreating foe, he pushed southwards as far as the little town of Mayet, where the castle held out. The King arrived there on a Friday. On the Saturday, evidently giving in to the *Treuga Dei*, he granted a truce till the Monday. When hostilities were resumed his nerve was shaken by the fate of a man standing beside him, whose head was crushed by a stone hurled from an upper floor of the castle. He held a council of war, dropped the siege, and marched home.[3] By Michaelmas he had returned to England.[4]

Retreat of Hélie.

The King's career so far had been one of sufficient success;[5] but with the year 1100 a new vista of indefinite aggrandisement seemed to open up. His friend William the Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitou, who had assisted him in his Vexin campaigns of 1098, as if following Duke Robert's example, proposed to mortgage his dominions to the King for money to take him to the Holy Land. William jumped at the offer, and the naval and military resources of England were once more called upon for an enterprise in which she had no interest.[6] The Court of Paris trembled at the prospect of seeing the Anglo-Norman dominion carried to the banks of the Garonne. William might even be aiming at the crown of France.[7]

Prospect of the Acquisition of Aquitaine.

[1] So the *R. Rou.*

[2] Orderic, 774, 775; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 320; *R. Rou*, II. 328–331, where the incident is connected with the events of 1090; Eadmer, *H. N.* 116. "Ventus insuper et ipsum mare videbantur ei obtemperare." [3] Orderic, 775; Chron. [4] Chron.

[5] So Eadmer remarks, *H. N.* 116. [6] Ord. 780; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 333, p. 379.

[7] Suger, *Vita. Lud. Grossi*, c. 1. (Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. Scriptt.* IV. 283.) As Mr. Freeman points out, the Aquitaine of the period lay North of the Garonne, and in fact to the south of Poitou, Limoges being its capital. Guienne, again, came in between Aquitaine and Gascony

But the brimming cup had run over. The demands for the Poitevin campaign were the last that William was destined to address to his over-burdened subjects. Already men's thoughts had begun to turn towards the King's younger brother, Henry, born in the Purple, and so according to some views, the rightful heir to the Throne of the Conqueror.[1] Early in May the public mind was excited by the sudden death of the King's nephew Richard, natural son of Duke Robert, who fell, accidentally shot by a cross-bow bolt while hunting in the New Forest, the second scion of the Royal House to succumb to the Nemesis of those fateful glades.[2] It will be remembered that Richard, the third son of William I., had died either of some injury suffered, or some illness contracted, while sporting in the New Forest.[3] Rumours of further portents began to be noised abroad. Blood was seen welling from the earth at Finchampstead in Berkshire.[4] The Evil One appeared to many, and spoke to them of the King, and of Flambard.[5]

England Tired of William Rufus.

Sudden Death of his Nephew.

Omens and Portents.

Dreams and prophecies of coming retribution were multiplied. Clearly the end of the Red King's reign was the one consummation for which all men were devoutly praying. A monk at Gloucester had a vision of the Church as a fair virgin kneeling at the feet of Christ, and praying to be delivered from William's cruel yoke. She was told to have patience for a little while. Abbot Serlo thought it his duty to report the warning to the King. Nay more, we are told that a few days later, on the Feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* (August 1), the same Abbot allowed a sermon to be preached in his newly-consecrated church[6] by Fulchard, Abbot of Shrewsbury, denouncing the Government in the strongest terms.[7]

Rufus Denounced from the Pulpit.

But Rufus cared for none of those things. On the 2nd August, buoyant and full of spirits as ever, he went out to hunt in the New Forest. At night the news rang through the land that the impious King was dead, fallen in an instant, shot through the heart by an arrow. In the words of our great poet he had fallen—

Death of William Rufus.

> 'Unhouseled, disappointed, unannealed,
> With all his horrible imperfections on his head.'[8]

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[1] "Quem nobiliter in solio regni noverant genitum;" Ord. 782. See also W. Jum. 297; Freeman, *W. Rufus*, I. 11; W. Newburgh, I. 26 (Rolls Series, No. 82, Howlett).

[2] May 6–8, Orderic, 780; Florence. [3] *Id.*; W. Jum. 296.

[4] Chron.; Flor.; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 331. [5] Florence.

[6] St. Peter's Gloucester, rebuilt by Serlo, was dedicated July 15, 1100; Florence. See Freem. *N. C.* IV. 389

[7] Orderic, 781, 782. For another dream, said to have been reported to Robert fitz Hamon, see Malm. *G. R.* s. 333, also 331, 332. For prophecies among Anselm's circle see Eadmer, *Vita*, 402, 403. Anselm, however, refused to listen to them.

[8] Thursday, August 2. *Hamlet*, I. 3. "Impœnitens et inconfessus," Eadm. *H. N.* 116.

By whose hand the fatal bow was drawn, and under what circumstances, remains in doubt. The version prevalent at the time and afterwards was that the King had been accidentally shot by Walter Tirel of Poix (Somme), a favourite courtier, understood to have been the only man of position who saw the King fall.[1] We are also told that Tirel had to flee for his life from the fury of William's minions, who would have torn him to pieces, and that years afterwards he went on penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he died.[2] Against this we have to set Walter's own denial, as reported by Abbot Suger of St. Denis, who tells us that he had frequently heard Tirel assert in the most solemn manner, at times 'when he had nothing to hope or fear,' that he was not with the King at his death.[3] But apparently the man never ventured to set foot in England again. The matter seems an unsolved mystery, and there we fear that we must leave it. No inquiry was ever made. The world was too glad to be rid of the tyrant to risk bringing any man into trouble by probing the facts too deeply.

Question of Walter Tirel.

The King's fall broke up the hunting party; off went the courtiers, each man to look after his own interests. It will be borne in mind that during an interregnum the King's Peace would be in abeyance, and the rule of law, as it were, suspended. Thus the corpse was left to be brought in by foresters and gamekeepers (*clientuli*) on a cart, simply covered with a rough cloth, 'like the carcase of some fallen boar.' Winchester was reached on the morrow. Clergy and monks, with a motley following of expectant beggars and widows, went out to meet the remains. They were carried to a grave ready prepared in the Minster. In solemn silence, without Psalm or Requiem, the Red King, as an unshriven malefactor, was laid to his rest.[4] The chronicler adds, as if with shame, that of all the late King's wealth not a penny was distributed as alms for the good of his soul.

The Corpse carried to Winchester.

And Buried in Silence.

William of Malmesbury describes King Rufus as a man of square build, moderate stature, and great strength, already inclined to be corpulent,[5]

[1] Orderic, 781, 782; W. Malm. *G. R.*, s. 333; Florence; H. Hunt. The Chronicle simply states that Rufus was shot by one of his own men, as if the deed was not quite accidental. Tirel is also mentioned by Geoffrey Gaimar; Wace, *R. Rou*, II. 341; and Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, 222. The *Annales Cambria* also have it that William was shot accidentally by a *miles*, a man of some rank. The Continuator of Jumieges (R. de Monte) evidently believed in the Tirel version, as he says, "a quodam suo familiari percussus," 296.

[2] Orderic, 783. He gives details about Tirel, telling us that he was married to Adelaide, daughter of Richard Giffard, and that he left a son Hugh, etc.

[3] "Jurejurando sæpius audivimus . . . asserere"; Duchesne, *sup.* IV. 283.

[4] So apparently Orderic, 782, "Veluti biothanatum absolutione indignum"; W. Malm. *sup.*; Chron. The tombstone may yet be seen, but not on the original site, which has been recently changed; Freeman.

[5] "Ventre paulo projectiore,"

though not more than forty-two years old. He had an open forehead, with the hair parted in the middle,[1] ruddy complexion, yellowish hair (*subflavo*), and wild speckled eyes.[2] He stammered in his speech, especially when in a passion.[3] Without sense of dignity, he made a point of assuming a brutal hectoring manner in public audiences, shouting down his interlocutors[4] if they ventured to differ from him. In private he could be humorous and pleasant, especially when giving a jocular apology for one of his own misdeeds.[5] With a clear intellect and retentive memory he was vain to a degree, and childish in his extravagance, literally courting imposition. The story is well known of the pair of new boots rejected by him with foul language because they had only cost three shillings. When the chamberlain brought him another pair, no better than the first, and said that they would cost a mark (13*s.* 4*d.*), the King was satisfied.[6] As a natural consequence his rapacity was unbounded. In the words of the Chronicle, 'he would be the heir of every man, learned or lay.' Nothing was safe from him, and everything was turned into money. 'The very halter round the robber's neck would be loosed if he could promise money. . . . Nobody under William had any cash except the money-lenders; no cleric could get on unless he was a pettyfogger, nor any priest get a living unless he paid rent for it.'[7] Purely military in his life and tastes, William had the spirit of the new-born chivalry of the times, and could be generous to foes of knightly rank, as in his treatment of the Ballon captives in 1098, and again when he let Hélie of La Flèche go free. Many men under the circumstances would have found excuses for breaking their word. Impulsive but not persistent, William was more violent than strong. His campaigns in France really ended in nothing. He was like a wild bull, easily turned, and harmless when the first wild rush was spent. His utter unpopularity, we might say the abhorrence with which he was regarded by his subjects, is admitted by all.[8] The summary of his offences, as given by the Peterborough Chronicle, is that he harassed the people with military levies and illegal imposts; and that he oppressed the Church, either selling the Sees or farming them out. At his death he had three bishoprics

William's Character and Appearance.

His Extravagance and Rapacity.

Chivalrous Treatment of Men of Rank.

His Unpopularity.

Venality and Injustice of his Rule.

1 "Fronte fenestrata"; see Ducange, *fenestrare*.

2 "Oculo vario, quibusdam intermicantibus guttis distincto." 3 Malm. *G. R.* s. 321.

4 "Affectato rigore feroci voce colloquentem reverberans."

5 "Facetissimus de aliquo suo perperam facto cavillator, ut invidiam facti dilueret, et ad sales transferret"; *G. R.* 312. 6 *G. R.* s. 313. Even three shillings would seem a good price for a pair of boots, it was the worth of an ox; Pipe Roll, 31 *H. I.*

7 "Nullus dives nisi nummularius, nullus clericus nisi causidicus, nullus presbyter nisi . . . firmarius"; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 314.

8 "Vix abolendam infamiam" is Malmesbury's judgment; *G. R.* s. 316. The chronicle styles him 'loathsome (laŏ) to his people and hateful (andsæte) to God.'

and eleven abbeys all 'set' at rent. As the broad result of his rule, 'every right fell, and every unright rose up.'[1] In this indictment the fiscal exactions are naturally placed in the forefront. Venality and injustice as organized by Flambard would tell against every class, from the highest to the lowest.[2] Even the 'good peace' that Rufus kept[3] might seem dearly purchased under such a system. It should also be stated that the King's Household and mercenaries were indulged in every license at the expense of the peasantry, William making no attempt to keep them in order.[4]

His Contempt for Religion.

With the biographer of St. Anselm the King's personal attitude towards religion is the point most dwelt upon. William's heretical profanity would scandalise the clergy, especially in a crusading age, when the Church was aspiring to rule the world. Any reference to the will of Providence irritated Rufus, and he utterly rejected all invocation of Saints, but especially of St. Peter.[5] A party of Englishmen of respectable position were charged with having taken some of the King's deer. At the beginning of his reign he had promised to relax the Forest Laws; in fact, he increased their severity.[6] William ordered the whole set to the ordeal, nothing doubting that they must all be convicted. But on the third day, when their hands were examined, the priests declared them all innocent. Rufus was furious. 'Was that God's justice? Away with it. All such cases shall be brought before our own Court in future.'[7]

His Attitude towards Judaism.

The King's Freethinking came out especially in connexion with Judaism. On one occasion he told the Jews in London that he was quite open to conviction, and that if they could refute the bishops he would join their persuasion. We are told that he actually forced the reluctant clergy to a disputation. Of course the Jews were worsted, but of course they protested that they had been overpowered by numbers.[8] But the King was as venal in his unbelief as in everything else. We are told that in 1098 the Jews at Rouen complained to him that some of their connexion had embraced Christianity, offering him money to win them back to the worship of their fathers. Rufus sent for the converts, and by dint of threats and bullying forced some of them to recant.[9] Others held out. One young Israelite in particular had been

[1] Chron. E, A.D. 1100.

[2] See Florence (II. 46); also Ord. 678, 680; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 314; *G. P.* p. 274.

[3] Ord. 680.

[4] "Pagenses contra milites defendere negligebat," Ord. 680. "Rapina quam familia sua hostili modo ubicunque rex pergabat, exercebant"; H. Hunt. p. 230.

[5] "Nullum sanctorum cuiquam apud Deum posse prodesse . . . nec aliquem sapienter debere Beatum Petrum seu quemlibet alium quo se juvaret interpellare"; Eadm., *H. N.* 102.

[6] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 319; Chron. A.D. 1088.

[7] "Deus est justus judex? Pereat qui deinceps hoc crediderit." Anselm was greatly shocked; Eadm. *H. N.* 102.

[8] "Se non ratione sed factione superatos"; W. Malm. *G. R.* 317.

[9] "Minis et terroribus fractos"; Eadm. *H. N.* 99; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 317.

converted, it was said, by an apparition of the Proto-martyr Stephen. 'His father promised the King sixty marks (£40) for his re-conversion. Rufus summoned the youth and ordered him to comply with his father's wishes. The lad gravely asked the King if he was jesting. 'What! I jest with thee, thou son of a dunghill? Do as I bid thee, or *Par vo Luche* I will have thine eyes torn out.' 'Nay, O King,' pleaded the undaunted son of Abraham, simply, 'but know that thou art no good Christian if thou doest such things.' William, slightly abashed, ordered him to be turned out of the apartment. A discussion with the father ensued. The King claimed the marks on the ground that he had done his best. The father urged that he had only promised the money in return for an actual conversion. Finally the King was content to split the difference, and take thirty marks.[1] Seldom have fine natural gifts been more grossly abused and degraded. Bad man as he was, Rufus was better than King John. He was not so mean, so cruel, or so petty as his grandnephew. His private habits, as already mentioned, were of the vilest;[2] too coarse to consort with ladies, he seems to have had little to do with women at all.

Revenue of William II.

Of the Revenue of the second William we can give no more definite estimate than we did of that of his father. We can only point out again as a general indication that his brother's income for the one year for which accounts are extant will be found under £30,000 of the money of the time.[3]

Ralph Flambard, Treasurer.

We have referred to the position of Ralph Flambard. He is generally supposed to have held the post of Chief Justiciar. But again we say that it is doubtful if any such office had yet been established.[4] At any rate, in 1091 we have Flambard signing, and he signs not as *Justiciarius*, but simply as *Thesaurarius*[5] (Treasurer). The Treasury therefore would seem to have been Ralph's proper sphere of action. But under Rufus the discharge of this duty carried with it the control of the whole judicial and administrative system of the kingdom, which from his point of view was simply machinery for supplying the needs of the Royal fisc.[6] The expression of the Peterborough Chronicler, that he 'drove' and managed all the 'gemots' of the country, would imply an interference with the action even of the ordinary local courts. We are

[1] Eadmer, *sup.* 100.

[2] "Protervus et lascivus"; Ord. 680. See above, 186, 191, and note.

[3] Pipe Roll, 31, Henry I.; see below.

[4] See Foss, *Judges*, I. 85.

[5] See the charter, *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptt. Tres*, Append. xxiii. Mr. Foss, above, points out that so far none of the men credited with the office of Chief Justiciar ever sign as such, only as simple "Justiciarius."

[6] "Quem negotiorum totius regni exactorem constituerat," Florence; "Summus regiarum procurator opum et Justiciarius," Ord. 786; "Expilator divitum, exterminator pauperum," W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 314.

told that the resources of his chicane were endless; his attitude on the bench, even to prayers for mercy, domineering and brutal.[1]

Westminster Hall, as we know it, has been remodelled and enlarged since the time of Rufus. Originally it would seem that it was built on the plan of primitive halls, namely, like a church with a nave, and aisles supported on pillars, the pillars in this case being of wood. Three centuries after the time of Rufus the wooden piers were removed, the walls raised, and the windows and roof altered and rebuilt by Richard II. (1397–1399).[2] William also surrounded the Tower with a wall, and either repaired or rebuilt London Bridge, which had been greatly damaged by a flood. But again the execution of these Royal works imposed heavy burdens on the people of the neighbouring shires.[3]

Architecture of the Reign.

William was never married, and left no issue.

The death of the Red King brings us to the close of the eleventh century, with all its dark scenes of turmoil and bloodshed. At the approach of the year 1000 England, helpless amid the horrors of Danish invasion, was endeavouring to find comfort in the belief that the end of all things was at hand. If the last days of the eleventh century were still fraught with suffering, the country was emerging from a regenerating ordeal, full of promise for the future. The kingdom had become one in fact as well as theory, and already was recognised and respected abroad. Jews and other foreigners had come in to give the natives their first lessons in book-keeping and finance. The constant intercourse with Normandy gave employment to English shipping, and pointed to the necessity of keeping the control of the Channel in English hands. If we venture to peep forward into the coming age, a rapidly widening horizon broadens upon us. The spiritual awakening of Hildebrand has already borne fruits of mixed character, and will soon bring forth more. Jerusalem has been won from the Moslem, and made the seat of a Christian kingdom.[4] Fresh international efforts are called for daily. The West is being brought into contact with Byzantine civilization and Byzantine art. The ascendancy of Christian rule in the Spanish Peninsula has been secured. Fresh chapters of interest await us on every side.

Close of the Eleventh Century.

[1] "Invictus causidicus . . . juxta in supplices ut in rebelles furens"; Malm. *sup.*

[2] See Wheatley & Cunningham's *London*.

[3] Chron. A.D. 1097, where Thorpe's alteration of *sciran* to *scipan* seems a mistake; H. Hunt. *Ib.* Mr. Freeman ascribes to Rufus the building of the first stone bridge over the Thames; *W. Rufus*, II. 261.

[4] The Holy City was stormed Friday, 15th July, 1099. A week or eight days later Godfrey of Bouillon was elected King; Flor.; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 369; and Gibbon, XI. 81–86.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XV

The Giffards, Earls of Buckingham

The history of this Earldom is admittedly involved in doubt, the principal question being whether Walter Giffard,[1] first of the name, was or was not raised to the dignity; the titles of his son and grandson being undisputed.

Walter Giffard I., Lord of Longueville in the *Pays de Caux*, was son of Osbern of Bolbec, in the same district, and connected through his mother with the Ducal family.[2] He is first heard of as holding a command at the siege of Arques, by the appointment of Duke William (A.D. 1053).[3] He must therefore have been a man of some standing at the time.[4] He fought at Senlac, and, according to Orderic (p. 522, ed. Duchesne), was created Earl of Buckingham by the Conqueror, *circa* 1070. This man would seem to have survived William, because we hear from Orderic that by the orders of 'Robert II. Duke of Normandy,' Walter Giffard "*Senior*" took the monastery of St. Evroult (Orderic's House) under his special protection (p. 606). Here, by the way, we may point out that the connection between Walter I. and St. Evroult gives special value to Orderic's testimony. The use of the word "Senior" seems to imply the existence of a younger son already known to the world. We would identify the latter with the man named in *Domesday*, who is not styled Earl,[5] and again with the plain 'Walter Giffard' mentioned in 1090, and again in 1095, as siding with Rufus in Normandy as against Robert.[6] At any rate, Walter Giffard II. must be taken to have been the man who was active in the invasion of the Vexin in 1098, and he is styled Earl of Buckingham; his father, as we suggest, being now dead.[7] Without doubt he was the signitary of Henry I.'s charter,[8] and died in 1102, leaving by Agnes sister of Anselm of Ribaumont, a son under age, Walter Giffard III., of whom we shall hear at the Battle of Brémule.[9]

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[1] The name might be rendered in English 'Cheeks' or 'Chaps,' Giffard being equivalent to the modern French "joufflu"='Fat-cheeked'; *Godefroy*.

[2] Freeman, *N.C.* III. 129, citing Deville, p. 19. [3] *Ib.*

[4] Mr. Doyle, I know not on what authority, asserts that he was born before 1015; *Official Baronage*.

[5] Ellis, I. 424. In his note the learned editor mixes up Walter Giffard I. and Walter Giffard II., treating the son of Osbern of Bolbec as the man who died in 1103.

[6] Orderic, 681, 722. As other men acting with this Giffard on these occasions are styled Earls, we must admit that he cannot have been an Earl at the time.

[7] Orderic, 766. [8] See Liebermann's text.

[9] Orderic, 854. Mr. Doyle, in his *Official Baronage*, accepts the three Earls; Mr. Cokayne, in his *Complete Peerage*, only the two.

CHAPTER XVI

HENRY I. SURNAMED "CLERC" AND "BEAUCLERC"[1]

Born 1068 (May–Sept.).[2] Crowned 5th August, 1100. Died 1st Dec. 1135

Style: "*Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum*," also "*Dux Normannorum*"[3]

A.D. 1100–1103

The King's Accession—Issue of a Charter—Return of Anselm—Question of the Investitures—The King's Marriage—Invasion of England by Duke Robert of Normandy—Treaty—Expulsion of Robert of Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his Brothers—Struggle with Anselm—He leaves England.

CHIEF of the personages who were with William Rufus in the New Forest on the fatal 2nd August was his brother Henry, then just thirty-two years old. Of his energy and capacity he had already given distinct proofs. His natural talents had been developed by a good education, and matured by the experiences gained through his struggles with his brothers.[4] Men and parties, both in England and Normandy, must have been well known to him. A scholar and a man of peace, cool and calculating, with his impulses strictly under control, he loved to work by policy and craft.[5] His brother's sudden fall had, in an instant, brought the crown of England within his reach. Nor was he slow to grasp the prize. He rode straight to Winchester—distant some twenty miles—where the Royal treasure was kept, and demanded the keys. Hard on his heels came William of Breteuil, the keeper of the hoard, to raise an honest protest on behalf of the absent Robert. He

Henry Beauclerc.

His Character and Attainments.

He seizes the Crown.

[1] "Heanrig," Chron. and by a later scribe, "Henri." "Henris," *R. Rou, passim*. The earliest authority for the traditional surname Clerc or Beauclerc appears to be the Chronicle of Thomas Wykes, who died probably shortly before 1300. "Quem vulgus clericum nuncupabat." *Ann. Monastici*, IV. 11 (H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, No. 36).

[2] Ord. 510; above, 65.

[3] See the Seals, Rymer, *Fœdera*, I., 7. Lappenberg, *Normans* (Thorpe), 300, asserts that Henry never used the style of *Dux Norm.* during Robert's life, but Anselm addresses him as such in two letters, *Epp.* III. No. 136, and IV. No. 82, Migne.

[4] See above, and the loose sketch, W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 392. Speaking of the elder brothers he says, "ad majorem prudentiam ævi processu penuria victualium informabant" (sc. Henricum).

[5] "Libentius bellabat consilio quam gladio"; Malm. *G. R.* s. 412. For Henry's education and love of books see *Id.* 390, and Ord. 510, 665.

was the eldest son of the Great William; the reversion of England had been assured to him by the treaty of Caen; Henry had subscribed that compact, and done homage to Robert.

The treaty of Caen would not appeal to Henry's better feelings, sealed as it had been at his expense; as for the homage, he might point out that it had been rendered for fiefs in Normandy of which he had been wrongfully despoiled. A crowd soon gathered round the pair. Encouraged by the friendly attitude of the bystanders, Henry put his hand on the hilt of his sword, and declared that he would stand no frivolous discussion of his rights. The keys of castle and treasury were handed over,[1] and with them the succession was practically settled. This must be supposed to have happened on the evening of the 2nd August.[2]

Robert's Rights ignored.

On the morrow, the Friday—after the late King's remains had been laid in the Minster—the form of an election was gone through by the knot of courtiers present, in the words of the Chronicle: 'By such of the Witan as were near hand.' Chief of these were Robert of Meulan, the Ahitophel of the period, and his younger brother, Henry of Beaumont, now Earl of Warwick, described as a man specially attached to Henry. We are told that through his influence more than that of any other man all dissentient voices were silenced, and Henry chosen.[3] The opposition, of course, would come from those averse to the severance of England from Normandy. The King-elect then proceeded to bestow the vacant See of Winchester[4] upon the late King's Chancellor William Giffard,[5] thus securing the services of an experienced official, and the support of a bishop. The party then, without further delay, rode straight to London, covering the 62½ miles with such expedition that they were able to arrange for Henry's coronation on the Sunday, that is to say, either the next day, or the next day but one (August 5). The breathless haste with which the proceedings were pressed forward speaks for itself.

Coronation with the Ancient Rites.

With respect to the hallowing, the performance of the rite was the privilege of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, failing him, of the Northern Primate. But Anselm was abroad, and the urgency of the case did not admit of sending to York for Archbishop Thomas, who was old and in failing health, and who, in fact, died not long after.[6] The consecrating unction, therefore, had to be laid on by the hands of Maurice, Bishop of London.[7] The ritual has been preserved, and it conforms in

[1] Orderic, 782.

[2] Rufus fell late in the day. He did not go out hunting till the afternoon; Ord.

[3] "In Regem electus est aliquantis tamen ante controversiis inter proceres agitatis atque sopitis;" W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 393. Orderic, 783.

[4] Bishop Walkelin died 3 January, 1098; Florence; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[5] See Foss, *Judges*, I. 56. [6] 18 Nov., 1100; Flor.; *Reg. Sacr.*

[7] Orderic, 783; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 393; Chron.; Flor.; H. Hunt.

all respects to the established precedents, and notably in the matter of the Coronation Oath, in which the King promised, so far as in him lay, to keep Church and people in good peace, to put down all wrong-doing, and and to temper justice with mercy.[1]

These pledges in themselves would amount to an undertaking to govern righteously. But the king's father and brother had promised as much, and Henry was anxious to contrast his intended rule with theirs. The coronation was promptly followed by the publication of his celebrated Charter,[2] "the parent of all later charters." The King begins by reciting that he has been crowned by the 'common counsel' of the Barons of the Realm, which Realm had been oppressed with 'unjust exactions,' the practice of which he goes on to disclaim for the future. First and foremost, 'he liberates the Church,'[3] he will neither sell nor farm out any vacant benefice, nor will he take anything either from the demesne lands, or the under-tenants, of a vacant see until a successor takes possession.[4] With respect to the laity he abrogates 'all the evil customs by which the Realm had been unjustly oppressed.' In particular, the heirs of barons and others holding in chief[5] shall no longer 'redeem' their estates, 'as they did in the time of my brother,' but shall only pay a just and proper Relief. Nothing shall be taken from a tenant for leave to dispose of the hand of a daughter or other female relative in marriage, 'so that it be not to one of the King's enemies.' The requirement of Royal leave, it will be observed, is not dispensed with. If a tenant leave a daughter as his heir, the King will consult the Barons as to the disposition of her hand and property. Widows desiring to remain single shall be free to do so, without forfeiting dower or marriage portion.[6] The wardship of the children and lands to rest with the mother, or other most suitable relative. This, it would seem, was the old English rule. A tenant in failing health to be free to dispose of his money. If he die without having disposed of it, the money to be distributed by the widow and other connexions,[7] as they shall think best, for the good of his soul.

Issue of a Charter.

[1] See Maskell, *Monum. Ritualia*, III. 3, 5; cited Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 95, and *C. H.* I. 329, where also the oath is given. The Chronicle confounds the coronation oath with the coronation charter. The service will be found in MS. Cott. Claudius, A. III.

[2] The charter bears no date. Florence and others refer to it as published on the day of the coronation, but the charter distinctly refers to that day as past "ab illa die qua coronatus fui," c. 9.

[3] "Ecclesiam imprimis liberam facio."

[4] For exactions from the owners of demesnes see the Danegeld of 1096; for exactions from under-tenants, the Worcester Reliefs of 1095; above, 141, note, 203, note, 205.

[5] "Qui de me tenent," otherwise "homines mei."

[6] "Maritationem," *i.e.* money given to the husband with the wife, the French *dot*. See Ducange.

[7] "Uxor sua sive liberi aut parentes aut legitimi homines ejus eam . . . dividant, etc.," s. 7.

Here we may notice that no right of testamentary disposition of land, even of *boc-land*, as in Anglo-Saxon times, appears to be recognised. This right must be supposed to have been swept away by the New Feudalism. The King further grants that where a tenant shall have committed some legal offence against the Crown he shall not in future be required to give security for a fine at the king's absolute discretion—'as they did in the times of my father and my brother'—but shall only pay according to the measure of his offence—'as he would have paid in the times of my other predecessors before my father's time.'[1] The reader will notice Henry's disposition to connect himself with the old line of kings, and to treat his accession as a return to good old days. The charter then goes on to specify that tenants by knight's service[2] shall hold their demesne lands free from all 'gelds' or renders other than service in the field. From this, perhaps, we may date the exemption from direct taxation enjoyed by the Peers in mediæval times. As minor concessions the King puts out of circulation base coin then current, 'but not known in the time of King Eadward'; remits all penalties and debts (*placita et debita*) due to his brother, other than legitimate rents and obligations, and also all murder-fines[3] incurred since the day of his coronation. The Forests, he frankly declares, he means to retain for himself to the same extent as his father had them, the Barons having been specially consulted, and having given their consent. Lastly, he restores the popular Laws of the Confessor with the emendations introduced by the Conqueror.

Restoration of the Laws of the Confessor.

It is important to point out with regard to the concessions made to the tenants in chief, that the King requires from them corresponding concessions in favour of their under-tenants. These would be the most popular and beneficial stipulations of the charter. From one point of view the document might be regarded as an indictment of the governments of Henry's father and brother. From another point of view it might be regarded as giving the terms of the compact on the strength of which he was accepted as King. A special copy, addressed to the sheriff, was sent down to each county in the kingdom.[4]

Indictment of the Late Governments.

Henry's anxious wish to pose as an English King, born in England, is unmistakeable. His accession was undoubtedly well received by the

[1] "Si quis . . . forisfecerit non dabit vadium in misericordia pecuniæ suæ . . . sed secundum modum forisfacti emendabit," etc., s. 8. As for "in misericordia," the *Dialogus de Scacc.*, tells us that it meant "tota pecunia," or forfeiture of the whole of a man's movables but not of his real estate, c. 16.

[2] "Qui per loricas terras suas deserviunt," cf. French "Fief de haubert."

[3] "Murdra," *i.e.* the penalty from the Hundred for an unconvicted homicide, *Laws Wm. I.* c. 3; *Select Charters*, c. 22; Schmidt; above, 145.

[4] *Select Charters*, 96. For a critical examination of the text, see Liebermann, *Transactions R. Hist. Socy.* N. S. VIII. 21. No actual original seems extant.

English. The fact that he was born in the Purple[1] was dwelt upon; and Welsh prophecies applicable to his case were produced.[2]

Henry an English King.

From the greater barons he could only expect a doubtful support. The considerations that told for union with Normandy were just as operative now as in 1087. Accordingly, the number of magnates who appear to have taken an actual part in making Henry King is very small. The list includes the Bishops Maurice of London, Gundulf of Rochester, Gerard of Hereford, and William Giffard Elect of Winchester. The Earls were Robert of Meulan and his brother Henry of Warwick, Simon of St. Lis or Senlis Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, and Walter Giffard II. of Bucks; with the Barons Roger Bigod, Robert of Montfort, Robert Malet, Henry of Port, Hamon the Steward (*Dapifer*), and Robert fitz Hamon.[3]

Doubtful attitude of the Barons.

Concurrently with the issue of the Charter a pressing invitation was addressed to Anselm, to return to England to resume the care of souls as the spiritual father of the King and people.[4] Other instalments of reform were promptly taken in hand. The court was cleared of objectionable characters, and its police restored; Ralph Flambard, 'the prince of Publicans,' was sent to the Tower on charges of malversation.[5] It appears that Henry himself had suffered at his hands. The vacant abbeys of Ely, Glastonbury, Bury, and Abingdon, were filled up, and given either to members of influential families, or to men of personal distinction.[6]

Further Reforms.

Ralph Flambard sent to the Tower.

But Henry had yet another card to play, and that a trump card, namely his hand, which was still free. His choice fell on Eadgyth, daughter of Malcolm Canmore by Margaret 'the good Queen,' the sister of Eadgar the Ætheling. The bride, therefore, would be sprung from 'England's right king-kin.'[7] The union was not less popular with the English than happy in its results, linking as it did the new dynasty with the old one. We are also assured that it sprang from mutual affection.[8] The two must have had opportunities of meeting, as the lady had lived from her childhood under the protection of English nunneries, at Wilton, and again at Romsey under her aunt Chris-

Henry Proposes to Marry.

[1] "In solio regni . . . genitum"; Ord. 782; W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 390; W. Jum. Cont. 297; also *Brevis Relatio* (a tract of the reign), p. 9.

[2] Ord. The Confessor's dying prediction would not be fully applicable yet. The trunk of the tree might be said to have rejoined its root, but it had not yet borne fruit.

[3] See the signatures to the charter, Liebermann, *sup.* 45; and the letter to Anselm, *Epp.* III. No. 41; Stubbs, *C.H.* I. 330.

[4] *Epp. Anselm, sup.*

[5] 15 Aug. Sym. *H.D.E. Cont.* 138; *Anselm. Epp.* IV. No. 2.

[6] Chron.; Flor.; Ord. 733; W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 393. One man of personal attainments was the Italian Faricius, a man of great medical knowledge, who became Abbot of Abingdon.

[7] Chron. It will be remembered that Eadgar and his sisters were the children of the Ætheling Eadward, son of Eadmund Ironside, the national hero. See above, I. 477.

[8] W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 393; Ord. 784; Eadmer.

tina. In fact we are told that Eadgyth was the god-daughter of the King's brother Duke Robert.[1] We also hear that she had received an education rather above that usually given to women at that period. Literary culture would furnish a bond of sympathy between her and Henry. But for a moment the match was threatened with shipwreck, through the scruples of the worthy Anselm, who had been given to understand that Eadgyth had taken the veil. Eventually, however, the objection was repelled, as we shall see, and the marriage duly celebrated.

From Anselm we parted at Rome at Christmas, 1098. Urban detained him there to take part in his Lateran Council held in April (24–29), 1099. In that assembly the Pope hurled final defiance against the lay rulers of the Christian world, involving in one common excommunication the layman who should invest a cleric with an ecclesiastical benefice, and the cleric who should accept a benefice at lay hands; the like penalties were laid on the bishop who should consecrate one so invested, and the ecclesiastic who should do homage to a layman..

Anselm at Rome

Final Denunciation of Lay Investiture.

"Investiture" in strictness meant the formal act of institution, evidenced in the case of a bishop by presenting him with a ring and staff, the ring being the symbol of his union with the Church, and the staff the symbol of his spiritual authority. But under the question of the symbolical investiture lay the essential question of the right of appointment to bishoprics and abbeys; while the dispute as to the homage involved the question of the authority of the State over the temporal possessions of the Church. Urban's pretensions were not new. Lay investiture had already been condemned by Gregory VII. in 1075,[2] with the avowed object of making the Church independent of the State, and the ultimate object of making the State subservient to the Church. The war against Henry IV. had been waged on that ground. But outside the Empire the matter had not been pressed. Anselm himself had not found it against his conscience either to accept investiture at the hands of Rufus, or to consecrate bishops invested by him, or to do homage for his temporalities. Now he had been brought to think otherwise, and to join in anathematising his own past conduct. Thus on his return to England he would bring not peace but the sword.[3]

From Rome Anselm returned to Lyons, not over-pleased with the support he had received from the Pope in the matter of his quarrel with Rufus.[4] What he exactly wanted is not clear. He had begged to be relieved of his archbishopric; he would rather die than than live on under Rufus; he had intervened to save Rufus

Urban and Anselm.

1 "Ejus in baptismo filiola," W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 389.

2 Also again by Victor III., in the Council of Benevento, Aug., 1087; Milman; Lingard.

3 Eadmer, *H.N.* 111–114; *Vita*, 397.

4 See his letter, *Epp.* III. 40; and Eadmer, *H. N.* 111, 114.

from excommunication, yet it is evident that he expected Urban to give him somehow or other victory over Rufus. We are almost driven to suppose that he was acting a part at Bari, and that he really wished to see Rufus excommunicated in spite of his own intercession. It is certain that on a future occasion he was preparing to excommunicate Henry I., when the ground was cut from under his feet by the action of the Pope.

Anselm was at a convent near Lyons ("*Casa Dei*"), when two monks, one from Bec and the other from Canterbury, concurrently brought him the news of the fall of Rufus. He was greatly shocked and distressed, and shed tears at the thought of the death that the King had died. But he prepared for an immediate return to his See. A day or two later he started for England: he had reached Cluny when he received Henry's letter. On the 23rd Sept. he landed at Dover.

The Archbishop Returns to England.

Anselm found England jubilant with the hopes excited by the good promise of Henry's accession. His own return was greeted as a fresh pledge of happier times to come.[1] Great must have been the disappointment when it was heard that his first act was to declare war against the recognised constitutional usages of England. A few days after landing he attended court at Salisbury.[2]

The Investiture Question.

Henry greeted him warmly, apologised for having been crowned in his absence, and then, as a matter of course, requested him to do the regular homage for his archbishopric,[3] as to a new King. Anselm refused, producing the decrees of the Lateran Council, and plainly telling Henry that he expected him to conform to them. He specially warned him that he must not appoint to any bishoprics or abbeys, otherwise, he, Anselm, would be unable to hold intercourse either with the King, or with the person nominated. 'If the King will not obey the Pope I need not tarry in England.' Nothing could be more explicit.

King and Council were dumbfoundered. To give in to Anselm's demands was impossible, yet Henry in the circumstances of the hour could not afford to quarrel with the Archbishop. Anselm might possibly transfer his allegiance to Robert, and crown him. The King therefore temporised, suggesting an adjournment of all questions till Easter (21st April, 1101). This he proposed for the sake of an application to the new Pope, Pascal II.,[4] to see if he might be induced to recognise the ancient customs of the realm. Meanwhile Anselm would be admitted to his

[1] Eadmer, *H. N.* 118, 119. [2] "Serberia."

[3] "Pro consuetudine antecessorum suorum . . . hominium facere, et archiepiscopatum de manu ejus recipere;" Eadmer, *H.N.* 120. The last words must not be taken to imply that Henry asked Anselm to receive a fresh investiture from him. That would be irregular. They seem to explain the relation that would be created between Anselm and Henry by the act of homage.

[4] Urban II. died 29th July, 1099. On the 13th August Cardinal Rainer, an old Cluny monk, was elected, and took the style of Pascal II.; H. Nicolas, also Milman.

temporalities without performing homage. To this suggestion Anselm could not refuse his assent. The compromise, for the time, seemed to give him all that he asked.[1] In his communication to the Pope Henry took his stand on the precedents of his father's reign. He promised the Church of Rome all that it had enjoyed under him, retaining for himself whatever rights his father had retained.[2]

Status of the Lady Eadgyth Questioned.

The question of the *status* of the Lady Eadgyth, the King's intended bride, was then taken up by Anselm. Was she a lay woman and free to marry? He summoned a synod of ecclesiastics to Lambeth, and referred the matter to them. On the strength of the Lady's own evidence, confirmed by an inquisition taken at Wilton, it was found that she had never been dedicated to God; had never formally taken the veil, but had only worn it at times, at the suggestion of her aunt Christina, to avoid distasteful overtures. Both Allan Rufus of Richmond and Earl Warenne of Surrey were said to have sought her hand.[3] The clergy therefore held that Lanfranc's ruling applied to her case, and that she was free to dispose of her person. Anselm, with some seeming compunction, and as if for once giving in to political considerations, accepted their finding, gave Eadgyth his blessing, and agreed to marry her. On the 11th Nov. the ceremony was performed at Westminster, the bride being thereafter 'hallowed to Queen' by the Archbishop. But, to guard against possible cavil, before entering the church he mounted a pulpit, and, in the ears of the assembled multitude, rehearsed the facts of the case as found by the clergy, finally calling on any one who had anything to say against the marriage to stand forth and state his case.[4] These precautions betrayed a certain misgiving, and so in fact we shall find the enemies of Henry's daughter boldly disputing the validity of her parents' union.[5]

Finding of the Clergy.

Celebration of the Wedding.

The King's marriage was obviously intended to please the English. But he had to reckon with the Normans also. The name Eadgyth would sound uncouth to their ears, and so she was made to drop her baptismal style, and assume the continental Maheut or Mahelt, in English Mahald, later Mold, now Maud, or, after the Latin form Matildis or Matilda.[6] But even then the Norman courtiers sneered at the English-minded King and Queen as 'Godric and Godgifu.'[7]

"Godric" and "Godgifu."

[1] Eadmer, *H.N.* 118–121. The absolute silence of all the other writers on these important affairs is very curious. [2] See Pascal's letter in answer; Eadmer, 128.

[3] Orderic, 702. [4] Eadmer, *H.N.* 121–126; Chron.; Flor. For Lanfranc's ruling see above, p. 65, note. [5] See below, A.D. 1136.

[6] Ord. *sup.* and 843. For the spellings of the name see *R. Rou*, I. 333; II. 58, 96, 346; Chron. A.D. 1118; T. Rudborne, *Ang. Sacr.* I. 276. "Mathildis" is the form generally used by the Queen and Anselm in their correspondence; *Anselm. Epp.* III. Nos. 55, 81, and *passim*. [7] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 394.

The year closed with an incident in which Henry and Anselm could act in entire accord. Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, appeared with a kind of roving commission, which was supposed to give him Legatine authority over all Britain. But nobody had called for any such Papal intervention, and nobody would recognize his mission. He departed shortly having accomplished nothing.[1]

But the anxious question of the time was what would be the attitude of Duke Robert towards England and his brother. He had returned to Normandy in September (1100) to be welcomed as Duke by all except a few partisans who held castles for King Henry.[2] "Gambaron" had undoubtedly gained laurels in the Crusade. He had stuck manfully to the work. Sailing from Brindisi to Durazzo in the spring of 1097, he had made his made to Constantinople, through Macedonia and Bulgaria, and so on across the Hellespont to join the grand muster under the walls of Nicæa. The siege had begun, but he arrived in time to witness the capitulation of the city.[3] He shared the dangers of the long march from Nicæa to Antioch;[4] as well as the hardships of the siege of that followed.[5] In the great battle fought outside the walls of Antioch he gained the credit of having slain the Turkish leader, Kerbogha, with his own hand.[6] From Antioch he pressed on to Jerusalem, and in the final assault of the 15th July, 1099, he was one of the first to set foot on the battlements of the rescued city of David.[7] Finally he led a division in the battle of Ascalon, where the advancing forces of the Fatimite Caliph of Egypt were met and destroyed.[8] According to reports that shortly gained currency in Normandy and England, Robert was offered the crown of Jerusalem, and even suffered in the estimation of many for his supposed want of spirit in declining.[9]

Duke Robert in the East.

His Deeds of Prowess.

[1] Eadmer, 126. For Anselm's protest see *Epp.* IV. No. 2. Guy was a man of considerable position. "He was son of William *Tête-Hardie*, Duke of Burgundy, and a distant cousin of the King of England," Hook. In 1119 he ascended the Papal Chair as Calixtus II.

[2] Ord. 784; Chron.; Henry had fiefs in the districts of Avranches, Coutances, and Bayeux. See Freeman's *W. Rufus*, II. 368.

[3] 24th June, 1097; W. Malm *G.R.* s. 357. Nicæa is now known as Iznik.

[4] July–October, 1097; Malm. *sup.* 357, 358.

[5] 21 October, 1097–3–4 June, 1098; Malm. *sup.* 359–363; Ord. 732, 734.

[6] Malm. *sup.* 364, 365, 389; Ord. 741–743.

[7] Malm. *sup.* 369. The Tower of David was carried by a wooden 'belfry' on wheels, pushed up to the wall; Ord. 754, 756.

[8] 12th August, 1099; Ord. 758–760; Flor.; Malm. *sup.* 371. This writer's narrative is good authority for Robert's movements, being abridged from the *Gesta* of Fulcher of Chartres who went out with the Duke, but remained at Jerusalem as chaplain to the two first Baldwins. Stubbs. Orderic's narrative is different, being taken, as he tells us (p. 769) from that of another writer, Baldricus, *i.e.*, Baudri of Bourgueil. See List of Authorities.

[9] W. Malm. *sup.* p. 461. H. Hunt. and R. de Monte, A.D. 1199.

Having fulfilled his vows Robert turned homewards. From Laodicea in Syria he, with Robert of Flanders, and Raymond of Toulouse, was taken by sea to Constantinople, under a convention made with the Emperor Alexius, who was above all things anxious to get the 'Franks' out of Asia. The Duke, probably, was also accompanied by his friend Eadgar the Ætheling, who not long before had been holding Laodicea in his name.[1] From Constantinople Robert, in the spring of 1100, went back to Apulia, where he fell in love with and married the beautiful and loveable Sibylle of Conversana,[2] grand-niece of the great Robert Wiscard. With her hand he received a dowry large enough to have redeemed his Duchy from pawn, but, alas! such was his extravagance, the whole had been squandered before he got back to Normandy.[3]

His Marriage with Sibylle of Conversana.

Indolent and pleasure-loving, Robert, after four years of wandering, would probably have been content to remain in peace, but he was as it were carried away by a vortex. It is needless to premise that at the death of Rufus Normandy had relapsed into anarchy. We are told that within one week of that event private wars were again undertaken.[4] The man who was supposed to have worked most on Robert's ambition, was Ralph Flambard, who had escaped from the Tower on the 3rd February (1101).[5] Having through Henry's indulgence been allowed to keep a liberal table, a big flagon of wine was utilised to introduce a coil of rope. The warders having been well plied with liquor and lulled to sleep, the Bishop fastened his rope to a mullion in the window, and then crosier in hand, proceeded to let himself down. A heavy man, and one, who, probably, had never climbed a rope before in his life, he let the cord run freely through his fingers, with the result that the flesh was torn from his hands, while he himself fell to the bottom with a crash, much shaken and injured in one arm. Expectant friends however picked him up, set him on a horse, and so got him away to a ship and over sea to Normandy, where he forthwith began to organize naval warfare against England.[6]

He is stirred to take action against his brother.

Ralph Flambard.

[1] Eadgar took out a body of English pilgrims, who must have landed at Laodicea towards the end of June, 1098, as we hear that the Turks at the time were besieging the Christians in Antioch. The Laodiceans put themselves in Eadgar's hands, and he accepted the command on behalf of Robert; Ord. 778. See also Lapp. *Normans*, 284.

[2] Daughter of Count Geoffrey, and sister of Count William of Conversana; W. Jum. 299; Orderic, 780; Malmesbury, *sup.*, makes Sibylle daughter of Count William. (Thorpe), 284. [3] Orderic, 777–780, 784; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 389.

[4] Orderic, 784. Wm. Count of Evreux and Ralph of Conches attacked the Beaumont and Meulan estates. [5] Symeon, *H. D. R. Cont.* 138.

[6] *Anselm. Epp.* IV. No 2. Two years later Robert allowed Ralph to take possession of the See of Lisieux, nominally on behalf of a son Thomas, who was too young to be made a bishop; Ord. 788, 789.

But the really tempting call to Robert came from the Norman feudatories in England, who now, as in 1088, preferred the certain nullity of Robert's rule to the probable reality of his brother's rule. The movement in favour of Robert carried away not only men like Robert of Bellême and his brothers, sworn foes of all law and order, but even men who like Walter Giffard II. had subscribed Henry's charter.[1] In fact, we are told that almost the only laymen of consequence who were true to the King were the two Beaumonts —Robert of Meulan and Henry of Warwick—Roger Bigod, Robert fitz Hamon, and Richard of Réviers,[2] commonly called Richard of Redvers.[3]

The Feudatories of Double Allegiance.

But behind them Henry had on his side Anselm and the clergy, the English population, and the soldiers of fortune whose swords would be at the disposal of the best paymaster. Robert of Meulan had the credit of having advised the King to be liberal in promising. The natives, we are told, 'knew nothing of the rights of Robert.'[4] To Anselm's personal exertions on his behalf we are assured that Henry was greatly indebted. But, surrounded as he was by domestic disaffection, his position for a time must have been one of great anxiety.[5] On the other hand, we hear of a cross-intrigue in Normandy to get rid of Robert and bring over Henry, a much more feasible scheme.[6]

The Church and Native English Loyal to Henry.

In such a tangled state of politics vigorous action was not to be looked for on either side. Robert, however, towards Midsummer collected an army at Tréport,[7] while Henry called out his forces and established himself near Pevensey. A fleet was sent over to Tréport to attack Robert's flotilla, but the faithless seamen allowed themselves to be seduced, and actually helped to bring the Duke over. Thus he landed without opposition at Portsmouth, about the 20th July.[8] From the great historic harbour he moved on to the neighbourhood of Winchester, while Henry on his side promptly made a corresponding advance in the same direction. But the young Queen was at Winchester expecting her confinement.[9] Scorning to attack a lady, and his own god-daughter, under such circumstances, Robert drew off, and took the road to London by Alresford. On nearing Alton it was reported that the King with his army was on the other side of a wooded down in front.[10] A halt ensued on either side, neither party caring to strike the first blow. A demand for explanations put forward by Henry paved the way for conferences.[11] The King, who affected doubts

Robert Lands at Portsmouth.

Advance to Winchester and Alton.

[1] Ord. 785, 786; see above, 227.
[2] Calvados, north of Caen, on the Mue.
[3] Ord. 787; W. Malm. s. 394.
[4] Ord. 787.
[5] Eadmer, *H. N.* 126.
[6] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 394; Ord. 786.
[7] "Ultresport," Flor.
[8] Chron.; Flor.
[9] So at least the *Roman*, but Matilda did not give birth to her child till January or February following.
[10] "Al bois de Altone."
[11] *R. Rou*, II. 357, and *Id.*, ed. Andresen, l. 10,393.

as to the honesty of some of the negotiators, but, doubtless, had none at all as to his own power of beguiling his easy-tempered brother, insisted on a fraternal interview. The two met in public—"*ore ad os*"—the mail-clad warriors of England and Normandy surrounding them in glittering array.[1] After a few words, Duke and King embraced and made friends. A treaty followed. Robert surrendered his claim to England, and released Henry from the ties of the homage previously rendered to himself. It would be undignified for a King to be vassal to a Duke. Henry surrendered the Cotentin and all other holdings in Normandy, except Domfront, where he was specially pledged to the people. He also granted, or perhaps we should say promised to give,[2] his brother a pension of three thousand marks (£2,000) a year. A clause of survivorship in case either should die without lawful issue, was included in the compact, as in the Treaty of Caen (1091); while, again, as in that case, twelve barons on either side were joined as guarantors.[3]

Reconciliation with Henry.

So far the accounts of the authorities harmonise. Further stipulations however are mentioned as to the nature of which the writers are by no means agreed. Florence and the Peterborough Chronicler represent the brothers as pledging themselves to reinstate all partisans who had been dispossessed on either side. But who could have been already dispossessed? Henry could not venture on strong measures at a time when, according to all accounts, he was promising everything to everybody. Orderic, with much greater likelihood, represents the two as promising to assist each other in punishing traitors, and also in endeavouring to recover the whole of their father's former dominions. This last stipulation could only refer to Maine, which at the death of Rufus had gone back to Hélie.[4] By dangling this bait before his brother's eyes Henry would have induced him to sacrifice his adherents. At any rate, the subsequent course of events falls in with this view. Robert, always content to enjoy life when he could, remained for two months as his brother's guest, going home about Michaelmas. When he goes we find him accompanied by the Earl of Surrey,[5] and 'several others (*plures*) dispossessed on his account.'[6] Henry, feeling more firmly seated, had begun to reckon with his adversaries, and to attack them, one by one, in his brother's very presence, and, apparently, without protest. Among the first to suffer were Robert Malet, Yvo of Grand-Mesnil, Sheriff of Leicestershire, and Robert of Lacy (son

Robert Returns to Normandy.

Punishment of Rebels.

[1] "Nobilis corona circumstetit"; Ord.

[2] "Verbo tenus. Nam promiserat ista Rex non daturus"; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 389.

[3] See Orderic, 787, 788; Chron.; W. Malm. *sup.* and s. 395; H. Hunt.; Flor.

[4] See Ord. 784. The Norman garrison of Le Mans applied both to Robert and Henry for support. Neither could interfere to help them, so they made terms with Hélie.

[5] William of Warenne II. His father William I. died 24th June, 1089; Doyle; H. Nicolas.

[6] Ord. 788.

of Ilbert), Lord of Pontefract. All were severally sued in the King's Court on various charges, convicted and banished. Yvo had indulged in private warfare, ravaging the estates of a neighbour. 'In England that is held a crime.'[1] Here, Orderic, though a born Englishman, speaks as a Frenchman.

The worst and most formidable offender was left to the last. In the spring of 1102, presumably during the Easter (April) gathering, which was held at Winchester, an indictment of forty-five articles was preferred against Robert of Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury, a man certainly for whom England had no place. We are told that his accession to the Earldom had been a curse to the whole Welsh March. No man's possessions there were safe. 'Welsh and English alike groaned under his claws of iron.'[2] For a whole year, that is to say from the time when the intrigues with Robert began to assume shape, the King had had him watched by men commissioned to note and record in writing any acts for which he might be called to account. It should be noted that the articles preferred against him included offences against Duke Robert as well as against Henry. On hearing the charges against him, Bellême asked leave to retire from the Royal presence to consult his friends, the men of his private council, a regular institution with great landlords.[3] Leave being granted, he took horse and vanished. He saw that the King's charges could only be answered in one way. A second and peremptory summons to appear drove the Earl to arms, as he hastened to man and victual his numerous castles. These included Arundel, Tickhill, Bridgenorth, Shrewsbury, and Caroghova in Wales, besides the patronymic Montgomery[4]; while one of Robert's brothers, Ernulf, was lord of Pembroke and the half of Dyfed,[5] and Roger of Poitou, another brother, was lord of Lancaster.[6] These three alone represented a formidable confederacy. But Henry gave his adversaries no time to combine their forces. He wrote to Normandy to inform his brother of Bellême's contumacy, calling for operations against him as against a common enemy, in accordance with their recent treaty. Robert answered the appeal by laying siege to Vignats,[7] a petty fort belonging to the Earl. But disaffection showed itself in the Ducal camp, and Robert had to retire in confusion, his operations having simply brought havoc and destruction

Proceedings Against Robert of Bellême.

He Takes up Arms.

[1] Ord. 804, 805. The Grand-Mesnil inheritance passed into the hands of Robert of Meulan, and became the basis of the earldom of Leicester; Ord. *sup.*, and Freeman, *W. Rufus*, II. 418.

[2] "Ferreis ejus ungulis excoriati plorantes gemuerunt"; Orderic, 768.

[3] For the private councils of noblemen and others (whence our legal phrase "of counsel for so and so") see the Paston Letters, *passim*.

[4] See above, 97, 218. [5] *Brut y T.*, A.D. 1100. A letter of Anselm's is addressed to Ernulf as "comiti," as if he had been created earl; *Epp.* IV. 23.

[6] Stubbs, *C. H.* I. 334. [7] Calvados, S.E. of Falaise.

into the whole district of Exmes.[1] Henry himself marched from Winchester to attack Arundel. Finding that his enemy was not there, he established counter-works to blockade the place, and marched off to the North. Eventually a composition was made with the garrison of Arundel of a sort very common in those times, namely an agreement for a suspension of active hostilities to enable the men to communicate with their lord, to call on him either to send them effectual succour within a given time, or else leave to surrender. At the end of three months, Bellême being unable to do anything for the men of Arundel, they turned King's men and yielded their fortress.[2] It is worth while noticing that the compact, in spite of the Conqueror's new rule, clearly recognised the primary allegiance of a vassal to his immediate lord.

Henry Attacks Arundel.

The King's next advance was on Tickhill. On his way thither Blyth met him with prompt submission.[3] Satisfied with the appearance of matters in that quarter, Henry left the reduction of Tickhill Castle to the Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Bloet, and turned southwards to attack Bridgenorth,[4] the Earl's own work and his chief stronghold.

Siege of Tickhill.

Bellême had endeavoured to turn his Welsh connexion to account, making a treaty with the Princes Cadwgan and Jorwerth, sons of Bleddyn, who are spoken of as being in some sense his vassals;[5] while Ernulf allied himself with Murchertach of Dublin, marrying his daughter. We also hear of overtures to Magnus Barfod, who had again appeared in Anglesey. Thus it seemed as if a great coalition was being knit together. But the House of Montgomery lacked the taproot of English support.[6] Their castles are spoken of as entirely manned by foreigners, Normans or Welshmen. A motley force however was raised in Wales, with which Bellême and Ernulf harried part of Staffordshire.[7] At Henry's advance they fell back on their castles, the Welsh allies being allowed to appropriate and carry off all the booty.[8]

Welsh Allies of Bellême.

But strong as Bridgenorth was, the wary Earl knew better than to allow himself to be cooped up within any walls. When the King drew near he moved off to Shrewsbury.

[1] Orne; Orderic, 806. [2] Orderic, 806; Chron.; Flor.; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 306.

[3] Tickhill Castle in S. Yorkshire was the work of a great baron of the Conquest, Roger of Buthli or Bully, built on a site called Dadesley in *Domesday*, 319. Blyth was a priory founded by Roger a few miles off, in N. Notts; the whole estate being known as the Honour of Blyth. Tickhill is often called the castle of Blyth. See Freeman, *Rufus*, II. 159. Roger's estates had passed into Bellême's hands as stated above, 218.

[4] So I venture to harmonise the statement of Orderic, that at Blyth the "oppidani" went out to meet the King, with the statement of Florence that Bloet was left to besiege Tickhill. But perhaps the Blyth of Orderic meant the town or outer works of Tickhill. Orderic seems to introduce an interval between the surrender of Blyth and the march to Bridgenorth, which does not seem at all likely, nor is it supported by the other writers.

[5] So the *Brut*. p. 69. [6] *Id.* 67-69, where a full account of these affairs is given.

[7] Florence. [8] *Id.* and *Brut. sup.*

The siege of Bridgenorth witnessed a famous incident of great significance. No man of consequence had ventured to join the rebel brothers. But the greater barons knew that Bellême's cause was theirs. If he were crushed, who could hope to stand against the King? After much discussion among themselves they resolved to approach the King in a body to urge a 'pacification,'[1] that is to say, some arrangement that would save the Earl from destruction. The interview took place in the open air. The King, pressed by so formidable a deputation, seemed to be wavering, when the loyal shouts of three thousand English soldiers,[2] who were watching the proceedings from a neighbouring eminence told him where his strength lay. 'Hearken not to the swynkes, O King.' Henry took the hint, and rejected the petition.[3] Here it is impossible not to hold that the cleavage indicated was due to differences of race as well as of social *status*. The outcry of the soldiers was not that of privates against officers,[4] nor even of peasants against their landlords as such; it was the denunciation by Englishmen of their foreign oppressors.

Siege of Bridgenorth.

The Barons and the King.

The English and the King.

Meanwhile the King had been cutting the ground from under the Earl's feet by making terms with Jorwerth, the younger of the two Welsh princes, of course at his elder brother's expense. We are told that Henry promised to make him practically Prince of South Wales 'without homage or tribute.' The grant was to include Ceredigion and Powys, as previously held by Cadwgan, besides half of Dyfed (Ernulf's estate), the vale of Towy or Tawy, Kidwelly, and Gower.[5] Deprived of the co-operation of the Welsh auxiliaries, Bridgenorth fell, after a siege of three weeks. Henry attempted no severity, allowing the foreign mercenaries in the garrison to march out with all the honours of war, though really they need not have been held entitled to any terms at all, as the place had been surrendered under a convention made by the men of the town, without their concurrence, and resisted by them. But Henry was never severe to subordinates. Like Cnut, he struck at the tall poppies.

Settlement with the Welsh.

Fall of Bridgenorth.

A march to Shrewsbury ended the campaign. But to reach Shrewsbury from Bridgenorth in safety Henry had to clear the wooded defile of Wenlock Edge, encumbered with trees and underwood, that for nearly a mile, overhung and commanded the narrow roadway.[6]

March to Shrewsbury.

[1] "Colloquium de pace medullitus fecerunt." "Medullitus," an adverb, seems here used as an adjective = 'complete,' 'thorough.'

[2] "Tria millia pagensium militum." [3] Orderic, 807.

[4] *Contra*, Mr. Freeman, "They are spoken of simply as different classes in one army." *W. Rufus*, II. 435.

[5] *Brut.* p. 71. The other half of Dyfed was held by one Richard fitz Baldwin.

[6] "Angli quendam transitum per silvam Huvel Hegen dicunt quem Latini Malum

Bereft of his allies, with all his resources undermined, Bellême now found himself well-nigh reduced to despair. A fresh appeal for terms addressed to the King was again rejected. Henry would hear of nothing short of absolute submission. Bowing to necessity, the Earl met the King as he drew near to Shrewsbury, and humbly confessed his faults. The keys of Shrewsbury were also tendered, apparently by the hands of Ralph, Abbot of Séez, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] who happened to be there. A safe-conduct to leave England with his horses and arms was the only concession vouchsafed to the fallen Earl. Not an acre of English land was left in his possession. His brothers Roger and Ernulf shared his fate, forfeiting everything. To the great joy of the English, the hateful barons abjured the realm. Arundel may be supposed to have changed hands when Shrewsbury surrendered. If so, the campaign in all would have lasted some three months.[2]

The Earl Submits.

His Banishment.

Henry reaped the fruits of his determined action. 'For three and thirty years from that time he ruled England in peace, . . . nor in all those years durst any man hold a castle against him.'[3] The episode is commonly spoken of as the Revolt of Robert of Bellême. It should be described as the Suppression of Robert of Bellême by Henry I. There is no reason to suppose that the Earl meditated any revolt at the time. Henry deliberately picked a quarrel with him, drove him into unpremeditated rebellion, and then crushed him. True to the policy that he had inaugurated with such success, we shall find the King throughout his reign keeping a watch on the movements of the great lords; upsetting them, if necessary, by proceedings in his *Curia Regis*; and, on the other hand, reserving his confidence for men of more moderate position, new men who owed everything to himself.[4] Jealousy of the old Baronage is the key-note of his domestic policy.

Henry Master of England.

The unfortunate Jorwerth took little by his treaty with the King, though he had given up a younger brother, Mareddud, third son of Bleddyn, as a hostage for his good faith. Unable, apparently, to oust his brother Cadwgan from Ceredigion and Powys, he came to terms with him, and then betook himself to the English court to press for the cession of the other territories promised to him. He found an indictment awaiting him on divers charges not particularly

Jorwerth of Wales Imprisoned.

Callem vel Vicum nuncupare possunt." See M. Le Prevost's ed. of Orderic, IV. 176, where he corrects the "Hunel Hegen" read in Duchesne's text. For the locality see Owen and Blakeway, *Shrewsbury*, I. 57.

[1] So W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 396. Abbot Ralph had been driven from Normandy by Bellême, but he might have been in the Abbey at Shrewsbury, and so have come forward to mediate as a *persona grata* to the King.

[2] The only notes of time that we have are that the operations began after Easter, and were all ended before Michaelmas; Chron.

[3] Ord. 808. See also *Brut.* 71–73.

[4] See Orderic, 805, and below, 323, 328.

specified. He was condemned to imprisonment at the King's pleasure, and in prison he remained for eight years.[1]

The Struggle with Anselm and the Pope.

More critical was the struggle that was being carried on concurrently with Anselm and the Pope. Pascal's answer to Henry's plea for recognition of English custom was not received till after the disbanding of Robert's forces in 1101. The Pope rejected Henry's demands as outrageous and impossible (*gravia et vehementissima*), involving as they did the right of investiture: Christ was the only door to the sheepfold: all entering in by any other way were thieves and robbers: a Church not duly espoused to Christ would be adulterine, and guilty of adultery with its own sons. Priests were as gods, being the vicars of God. A man could no more create a god than a son beget his own father. The Church alone could beget its sons.[2] These will be found the stock arguments, repeated again and again on future occasions.[3] It will be noticed that the Pope dexterously confounds investiture with ordination; he treats the claim to present to a benefice as equivalent to a claim to confer Holy Orders. No layman had ever arrogated such a pretension.

Pascal's letter made no reference to the homage question. It may be that Henry took advantage of this omission, or it may be that he concealed the tenor of his letter—as he did that of a subsequent letter—because, acting as if the Pope's answer had been entirely favourable to him, he immediately summoned Anselm to court, and required him to do homage and consecrate the bishops-elect, or else leave England. Anselm refused to accept either alternative. He would be *ipso facto* excommunicate, under a sentence in which he himself had concurred, if he submitted. With that he left court. After an interval a fresh summons called him to Winchester to consider a new proposal put forward by the King. The suggestion was that other ambassadors, 'more excellent than the first,' should be sent to Rome to explain by word of mouth that, if the Pope would not recede from his position, Anselm might be expelled from England, and all allegiance to the Holy See thrown off.[4]

Fresh Embassy to Rome.

The King's envoys were Gerard, late of Hereford and now Elect of York,[5] and two other Prelates, namely, Herbert Losenge of Norwich, and Robert of Coventry and Lichfield. The journey to Rome would enable Gerard to apply for his *pallium*.[6] Anselm likewise sent two representatives of his own, namely his confidant Baldwin of Tournay, and another monk,

[1] *Ann. Camb.* 1103, 1111; *Brut.* (A.D. 1100, 1102). Mareddud was more lucky, he escaped in 1106. *Ann. Camb.*

[2] "Ecclesia filios generat." [3] Eadmer, *H. N.* 128.

[4] "Totius regni subjectionem . . . perditurum."

[5] In succession to Thomas, who died 18th Nov. 1100; Flor.

[6] Both Henry and Anselm wrote to the Pope on Gerard's behalf in this matter.

one Alexander of Canterbury.[1] With his envoys Henry sent Peter's Pence, and a letter in which he very fairly promised all obedience rendered by his father to Pascal's predecessors, on condition of himself being treated as his father had been treated by the Papacy.[2]

In the first half of 1102 the envoys made out their journey. At Rome the King's Bishops did their best to move the Pope, but we are told that he remained obdurate. His last word was, 'Shall I annul the decrees of the Holy Fathers for the threats of one man?' Written answers, of course, were also sent to England. To the King Pascal wrote in a firm but conciliatory tone, praising him for the good beginnings of his reign, praising him for having turned from the evil ways of his brother, and urging him to persevere in the good path, and to abstain from the investiture of bishops and abbots. So would he avoid the wrath of the Almighty, and secure the friendly alliance of the Papacy.[3] To Anselm Pascal wrote in terms of highest commendation, urging him to persevere. 'Do as thou hast done; what thou hast said say again.'[4] The letters were perfectly consistent. When they were delivered (about August,[5] 1102), the King, suppressing his letter, again called on Anselm to conform to usage or leave the realm. The Archbishop appealed to his letter, which he produced, but its testimony was met by bold assertions on the part of the three Bishops that the Pope had intimated to them verbally that so long as the King led the life of a good prince, and made choice of fit men, his investing of bishops might be tolerated[6]; but that the Pope could not give such a promise in writing lest it should be used against him by other rulers. In vain Anselm's envoys protested that the Pope had said nothing inconsistent with his letters in their hearing. Between written as against oral evidence on the one hand, and the word of Bishops against the word of simple monks on the other hand, Anselm found himself in some difficulty. Nor could he ignore the fact that English opinion was against him, and that if he attempted to treat either the King or the prelates appointed by him as excommunicate he would stand alone.[7] Under these circumstances he could only suggest a third application

The Pope Obdurate.

[1] Eadmer, 131–133.

[2] See *Epp. Anselm.* III. Nos. 47, 48; IV. 4, 6; and Rule, *St. Anselm*, II. 273.

[3] "Nos familiares, nos adjutores habebis." The letter ends with an absolute inhibition. "Ecclesiarum investituras nos Sancti Spiritus judicio . . . laicis omnibus interdicimus"; p. 135.

[4] "Rogamus ut quod agis agas, quod loqueris perloquaris"; *Ib.* Mr. Rule shows that Eadmer had not yet seen these letters when he first began his work. The second letter to Anselm, given at p. 139, was not written till Dec. 1102, p. xxix.

[5] So M. Rule.

[6] "De ecclesiarum investituris æquanimiter eum toleraret, nec eum ullo excommunicationis vinculo necteret, etc." Eadm. 137. See also Anselm to the Pope, *Epp.* III. No. 73.

[7] "Solus ab eis (*i.e.* proceres) discrepare nolo," are the words that Eadmer puts into Anselm's own mouth; 140.

to Rome, pending which he would not refuse to hold intercourse with the King's prelates, while utterly refusing to consecrate them. Accepting this compromise as a practical victory, Henry proceeded to fill up the vacant Sees of Sarum and Hereford. The former was given to the king's Chancellor and confidant, the famous Roger of Salisbury, a native of Caen, who in the days of Henry's adversity had been his chaplain and household steward.[1] Hereford was conferred on another Roger, who held the humbler position of king's Larderer; but he dying shortly, the appointment devolved on Reinhelm, the Queen's Chancellor.[2]

The Question Adjourned.

Appointments to Vacant Sees.

In the spirit of concession, where concession was possible, Henry now gave Anselm leave to hold the Synod for which he had struggled so long, and struggled in vain. At the Archbishop's special request, the lay Magnates were invited to attend, as if to commit them to the principles of the Canons to be passed, by which the laity would in many ways be affected, directly and indirectly (29th Sept.). The first matter taken in hand showed the freedom of action with which the King was prepared to indulge Anselm if not inconsistent with the position that he himself had taken up. Six abbots, three of them of Henry's appointment, were charged with simony, convicted, and deposed. Three others were removed on sundry grounds.

Synod held by Anselm.

Of the Canons enacted the great majority sought to tighten the reins of discipline on the clergy, and to cut them off from secular callings and pursuits. They must be properly tonsured, and clad in proper garments, 'of one colour,' with plain shoes (*calciamenta ordinata*); they must not attend carousals (*potationes*), nor 'drink to the pin';[3] monks must not take farms (*villas*) at rent; bishops must not hold secular judgeships;[4] nor may any clergy sit on cases involving capital punishment;[5] nor again may they act as bailiffs or agents for laymen.

Enactment of Canons.

These requirements do not go beyond what modern opinion would sanction. But viewed in connexion with the circumstances of the time, and the illiterate condition of the laity, the exclusion of clergymen from secular posts would amount to the exclusion of the educated class from the civil service of the State. For centuries to come we shall find bishops

[1] See W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 481; conf. W. Newburgh, I. 36 (Ed. Howlett, Rolls Series, No. 82).

[2] Michaelmas; Eadmer, 141, 144; Florence. Roger the Larderer, feeling his end near, begged Anselm to consecrate him. He dismissed the application with a smile of pity.

[3] "Nec ad pinnas bibant"; *i.e.* drinking from peg-pots, marking out how much was to be swallowed at each draught. These were said to have been the invention of St. Dunstan, to moderate drinking, presumably by enabling men to drink part of a flagon only at each toast. Above, I. 337.

[4] "Ne sæcularium placitorum officium suscipiant." [5] "Ne sint judices sanguinis."

the best officers of the Crown. The Treasury accounts will never be so well kept as when the Rolls are in the hands of an ecclesiastic.

But the mark of the Synod, the measure to create the greatest sensation, was the sweeping edict now finally launched against clerical marriage.

Clerical Marriage Forbidden.

Lanfranc in 1076 had only prohibited matrimony to capitular clergy, leaving some latitude with regard to the parochial clergy, at least in the case of men already married. The benefit of this doubt had been largely taken, and the Seculars evidently considered themselves free to marry.[1] Now, all existing wives are to be put away, and none taken in the future; the married priest may no longer celebrate mass, his *status* is taken from him (*non sit legalis*), his ministrations are declared void. To clench the matter, no man in the future is to be admitted, even to subdeacon's orders, without a special prior vow of chastity. No son of a priest to succeed to his father's living.

The prohibition of marriage was, naturally, keenly criticised. Some thought it most pure (*mundissimum*), others dangerous, lest while aiming at a purity beyond human nature, it might lead to foulness disgraceful to Christianity.[2] Our Northern chronicler tells us that not a few churches were shut up in consequence;[3] while a letter of Pascal's, already referred to, admits that he understood that the better part of the clergy in England were the sons of priests.[4]

Returning to the Canons, we are glad to hear that archdeaconries must not be farmed out, nor livings or prebends bought; that tithes must not be paid except to churches, nor churches consecrated without proper endowment. Again, Anselm condemns the novel (!) practice of attributing special sanctity (*reverentiam sanctitatis*) to the bodies of deceased persons, or wells, or other things, 'as we have known done.' Lastly, we regret to find that the 'nefarious' traffic in slaves, 'sold like mere animals,' had still to be forbidden, as well as the degrading vices specially associated with the reign of Rufus.[5] On the whole, however, Anselm's biographer admits that his Canons created confusion in all ranks of society.[6] It might be added, however, that Anselm himself had doubts about them, and declared that he intended to revise them.[7]

The year ended with an abortive attempt on the part of the King to get his bishops consecrated by Gerard of York, who apparently had received

[1] See the words of the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, himself the son of a priest; "Anselmus prohibuit sacerdotibus uxores, antea non prohibitas"; *Hist. Angl.* A.D. 1102. The allegation is not correct, but it proves that previous prohibitions had been little regarded. Anselm himself tells us that the unmarried clergy were "aut nullus aut paucissimi"; *Epp.* IV. 113. [2] H. Hunt, *sup.* [3] Symeon, *H. R.* s. 184.

[4] A.D. 1107. Eadm. 185. Pascal advises Anselm to deal discreetly with such cases.

[5] Eadmer, *H. N.* 141–144. Lanfranc apparently had only prohibited the exportation of slaves. Anselm seems to go farther, and prohibit the sale of them.

[6] "Concilium . . . post non multos . . . dies multos sui transgressores in omni genere hominum fecit." [7] So *Epp.* III. 62, and IV. 15, 40.

his Pall at Rome.[1] Gerard was willing to perform the ceremony, but when it came to the point, the Bishops to be consecrated lost heart and drew back.[2] Canterbury feeling would condemn a resort to the ministration of the Northern Primate.

Henry's Efforts for a Settlement with Anselm.

But Henry was determined to bring the struggle with Anselm to an end in one way or another. About Midlent (8th March) 1103, having business to transact at Dover with envoys from Flanders,[3] he halted at Canterbury to put final pressure upon the Archbishop. Anselm had received the Pope's answer to his application of the previous autumn, but he had not yet opened the letter, wishing to open it in the King's own presence, lest he should say that the contents had been tampered with. He now proposed to open it and abide by its tenor. 'Certainly not,' said the King, who knew well enough what the letter would say; 'What has the Pope to do with my rights? That which my predecessors in this realm had is mine; whoso would deprive me of those rights shall learn that he is my enemy.' Anselm pleaded that he did not wish to deprive the King of anything that he knew to be his, but that for his life he could not contravene the decrees of the Council of Rome without the authority of the Holy See. For three days matters remained at a dead-lock, the circle at Canterbury being in a state of the greatest anxiety as to the result. At last Henry came out with the ingenious suggestion that Anselm himself should go to Rome to see what his personal influence might effect. The Archbishop, rather taken aback by the proposal, asked to defer his answer till after the Easter gathering, then near at hand. When Easter came (29th March), the Magnates agreed that, considering the importance of the question, Anselm ought not to shrink from the toils of the journey. He bowed to their decision, adding, rather defiantly, that if the Pope should do anything contrary to the 'liberty' of the Church, it would not be by his advice. On the 27th April he crossed to Wissant,

The Archbishop goes to Rome.

not as in 1097 as a penniless outlaw, but 'under the King's peace,' and with all the pomp and circumstance due to his position.[4] William Giffard, the elect of Winchester, and two of the degraded abbots (Richard of Ely, and Ealdwine of Ramsey) left England

[1] So I infer from the fact that in the record of the Synod he is styled 'Archbishop,' not 'Elect,' as the others are. At any rate he had been consecrated as Bishop of Hereford by Anselm in 1096. [2] Eadmer, 144–146; Flor.; Chron.

[3] On March 10 a treaty was sealed at Dover, by which Henry in case of need was to have the right to call for the services of 1,000 men-at-arms from Flanders in England, Normandy, or Maine, in return for a pension of £500 a year granted in fief (*in feode*), *Liber Niger Scacc.* I. 7; *Fœdera*, I. 164.

[4] Eadmer, 146–149; Florence. Anselm took out 330 marks of silver with him, but he found that money went faster than he had expected. Remittances however were sent to him from time to time by Gundulf of Rochester, who had charge of his See. *Epp.* IV. 43, etc.

about the same time,[1] Giffard retiring rather than submit to be consecrated by the Archbishop of York without Anselm's leave.[2]

Henry's management of the struggle with Anselm contrasts very favourably with the action of his brother under corresponding circumstances. Henry took up a well-defined position, and stuck to it; he kept his temper, abstained from violent speech or vindictive action, and never allowed the dispute to sink into a personal quarrel.

[1] Chron.; Florence. [2] See *Anselm, Epp.* IV. Nos. 24, 126.

CHAPTER XVII

HENRY I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1103–1109

Affairs of Normandy—Henry's successes there—Battle of Tinchebrai and Reunion of Normandy to England—The Struggle with Anselm—Settlement of the Question of the Investitures—Death of Anselm.

THREE years and something less had made Henry thorough master of England. Three more years were destined to make him lord of Normandy, and that with but little effort on his part, and simply through the irresistible drift of circumstances. Bellême's expulsion from England had thrown Normandy into greater confusion than ever. Smarting under the humiliation of defeat, we are told that he crossed the Channel in the spirit of an Apocalyptic Dragon, bent on sowing havoc and destruction.[1] The Duchy was most anxious to keep him out, but they had no man capable of making head against him; least of all could such a leader be found in the Duke. Landing in Ponthieu, the inheritance of his wife, Robert at once managed to establish a new footing there, as guardian for his son William.[2] Next we hear of war against the Duke on the borders of Maine, Bellême's own district. William of Evreux, Rotrou of Mortagne, Gilbert of Laigle, took part against him, but the end of the campaign was the defeat of Duke Robert in a pitched battle, in which his brother-in-law William of Conversana was taken prisoner. The whole of Normandy now lay at Bellême's feet, so that the poor Duke had to purchase peace with the cession of Argentan and the whole diocese of Séez.[3]

Robert of Bellême in Normandy.

Helplessness of Duke Robert.

Another source of trouble had cropped up in a war over the succession of Breteuil. William of Breteuil (son of William fitz Osbern) died 12th January, 1103, leaving a natural son, Eustace, but no legitimate issue. A keen struggle for the inheritance ensued between Eustace and two nephews of the deceased, the question being referred not to a Ducal court, but to the arbitrament of the sword. Henry was induced to support the cause of Eustace, and gave him the hand of a natural daughter, Juliana, in marriage. Robert of Meulan was sent over to settle this affair.[4]

[1] Ord. 808; Rev. xii.

[2] Bellême had married Agnes, daughter of Guy of Ponthieu, now recently dead. Their son revived the ancestral name of Talevas; Ord. 804, 841; Doyle, *Off. Baronage.*

[3] 1103; Dept. Orne; Ord. 104, 105, 108, 109, 111, 804.

[4] Ord. 810, 811.

But, while Normandy was fast slipping from his hands, the good-natured Duke could still exert himself on behalf of his friends. In the course of the summer he came over to England to plead for his friend the dispossessed Earl of Surrey. But he was quickly given to understand that in landing uninvited, and without safe-conduct, he had been guilty of an indiscretion. Henry however allowed him to come to court, and then took him to task for the breach of treaty he had committed by coming to terms with Bellême. The upshot of the visit was that Surrey was reinstated, while the Duke had to resign his much needed pension, 'to please the Queen,' as it was delicately put.[1]

He Visits England.

Meanwhile repeated calls to rescue Normandy from anarchy were being sounded in Henry's ears. Serlo the Bishop, and Ralph the Abbot of Séez, driven out by the pretensions of their new lord, who demanded homage of them,[2] take refuge in England. Ralph of Conches having died,[3] his son Ralph the younger comes over to apply for his father's English estates. He receives them, and with them the hand of Adelaide, daughter of Earl Waltheof and Judith. In a word, all sensible Normans were turning from the helpless Duke to the 'wise-hearted' King.[4] Henry did not show himself deaf to these appeals.

Norman Appeals to Henry.

In the autumn of 1104 he went over to Normandy, and made an armed progress round Domfront and the other places that were held in his interest. No hostilities are mentioned, but the demonstration proved quite as effectual as an actual campaign. The King's court was attended by a formidable array of Anglo-Norman magnates, among them Robert of Meulan, Richard of Avranches the young Earl of Chester,[5] Stephen of Aumâle, Henry of Eu, Rotrou of Mortagne, Eustace of Breteuil, Ralph of Conches, Robert of Montfort, Ralph of Mortemer—a formidable array. The Duke was invited to a peaceful interview, and subjected to another fraternal harangue on his improper treaty with Bellême, and the ruinous consequences of his negligence and misgovernment, or, as we ought perhaps rather to say, of his non-government.

He Goes over to Normandy.

Alliance of Magnates.

Overpowered by his brother's reasoning, or overawed by the strength of his following, Robert got out of it by ceding the county of Evreux. With his own hand Robert took Count William, one of his few remaining supporters, and presented him to his new lord King Henry. Towards winter Henry recrossed the Channel.[6]

Cession of Evreux by Robert.

Robert's extravagance and negligence had now reduced him to such straits that at times he was fain to beg a meal from the citizens of Caen or

[1] Ord. 804; Flor.; Chron.; W. Malm. *G. R.* p. 462. [2] See, at least so far as Abbot Ralph was concerned, W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 68. [3] *Circa* 1102; Ord. 809.
[4] Ord. 811, 813. [5] His father, Hugh the Fat, died 27th July, 1101.
[6] Orderic, 813, 814. The Chronicle records this expedition to Normandy as one not led by the King, but attended with successful results as against Robert.

Bayeux. On one occasion, but one occasion only, as we may suppose, he had to lie in bed through the forenoon, because his very clothing had been stolen during his drunken slumbers by his reprobate associates.[1]

Bellême however, in the course of the year, had received an ally from England in the person of his nephew, Earl William of Mortain and Cornwall, the son of the Conqueror's half brother Robert.[2] He had always been disposed to sneer at Henry,[3] but at Henry's accession he thought fit to demand the Earldom of Kent, at one time held by his uncle Bishop Odo, in addition to Mortain and Cornwall, with which he had already been invested. He vowed that till he got Kent he would not again wear his court robes.[4] Henry for the time was obliged to temporize; but when his position became secure, he finally rejected the Earl's petition. Nay more, assuming the offensive, he began to cut down the Earl's possessions by judicial proceedings. Thereupon William passed over to Normandy, and joined hands with Bellême in waging furious war against Henry's supporters in the Côtentin.[5] We are told that in some districts the country was utterly depopulated, the peasantry abandoning their fields and retiring to 'France.' Some of Duke Robert's men also were foolish enough to join in the work. Thus one Gonthier of Aunay, who was in command at Bayeux, carried off Robert fitz Hamon, one of Henry's most trusted servants.

William of Mortain.

He wages War in the Côtentin.

This amounted to a fresh call to Henry. He promptly took up the gauntlet. About the 1st April, 1105, he landed at Barfleur. Coming this time to wage war in earnest, he had retained the services of auxiliaries from Anjou and Maine, under the experienced lead of Hélie of La Flèche. We also hear of friendly communications with King Philip of France, to disarm hostility from his part. In former days this potentate had intervened more than once in the disputes between Robert and his brother Rufus, but by this time he had grown too old and unwieldy for any serious effort.[6]

Second Visit of the King to Normandy.

On the 5th April, Easter Eve, Henry rested at Carentan. Bishop Serlo, of Séez, was there to celebrate the Easter Mass. When he entered the church he was shocked to find the building piled up with boxes and goods deposited there for safety in the tumult of the war. There was no room to kneel before the altar; and the King

Easter at Carentan.

[1] See the speech on the state of Normandy put by Orderic, *more suo*, into the mouth of the Bishop of Séez, p. 815; W. Malm. *G. R.*, p. 462.

[2] Earl William's mother was Matilda of Montgomery. The time of his father's death is uncertain.

[3] So Malmesbury. I am inclined to suspect that the sarcastic remarks on Henry's love of field sports, attributed by Wace to an uncertain William Count of "Waumeri," should be attributed to William of Mortain; *R. Rou.* II. 365–367.

[4] "Non induturum chlamydem." [5] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 397; Chron.; Flor.; Ord.; 814. [6] "Corpulentus Rex . . . ponderosum Regem," etc.; Ord. 518.

himself was sitting humbly on a peasant's chest. The Bishop appealed to him to make such desecration of the House of God impossible in the future. But the worthy Serlo took the opportunity of attacking in his sermon another sin, as we should think, of a very minor character, namely, the sin of wearing the hair of such length as the King and courtiers did. Of course he quoted St. Paul. Finally he adjured the King to set a good example. Henry, always politic, nodded assent, whereupon the Bishop, producing a pair of scissors from a wallet, proceeded with his own hands to reduce the locks of the congregation to an orthodox length.[1]

From Carentan, the King advanced to Bayeux. The offending Gonthier released Robert fitz Hamon, but refused to surrender the town. The result was that it was carried by storm in a moment, and burned from end to end, the cathedral itself not escaping.[2]

Burning of Bayeux.

From Bayeux the army advanced to Caen, but the people, taking warning by the fate of Bayeux, hastened to disarm the King by surrender. Falaise was the next point aimed at, but Hélie and his men thought fit to retire, so Henry dropped the campaign.

Submission of Caen.

In the Whitsun week (28th May–3rd June) he had an interview with his brother at Cintheaux,[3] between Caen and Falaise, but nothing came of it. By harvest-time he was at home again.[4]

Henry Returns to England.

Between the places in Bellême's possession—practically an independent territory—those in Henry's own hands, and those already mentioned as belonging to barons in his interest, Robert's dominion must have been reduced to the narrowest limits. Bellême himself evidently thought the situation desperate, as he came over to England shortly before Christmas to endeavour to effect an arrangement with the King. His mission came to nothing, and so he went back after the Christmas festivities as hostile as ever.[5] Bellême's diplomacy having failed, the Duke himself came over in January, 1106. He found his brother at Northampton, but could get nothing out of him, and so he too departed, his errand unsped.[6]

He Refuses to make Terms.

Towards August Henry went over for a final campaign against his

[1] Ord. 815, 816.

[2] Ord. 818; Chron.; Flor.; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 398. See also the poem on the event by one Serlo a contemporary, Bouquet, XIX. xc.

. . . "Perit aula cremata
Miro picta modo quam præsul condidit Odo."

The tapestry however must have been saved, and parts of Odo's church still remain. Freeman. See also *R. Rou*, II. 393.

[3] "Sanctellis," Ord. and *R. Rou*, II. 404, note.

[4] *Id.* Orderic, at p. 816 D, inserts two pages relating to the year 1106, returning to 1105 at p. 818, with more of 1106 intermixed. Henry was still in Normandy, namely at Laigle, on the 22nd July, 1105; Eadmer, 165, 166.

[5] Chron.; Flor. [6] *Id.*; *Anselm. Epp.* IV. No. 77.

brother. The services of Hélie of La Flèche had again been secured.

Third Campaign in Normandy.

On the 15th August the King was at Bec, and had an important interview with Anselm, to which we shall revert. Bellême and Mortain being the only men of primary rank now left on Robert's side, operations were directed against Tinchebrai,[1] a

Operations against Tinchebrai.

castle belonging to Earl William. By degrees, through his spirited resistance, the whole forces on either side were drawn into the struggle. The King having begun by establishing a counter-work against the place, the Earl came down, relieved his garrison, and besieged Henry's men in their stronghold. Then Henry came down in his might and fairly beleaguered Tinchebrai. Determined not to be beaten by his cousin of England, William called on the Duke to dispel the siege. Robert, though in a penniless condition, could still call out feudal levies. He mustered his men, and marched to Tinchebrai. Inferior to his brother in cavalry (*milites*), he was superior in the number of his foot-soldiers. The armies having come within striking distance, the clergy made an effort to avert the fratricidal struggle. We are told that Henry,

Attempt at Mediation.

in answer, expressed a primary concern for the Church of Normandy, 'tossed about as a ship without a steerer.' Unfolding the thoughts of his zealous heart,[2] he proposed that the administration of Normandy, with all the castles and half the revenues, should be placed in his hands, while Robert would be allowed to enjoy life on the other moiety of the revenues. He even hinted that he might

Henry's Proposals.

make up a sum equal to the full Norman revenue out of the English treasury; not a very tempting offer, considering the history of the former pension. The plan as a whole, though specious in outward seeming, would have been very difficult of execution. How could it be guaranteed? At any rate Robert's advisers refused to listen to it, and declared for battle.

The forces on either side, though styled *acies* (lines), appear to have been marshalled in column, in successive divisions. This appears to follow

Battle of Tinchebrai.

from the statement that van came into collision with van. Had the troops engaged in line the van of the one army would have confronted the rear of the other army. Three *acies* were adopted on either side. The van of Henry's force was commanded by Ralph of Bricquessart, hereditary Viscount of Bayeux; the second line by the Earl of Meulan; the third by the Earl of Surrey. The King with the footmen kept himself in reserve in the rear, leaving the brunt of the action to the cavalry. The *Manseaux* and Bretons, under Count Hélie, were posted at a distance on one side. The Duke's van was led by Mortain,

[1] Dept. Orne. William Crispin, Robert of Estouteville (Seine Inf.) and William of Ferrières (*Ib.*?) are the only men named by Orderic on Robert's side besides Bellême and Mortain. So, too, Henry's own letter, Eadmer, 184.

[2] "Zelo Dei qui nos regit," etc.

the rear by Bellême, the Duke apparently with the foot-soldiers occupying the centre. Mortain gallantly charged Henry's van, but the squadrons were so densely packed or so evenly matched, that neither side could bear down the other. While they were shouting and struggling, Hélie came down on the Duke's flank, and cut his army in two. Bellême in the rear made off and escaped. The centre and van were surrounded and captured. The Duke was taken by one Waldric, a Royal chaplain and the King's Chancellor.[1] Mortain fell into the hands of the Bretons, who made a difficulty of giving him up (28th Sept.)[2] The victory was decisive, and reunited Normandy to England forty years within a day, if not to a day, from the time when the 'Great William,' the Conqueror, landed at Pevensey.[3]

Victory of King Henry.

Among the prisoners was the Ætheling Eadgar, the uncle of the Queen. Shortly before he had been at court, but true to his old friendship he had finally thrown in his lot with the Duke. Henry however freely released him.[4]

Reunion of Normandy and England.

Robert, cursing the men who had induced him to give battle, volunteered to send on William of Ferrières, one of his chief men, to secure the delivery of Falaise. Thus Henry took possession of the place without opposition. Little William, the Duke's infant son, was found there. Wisely declining the responsibility of such a charge, Henry gave the boy over to the trusty guardianship of Hélie of Saint-Saens, "the only generous indiscretion of his life," and one of which he lived to repent.[5] From Falaise Henry moved to Rouen, where he was well received. Hugh of Nonant,[6] again by Robert's direction, surrendered the castle. In return Henry granted a confirmation of the laws and privileges of the city.[7]

Robert's son William entrusted to Hélie of St. Saens.

The King at Rouen.

[1] "Galdricus . . . Capellarius Regis"; Ord. I presume that he may be identified with *Waldricus Cancellarius* who attests a letter of the King's earlier in the year; Eadmer, 177. He was shortly appointed Bishop of Landaff, but was murdered by his people on Good Friday 1107; Ord. See too Foss, I. 78. Neither Wm. Giffard nor Bishop Roger of Salisbury had retained office long.

[2] Orderic, 819–821. For the date see Chron.; Flor.; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 398. For Henry's report to Anselm see Eadm. 184. The King only claims to have captured 400 *milites*, but he does talk of 10,000 foot-soldiers, a large number. No attention need be paid to the account in Henry of Huntingdon, a mere misrendering of Orderic's narrative, the only real account.

[3] Malm. *sup.* See above p. 19. William, as I believe, sailed on the 28th Sept. and landed on the 29th Sept.

[4] Chron. Eadgar was evidently still living when Malmesbury wrote—say 1125. Politically a nonentity, his birth and manners always gained him a good reception at the courts both of the West and East. Malm. *G.R.* s. 251. This name also appears in the Pipe Roll, 31 H. I.

[5] C. H. Pearson, *Hist. Early England*, I. 438. Hélie of Saint-Saens was married to a natural daughter of the Duke, as already mentioned.

[6] There are two places of the name, one in Orne, the other in Calvados.

[7] Ord. 821, 822.

Ralph Flambard had been established by Robert as acting Bishop of Lisieux. When he heard of Henry's success he offered to deliver the place. As he was a man of ability, who had given trouble, and might give more, Henry pardoned him, took Lisieux from from him, and sent him back to Durham. But he never gained the King's confidence.[1]

Flambard Restored to the See of Durham.

A more formidable adversary was Robert of Bellême, who, with thirty-four strongholds said to be still under his control, was disposed to keep up the struggle. He endeavoured to enveigle the Count of Maine into an alliance, but Hélie very properly refused to break with his friend and patron King Henry, 'the most powerful prince of Western Europe.' At the same time he was willing to intercede for Robert. Henry, very prudently recognising the danger of driving such a man to extremities, accepted Hélie's mediation, and restored Robert to grace, allowing him to retain Argentan and all his father's possessions,[2] including Falaise, but depriving him of all encroachments made at the expense of the Ducal demesne.

Henry Pardons Robert of Bellême.

In October a Grand Council of Norman magnates was held at Lisieux, to concert measures called for by the state of the country. It is interesting to hear that one step considered urgent was a sweeping resumption of all grants of Ducal property made by Robert, the King claiming everything held by his father on the day of his death. It is right to add that the clergy likewise were to be restored to all their former holdings.[3] More salutary was the decree for the demolition of 'adulterine' castles, *i.e.* castles fortified without leave. But we are told that the mere report of the victory of Henry 'the strong Justiciar' had an immediate effect on the social state of Normandy. Robber bands hid their heads and dispersed.

Measures for the Restoration of Order.

With plenty of work on hand Henry remained in Normandy till the spring of 1107,[4] returning to England in time to hold his Easter Feast (April 14) at Windsor.[4] The prisoners whom he intended to detain had already been sent over; Duke Robert to live on for eight and twenty years, now in one castle, now in another, but always, we are told, with every indulgence compatible with his safe keeping[5]; William of Mortain and Robert of Estouteville to drag out miserable existences in the depths of mediæval dungeons.[6]

Imprisonment of Duke Robert.

[1] Ord. 833; Symeon, *H. D. E. Cont.* 138. [2] "Reliqua quæ patris fuerant;" Ord. 822. Bellême's chief estates however came from his mother.

[3] *Ib.* If we may draw an inference from the action of later English Parliaments, the resumption of grants would be offered in lieu of a subsidy.

[4] Chron. The King was at Lisieux in March; Ord. 831, 832.

[5] "Omnibus deliciis abundanter pavit"; Ord. "In libera custodia . . . obsoniorum frequentia"; W. Malm. *G.R.* p. 463. A good table apparently was the great indulgence. Bishop Roger of Salisbury must have had charge of the Duke, as he was sent to Devizes, one of the Bishop's castles; Orderic, 887; Freeman, *N. C.* V. 206.

[6] Ord. 822, 823. According to one story Mortain was blinded; H. Hunt. p. 255.

But the year 1106 had seen Henry come out victorious on another field than that of Normandy, namely in the battle with Anselm and the Papacy over the question of the Investitures. Anselm, on leaving England in April, 1103, had gone to Bec, his old home. There at last he opened Pascal's letter, which he had wished to open in Henry's presence. The Pope gave an absolute contradiction to the report of the King's envoys as to his verbal communications to them. He had never spoken otherwise than he had written. Not only did he again condemn lay investiture by the ring and staff, but, going to the root of the matter, he declared that it would not be lawful for laymen to take any part whatever in the election of bishops.[1] About the middle of August he left for Rome; arriving in due course,[2] he found William of Warelwast already there. In a public audience granted to them by the Pope in council, William dwelt on the damage to the Holy See that would be entailed by the loss of England's allegiance. The majority of the *Curia* seeming to be impressed by his words, the envoy, to clench the matter, begged the assembly to understand, once for all, that his lord, King Henry, would not to save his crown surrender the right of investiture. 'Then,' said the Pope, who, till then, had not spoken, 'know thou that to save the King's life Pascal will not allow him to have it.' The Council, however, while renewing the prohibition against investiture, agreed to suspend the excommunication that Henry had already incurred *ipso facto* under the decrees of April, 1099.[3]

Victory of Henry over the Papacy.

Anselm's Mission to Rome.

Pascal still Unyielding.

On leaving Rome Anselm, as the reward of his constancy, received for himself and his legitimate successors a gracious confirmation of all the rights of the See of Canterbury, 'as known to have been enjoyed by Anselm's predecessors from the time of St. Augustine by the authority of the Apostolic See.'[4] Here the Pope may be supposed to refer to the spurious charters produced at Canterbury in the time of Lanfranc.[5]

Warelwast remained at Rome eight days after Anselm's departure, and obtained for his master a letter from Pascal most moderate, in fact affectionate in tone, in which, after congratulating him on the birth of his son William, he implores him for his own sake to render to God the things that are God's.[6] 'Why should we resist thy wishes unless we knew that by yielding we should be resisting the will of God?'[7]

At Piacenza Warelwast rejoined Anselm, travelling with him till they drew near to Lyons.* There they parted. On taking leave William

[1] Eadmer, 149.

[2] *Epp.* III. Nos. 39, 81. He passed through the valley of Maurienne, the Cenis Pass again; No. 86.

[3] Eadmer, 152, 154.

[4] 16th Nov.; *Id.* 154, 155.

[5] See above, p. 87.

[6] "Pro ipso te rogo, cujus hoc munus est, ut ipsi hoc reddas."

[7] 23rd Nov.; Eadmer, 155.

delivered a message from the King, to the effect that he would be delighted to see Anselm back in England when he was prepared to behave towards him, Henry,[1] as Lanfranc had behaved towards the Conqueror. 'What? Have you nothing more to say to me?' enquired Anselm. 'Nothing more.' was the answer; 'a word to the wise' (*prudenti loquor*). Writing to the Pope, Anselm said that he understood perfectly that Henry's message meant homage, fealty, and the consecration of bishops invested by lay hands.[2]

Henry Refuses to have Anselm Back except on his Own Terms.

On William's return to England Henry thought his report and the tone of Pascal's letter sufficiently encouraging to justify him in taking the revenues of Canterbury into hand.[3] He was determined to make the most of the smallest appearance of hesitation on the part of his antagonist. Thus for a year and four months matters remained very much at a standstill, Henry reiterating that Anselm need not come back to England unless he was prepared to recognise established custom; and Anselm protesting that under the latest utterances of the Roman *Curia* he could neither render homage to the King, nor hold any intercourse with ecclesiastics accepting investiture at his hands.[4] Others again kept pressing Anselm to take pity on the state of spiritual destitution to which England was reduced in his absence.[5] Henry, who was not insensible to the evils attendant upon the existing state of things, though determined not to yield, sent another embassy to Rome during the course of 1104, but without result.[6]

Fresh Embassy to Rome.

By the spring of 1105 the Pope, in turn getting uneasy at the prolonged exile of the Archbishop, and feeling that the drift of events was against him, held a council at the Lateran, and fulminated spiritual censures against the Earl of Meulan, as Henry's chief minister; and likewise against all who had accepted investiture at Henry's hands, forbidding them to enter any church.[7] A like sentence was stated to be hanging over Henry's own head. Thereupon Anselm, who now apparently wished to see the King excommunicated,[8] left Lyons for the North, as if to be near the scene of action. He was intending to go to Rheims, to visit Archbishop Manasses, but hearing that Adela, the Countess of Blois, Henry's sister, was dangerously ill, he turned aside to visit her. When he reached Blois

Henry Threatened with Excommunication.

[1] *Anselm. Epp.* III. 46. "Ut talem te illi per omnia facias," etc.; Ead. 157.
[2] *Epp. sup.* [3] Eadmer, *sup.*
[4] See his letter to Henry, Eadm. 157, and *Id.* 159; also *Epp.* III. 90; IV. 47, 48.
[5] See the letters of Queen Matilda to him; *Epp. Anselm.* III. 93, 96, 97. She also begs Pascal to facilitate his return; *Epp. Pascal.*, Migne, vol. 163, p. 466; also Eadm. 160. [6] Eadmer, 162.
[7] "Ab ecclesiæ liminibus repellendos . . . promulgavimus." See his announcement to Anselm, 26th March, Ead. 163; *Anselm. Epp.* IV. No. 73.
[8] Eadmer again represents Anselm as dissatisfied with Pascal's action.

the Countess was better; but she was filled with alarm when she heard that Anselm was preparing to excommunicate her brother. Determined to make an effort at reconciliation, she took Anselm on to Chartres, and eventually to Laigle, for an interview with the King, who was then in Normandy, in his second campaign, and carrying all before him. They met on the 21st July.[1] Henry received Anselm in the most cordial manner, reinvested him with his revenues, and quite made friends. The Archbishop in turn relieved Meulan of his ban. The question of Anselm's return being mooted by some of those present, the King said, 'Certainly, provided that he does not withhold intercourse from my bishops.' To this Anselm could not agree without the sanction of the Pope, and so the meeting ended with an agreement for a fresh reference to Rome.[2]

Meeting Between the King and Anselm.

Another whole year the struggle lasted, the King and Anselm being as far from any real agreement as ever. The King had promised so to arrange matters that his envoys should be at Rome by Michaelmas, in order to enable Anselm to return to England by Christmas, 1105. But by Christmas the King's envoys had not even started. To the Pope Anselm had written, 'Everything depends on you.' To his confidant, Bishop Gundulf of Rochester, he says, 'The King has promised an answer by Michaelmas. I hope that it will come, as I will submit to no more adjournments (*inducias*). If the answer does not come, I will begin to act.'[3] To Meulan he intimates more plainly that at any moment an excommunication may come down on the King's head.[4] Full of confidence as to the result, Anselm writes to Archbishop Hugh of Lyons that he understands that the King has quite given up the right of investiture, and is only claiming to retain homage; he, Anselm, is in doubt whether he ought to concede that much.[5] Henry and Matilda replied with kind enquiries after Anselm's health, and invitations to return.[6]

Again too we hear of pressure put upon Anselm by churchmen in England, begging him to have pity on the deserted streets of Sion. They urge him to draw the sword of Mattathias, promising to follow if not anticipate his lead. Six Bishops sign this letter, but the antecedents of Gerard of York, Robert of Chester, and Herbert Losenge of Norwich, were not such as to inspire confidence. William Giffard, the Elect of Winchester, must have modified his attitude, as he is found concurring.[7] At the same time the Bishops, no doubt, had grievances against the King. He was profiting by Anselm's absence to levy contributions from the

[1] Eve of St. Mary Magdalen; *Anselm. Epp.* III. 110. Eadmer gives the 23rd July as the day. [2] Eadmer, 164–166; *Anselm. Epp. sup.* and IV. 78.

[3] *Epp.* IV. 63, 74; "Quod in tali re oportet facere incipiam"; 44.

[4] Eadmer, 169, 170.

[5] *Epp.* IV. 123. Hugh, in answer, counsels moderation; No. 124.

[6] *Epp.* IV. 74–77. [7] Eadmer, 173.

clergy, and in particular had taken the married clergy in hand, fining them for being married, or, perhaps, we should say more correctly, taking fines from them to allow them to retain their wives in defiance of Anselm's Canons. This, of course, would be a terrible invasion of Episcopal jurisdiction.[1] To the Bishops Anselm writes in reply, thanking them for their tardy promise of support, but pointing out that he could not come to England unless the Pope and Henry were at one as to the terms on which he came.[2]

Anselm's requirement was about to be fulfilled. About the month of April, 1106, a letter came from Pascal which must have fallen on him like a thunderbolt. 'God having touched the King's heart, so that he now shewed a disposition to obey the Apostolic See, he ought to be met half-way.' Accordingly Pascal relieves Anselm from the prohibition 'or excommunication as thou regardest it' (!)[3] uttered by Urban against lay investiture and clerical homage, authorizing him on certain conditions to absolve and consecrate ecclesiastics who had either accepted investiture at lay hands, or done homage to laymen. The conditions—strange to say, considering what had happened before—were not disclosed in the letter; they were left to be told by word of mouth by the two envoys, William of Warelwast and Baldwin of Tournay, 'faithful and truthful men.'[4] The concession was not restricted to the men already appointed: it was extended to all who thereafter might accept investiture or do homage, 'until by the grace of God, and the softening rain of thy preaching'[5] the King's heart should be induced to abandon the practice. Pascal gives the King an absolutely free hand, while the reference to Anselm's preaching seems sheer mockery. The Pope then proceeds, rather rashly, to notice the conduct of those who on a former occasion had taxed him with having left for verbal communication matter that he did not care to commit to paper, the very thing that he was now doing. He assures them that their offence shall not pass unpunished, but that for the moment, at the King's instance, he suspends action.[6] The condition that the Pope refrained from expressing was that Henry in his investitures should abstain from using the ring and staff, held the symbols of spiritual authority, the right to receive homage for the temporalities being conceded. The right of appointment to

The Pope gives way.

A Compromise.

Terms of the Compromise.

[1] See Eadmer, 175–177; *Epp.* III. 109, IV. 55, 57; and Anselm's indignant protests there.

[2] Eadmer, 174.

[3] "Ab illa prohibitione, sive ut tu credis, excommunicatione absolvimus." The reader will remember that Anselm was present when the anathema was uttered, and concurred in passing it.

[4] "Viros fideles et veridicos."

[5] "Tuæ prædicationis imbribus."

[6] Dated 23rd March, 1106; Eadm. 178, 179.

bishoprics and abbeys was not touched,[1] and therefore would remain as it had been before, practically at the King's disposal.

What had brought Pascal to this point, or what Anselm thought of this surrender of Urban's position, we are not told. With respect to the Pope, we may fairly conjecture that he had come to the conclusion that his position was untenable, and that a way out of the difficulty having been suggested by Henry's ingenuity, he hastened to close with it. In that he showed the Italian political instinct that has been the making of the Papacy. That Anselm was indignant we cannot doubt.

Henry, at any rate, was thoroughly content. William of Warelwast having carried his report to England, hastened back to Bec with a pressing message for Anselm to come over at once. But the Archbishop had fallen ill,[2] and remained more or less ill, and unable to travel, till the King himself came over in August for the Tinchebrai campaign. On the 15th of the month he came to Bec, and, after mass, effected a final agreement with Anselm on minor points. On the main question the Pope's decision would be conclusive for Anselm. The King promised to hand over to Anselm the vacant churches that Rufus had farmed out; he promised not to intrude on the sphere of the bishops' jurisdiction, as by fining priests for being married;[3] he promised to make full deliverance of all the revenues of the See of Canterbury. On these terms Anselm recrossed the Channel, to the great joy of all England. The Queen herself came down to grace his progress, and make arrangements for his reception.[4]

Final Agreement between the King and Anselm.

The Archbishop at Canterbury again.

The victorious King himself, as we have seen, did not return till towards Easter (14th April) 1107, and then his final triumph had to be delayed till August, chiefly through Anselm's renewed attacks of illness. On the first of that month, however, a Grand Council of ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries met at Westminster, a national Parliament of the time. For three days a stout Anglican party resisted all concession to the Papacy, Anselm withholding his presence; he would not even listen to such a discussion. But on the fourth day the compromise was finally accepted and ratified,

Grand Council at Westminster.

[1] See Eadm. 186. Mr. Rule maintains that the homage of ecclesiastics thenceforward was not liege homage, but a mere declaration of fealty, "not allegiance," and without placing the hands between those of the superior (*St. Anselm*, II. 391). No such distinction is recorded at the time. "Papa . . . concesserat hominia quæ Urbanus . . . interdixerat;" Ead. *sup.* So too the Pope's own letter, and W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 417. "Retento electionis et regalium privilegio."

[2] Anselm was unable to eat anything. Being pressed to take something, he said at last that he might eat a bit of partridge. A party was sent out to hunt for one, but without result, when one of the abbey servants passing through a wood met a stoat or polecat (*martiram*) carrying a partridge in its mouth, seized the prey and brought it home for Anselm's dinner, who from that time began to mend; Eadm. *Vita*, 411.

[3] See above, 260. [4] Eadmer, 182, 183. August–Sept. 1106.

Henry for himself and his successors disclaiming the ring and crozier, and Anselm conceding the homage. On that footing a whole series of vacant benefices, some in England and some in Normandy, were then and there filled up by the King.[1] Finally, on the 11th August, William Giffard of Winchester, Roger of Sarum, Reinhelm of Hereford, Urban of Llandaff, and William of Warelwast, now duly rewarded by the Mitre of Exeter, five Bishops, all of Henry's appointing, were consecrated by Anselm at Canterbury.[2] No such batch had been hallowed at one time since the memorable day in 909, when Archbishop Plegmund ordained seven Bishops for as many sees.[3]

Consecration of Five Bishops.

Henry's victory was entirely gained at Pascal's expense; over Anselm he scored no advantage at all. On the contrary, the Archbishop, by forcing him to negotiate with the Pope, established a precedent for appeals to Rome.

Two more years brought Anselm's earthly career to a close. He was already in failing health; unable to ride he had to be carried about in a litter.[4] His last work, that on Predestination and Free Will (*De Concordia Præscientiæ Dei cum Libero Arbitrio*), written at this period, cost him more time than usual.[5] But his dialetic power was as keen, his spirit as undaunted as ever. In his pretensions he became really arrogant. He refused to consecrate a new abbot for St. Augustine's Canterbury, in that church, as required by the monks in accordance with custom, even when the King joined in the request, electing to consecrate him at Lambeth.[6] He refused to allow Henry to marry a natural daughter to William of Warenne, the two being related in the tenth degree—four generations back on the one side and six on the other.[7] In a Synod held in London at Whitsuntide (24th May, 1108), at which the King and lay barons assisted, he attacked the married clergy more fiercely than ever. Priests, deacons, and sub-deacons were forbidden to have any females in their houses, except nearest relations; if married they were to put away their wives, being forbidden even to speak to them in future, except out of doors, and in the presence of witnesses; recusants were to be degraded and stripped of their orders; married priests presuming to say mass were to be excommunicated; archdeacons and deans to be sworn to enforce the law.[8]

Failing Health of Anselm.

His Spiritual Pretensions.

Another matter, of a very different character, which Anselm is repre-

[1] For the retention by the King of the right of appointment, see Anselm's letter to Pascal, Eadm. 191, where he praises Henry for taking good counsel, and not making arbitrary selections; and again, 199, where he describes the new Archbishop of York, Thomas II., as elected at the will of the King with the advice of his Barons, 'and our concession'—very much the old English theory.

[2] Eadmer, 186, 187. [3] So Florence points out. See above, I. 278.

[4] "Lectica decubans vehebatur." [5] Eadmer, 185, 188, 415.

[6] *Id.*, 188–190 27th February, 1108. [7] *Epp. IV.*, 84. [8] Eadmer, 193–195.

sented as bringing under the notice of the King was the outrageous misconduct of the Royal Household on the King's progresses. Of this evil we shall hear abundantly in the future under the name of Purveyance. At the time that we have reached, the King's retinue, not content with living at the freest of quarters, were in the habit of carrying off anything they had a mind to. What they left they often wantonly destroyed. No woman's honour was safe with them. Men fled at the report of the King's coming as from a plague, carrying off with them whatever they could. These hardships were said to be a legacy from the cruel days of King Rufus. The rights of the Anglo-Saxon Kings in respect of *feorm*, as those of Celtic Kings in respect of *Conveth* or *Dovraeth*, as we have seen, were pretty well defined; *boc-land* was usually free. Henry at once proclaimed severe penalties in the way of mutilation and blinding against all offenders. We also hear of similar penalties being denounced against the coining of base money, apparently a very prevalent crime.[1]

Purveyance.

Anselm, if he had lived long enough, would have enslaved the Church of England to the Papacy, reducing the position of the Archbishop of Canterbury to that of a Papal Vicar. In 1108 an excellent scheme was brought forward for creating a diocese of Ely, to be carved out of that of Lincoln, which was much too big. The plan met with universal approval, including that of the Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Bloet. But Anselm would do nothing without Papal consent, and so the matter stood over till next year, when Bishop Hervé, a Breton, was translated from Bangor to be the first Shepherd of the new See.[2] To the King's authority Anselm would make no concession that he could help, at a time when Henry was doing everything to please Anselm.[3] About the month of July[4] Henry was preparing to cross to Normandy from the harbour of Chichester. Anselm had been invited to come down to bless the voyage. He came, but at the last found himself too ill to cross the harbour, the King being quartered on the other side of the water. Henry begged him to take his ease, at the same time commending himself, his son, and the whole realm to Anselm's spiritual keeping.[5] But he prayed for particular reasons that Richard, the newly appointed Bishop of London,[6] might be consecrated at once in Chichester Cathedral. Anselm refused; on second thoughts, however, he condescended to consecrate him in his own chapel at Pagham.[7]

Creation of the Diocese of Ely.

Anselm's last energies were expended in asserting the supremacy of

[1] Eadmer, 192, 193. [2] *Id.* 195, 196, 211; Florence; *Reg. Sacrum.*
[3] So Eadmer. [4] Chron. A.D. 1108.
[5] "Tuitioni." The fact that the King commends himself seems to exclude the idea of the regency that Eadmer endeavours to suggest.
[6] Bishop Maurice had died 26th September, 1107; *Reg. Sacrum*; Florence.
[7] 26th July; Eadmer, 197, 198.

Canterbury over York, a matter to him of vital importance. If the whole of Britain were not to be subject to one archbishop, the Church 'would be divided against itself . . . he would not remain in England under such circumstances.'[1] The division, no doubt, would interfere with his plans of theocratic government. The claim to exact an oath of canonical obedience from the Northern Primates had been established, with difficulty, by Lanfranc in 1072. Thomas I. was then forced to submit. His successor, Gerard, when translated from Hereford in 1101, had evaded the difficulty by going to Rome and obtaining his *pallium* in person. In 1107 Anselm demanded the oath from him, but Henry, who favoured the independence of the Northern Province, ruled that as Gerard, as Bishop of Hereford, had already taken the oath to Anselm, he need not take it again.[2] This left the principle open. Gerard died in May, 1108, on his way to London for the Whitsun gathering; and Henry immediately appointed another Thomas, nephew to Thomas I., and son of Samson, Bishop of Worcester.[3] Following Gerard's example he applied to Rome for his Pall, in order to avoid consecration by Anselm. The King approved of his action, while Anselm kept protesting against the reiterated excuses that he made for not coming to Canterbury. Henry, being abroad at the time, asked Anselm to allow the matter to rest till his return, or till Easter (25th April) 1109; Anselm sent word that he would not suspend action for a single hour. His last act was to issue a furious letter, in which, dropping all form of courtesy, and affecting to speak in the name of the Almighty,[4] he suspends Thomas for 'rebellion,' and forbids him to apply for consecration in any quarter until he has made his profession. Bishops holding office in any part of the British Isles are forbidden under pain of perpetual excommunication to consecrate him, or hold intercourse with him if consecrated by any 'extern.'[5]

Struggle between Canterbury and York.

A New Archbishop of York.

Anselm's temper had evidently been soured by his enforced submission on the question of the Investitures. On the 21st April (1109) he passed away at Canterbury, in his seventy-sixth year;[6] a great writer, a true saint, and a charming character; but, in spite of his tender sympathies, a man of too rigid principle, and too much of a *doctrinaire*, to meddle successfully with the affairs of the world. The suppression of clerical marriage was the one undertaking of his episcopate; and that seemingly came to little.[7] We hear nothing of educational work, nothing of mission work. He

Death of Anselm.

A Theologian, not a Statesman.

[1] See his letter to Pascal, Eadmer, 201; and again his message to Henry, 205.
[2] Eadmer, 186. [3] *Id.* 193, 208.
[4] "Loquens ex parte ipsius Dei . . . ex parte Dei interdico," etc.
[5] Eadmer, 198–206; *Epp.* IV, 88, 96–98. [6] *Ib.*
[7] For the prompt relapse after Anselm's death see Eadm. 213, 214; for apologies for the disappointing barrenness of his primacy, 217–220.

ought to have remained in his *scriptorium* at Bec. His numerous works establish his title to be considered, on the one hand, "the last of the Fathers"; on the other hand, the "parent of the Schoolmen," and the founder of that *a priori* system of theology which down to the 16th century exercised so powerful an influence on the mind of Europe. At Canterbury he contributed to a new choir, known as Prior Conrad's choir, afterwards destroyed by fire; while one subsisting tower still bears his name.[1] But this must have been built by Conrad, and after Anselm's death.[2]

In the matter of the struggle with York Anselm was destined to achieve a posthumous victory. Not many days after his death a Cardinal, Ulric by name, appeared with a Pall for the Northern Primate, but only to be given by the hands of Anselm, now no more. The matter therefore had to await the King's return, which happened about the beginning of June.[3] The question of the consecration of the Elect of York was taken up during the Whitsun week (June 13–20). The bishops produced Anselm's inhibition. Robert of Meulan, when the purport of the circular was explained to him, was inclined to take a serious view of their action in pleading it as a reason for not deferring to the Royal command. But Henry, finding them unanimous, declared, with his usual tact, that he would never force men to incur the penalty of excommunication, and ordered Thomas to seal a written profession of submission to Canterbury. That having been done, he was consecrated on the 27th June, and on the 1st August received his Pall at York from Cardinal Ulric. On the same day he consecrated an Englishman, Turgot, Prior of Durham, formerly confessor to Queen Margaret of Scotland, to be Bishop of Kilrimont, otherwise St. Andrew's.[4]

Triumph of Canterbury over York.

This appointment had been made by Alexander I., the new King of Scots, who had succeeded his brother Eadgar in January, 1107.[5] Alexander, we are told, like Eadgar, came to the throne 'by the grant' of his brother-in-law, King Henry. That would imply a certain degree of vassalage, but no homage is recorded of either King.[6] It is probable that both Kings depended a good deal on the support of the Anglic population of the Lothians.

Alexander I., King of Scotland.

No appointment was made to Canterbury. After his recent experience

[1] Eadmer, 219; Gervase, 1294. Saint as he was, Anselm was not finally canonised till the time of Alexander VI., when he "suffered the indignity" of being stamped with the approval of the Borgia Pope (Church).

[2] For architectural details see at end of the reign.

[3] Flor.; Chron.

[4] Eadmer, 207–211; Florence. Turgot had been appointed 20th June, 1107. See Haddan and Stubbs, II. 170.

[5] January 6, Flor.; 8, Symeon; 13, Chron.; and *Chron. P. & S.*

[6] Fordun, however, does notice a journey of Eadgar to the court of Rufus that clearly suggests homage.

Henry might well take time to think over the choice of a successor to Archbishop Anselm. A struggle for precedence at the Christmas festivities at Westminster between the new Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, as Dean of Canterbury, informs us that at the three great crown-wearing days it was usual for the crown to be placed on the King's head by the prelate of highest rank.[1]

[1] Eadmer, 212.

CHAPTER XVIII

HENRY I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1109–1116

Marriage of the King's Daughter—Affairs in Normandy, Anjou, and Maine—Homage done to Henry for Maine and Brittany—Ecclesiastical Affairs—A Welsh Campaign—Papal Aggression.

THE annals of the reign of Henry I. from the year 1110 onwards become meagre and disconnected, the lack of history implying, as we may hope, that the people, if not always blest with plenty,—the years 1109, 1110, and 1111 being years of famine both in England and France [1]—were at all events in the enjoyment of tranquillity and peace.

The event of the year 1110 was the departure of the King's little daughter Adelaide to join her future husband, King Henry V. of Germany.[2]

Betrothal of the King's Daughter to Henry V.

In the month of February she was sent away.[3] The contracts had been signed in the previous month of June, so that her father's present action might seem to amount to the 'giving away.' But the little Princess had only just completed her eighth year when she sailed from Dover. Neither 'wedding' nor 'giving away,' therefore, was possible as yet. But she was received by Henry at Liège, and duly betrothed to him at Utrecht on Easter Day (April 10).[4] The actual marriage was not celebrated till 7th January, 1114, when Adelaide may have been just about twelve years old.[5] Like her mother, she was required to change her name,[6] and to change it for the name that

[1] Chron.; Orderic.

[2] Henry IV. died 7th August, 1106; Orderic, 819, etc. His son, Henry V., succeeded him, but was not crowned Emperor till 12th April, 1114.

[3] 'Before Lent,' *i.e.* before February 23; Chron.; 'At the beginning of Lent,' Sym. *H.R.* 241. She was certainly betrothed to Henry at Easter, April 10.

[4] W. Jum. 297. See also Dr. O. Rössler, *Kaiserin Mathilde*, 12, 13, and authorities there cited.

[5] Ann. Hildesheim. W. Jum. *sup.* represents Matilda as having been crowned as Queen on the 25th July, 1110, before she was married. Dr. Rössler asserts that she was never crowned as Empress, and never styled herself Empress either in Germany or Italy. *Mathilde*, 19.

[6] John of Hexham styles her "Aaliz," *Decem Scriptt.* 266; and again "Adela," 269. The Chronicle, A.D. 1127, gives the name as "Æthelic," not a known English name.

her mother took, and so from this time forward she becomes the Empress Matilda. No such alliance had been contracted by England since Gunhild, daughter of Cnut and Emma, went forth to marry Henry, son of Conrad, afterwards the mighty Emperor Henry III. No expense was spared in honour of the Imperial connexion, but the customary Aid, "*Pur fille marier*," would supply the funds.[1] On the other hand, the acceptance of a bride of such tender years proves the value set by Germany on the English alliance. In 1110 the Germanic Henry was about to draw the carnal weapon against Pascal over the terrible question of the Investitures, already brought to a satisfactory conclusion in England by the peaceful diplomacy of the English Henry.

The Whitsun court of the year (29th May) may be noticed for the circumstance that for the first time it was held at New Windsor,[2] the Royal Windsor of all later times. The Windsor of earlier days was the now deserted Old Windsor, two miles lower down the Thames. Here the question suggests itself whether the huge "mote," the mound-fort afterwards surmounted by Edward III.'s round tower, was only piled up by Henry I., or whether the place had been fortified as an outpost in Mercian days, though not till now patronised as a Royal residence.

New Windsor.

Another incident, and one characteristic of the King's domestic policy, was the banishment—doubtless under strictly legal procedure—of three men of the older baronage, namely, Philip of Braouse, William Malet, and William Baynard.[3] Of these only the first lived to earn forgiveness.[4] Baynard's name is still preserved in the City Ward of Castle Baynard, so called after the castle within the precincts of the later Blackfriars, probably built by Ralph Baynard of Domesday, the strongest place in London next to the Tower.[5]

Banishment of Barons.

Henry remained at home till about August, 1111, when he went over to Normandy, where he had plenty of work for his hand to do. Considerable changes had been taking place on the political stage. Philip I. of France had died in July, 1108, being succeeded by his son, Louis VI., "*Le Gros*." Some years before, at Christmas, 1100,[6] he had paid a visit of congratulation to the English court, and had been entertained in right royal fashion by Henry. We are told that Louis conceived a deep respect for the King, and that in after life he never willingly quarrelled with him. Henry's manners and

The King in Normandy.

[1] 'The geld . . . . for his daughter's gift' is specially noticed by the Chronicler—always sensitive on questions of taxation. For Aids see above, 141.

[2] Chron. [3] *Id.* [4] Pipe Roll, 31 H. I. 72, 103.

[5] Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 376; Lappenberg. For the history of Baynard's Castle, see Wheatley and Cunningham's *London*.

[6] So Le Prevost, note to Orderic (IV. 195 of his ed.).

ability could not fail to impress the young man, and he might well feel thankful to the King if indeed the latter had refused to comply with the murderous request, alleged to have been forwarded to him by Queen Bertrade, Louis' stepmother, in a letter forged in her husband's name. By this precious missive Henry was invited to make away with Louis.[1] But, in fact, we shall find the force of circumstances bringing Louis and Henry into collision again and again. One cause of difference had already arisen.

The castle of Gisors had been established by Rufus on the Norman bank of the Epte, to face the strongholds on the other side of the river, in the French Vexin. But it would seem than an agreement had been come to between Louis and Henry for the neutralisation or demolition of Gisors on the one side, and of Bray[2] on the other side. This engagement may have been entered into in Philip's lifetime, when Louis was in charge of the French Vexin.[3] Henry however had recently taken Gisors into his own hands, and was keeping up the fortifications.[4] Then in another quarter the affairs of Maine invited intervention.

Affairs in Anjou and Maine.

Fulk Rechin of Anjou had passed away on the 14th April, 1109, and the County was in the hands of his eldest surviving son, Fulk V., afterwards King of Jerusalem. He was married to Éremberge, only child and heiress of Hélie of La Flèche, by whom he became the father of GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET[5] (*Plante Geneste*).[6] Hélie himself paid the debt of nature on the 11th July, 1110, whereupon Fulk entered into possession of Maine in right of his wife.[7] This aggrandisement of Anjou could not be viewed by Henry with indifference, while homage for Maine, as we have seen, was an old claim pressed, rightly or wrongly, by the Norman Dukes. The Conqueror had reduced the county into actual possession, and so, to a certain extent, had Rufus.

Again Henry had begun to repent of the magnanimity that had allowed his brother's son, young William, distinguished by Orderic as William the "*Clito*" (*i.e.* the Ætheling),—the heir by rights of Normandy, if not of England—to remain at large. Apparently Henry's first step on landing in Normandy in August (1111) was an attempt to seize young William at Arques, the residence of his guardian, Hélie of Saint Saëns. The boy

[1] Ord. 812, 813. Here it is recorded that Henry—"literatus Rex"—received the latter, read it for himself, and formed his own opinion of it before shewing it to his advisers. [2] In an island in the Epte. [3] Ord. 813.

[4] Suger. *Vita Ludovici*, c. 15, pp. 57, 58 (Société de l'Histoire de France); Sismondi.

[5] Orderic, 818; Sismondi, *France*, V. 102; Le Prevost, notes to Ord. IV. 218. Fulk Rechin, in fact, had abdicated in 1196, yielding the administration of affairs to his eldest son, Geoffrey, a man of high character, who at once liberated his poor old uncle, Geoffrey Barbu. Geoffrey, the son of Rechin, was killed 18th May, 1106, when the county passed to his brother Fulk V.; Le Prevost, Ord. IV. 210, 218.

[6] See *R. Rou*, l. 10, 300, ed. Andresen; R. Wendover, A.D. 1148.

[7] Chron.; Sism. 103.

was just snatched from his bed in time to be carried by Hélie to the court of France.[1] Thus Henry was confronted by two wars, one with France, the other with Anjou, besides a threatened domestic rising in Normandy in the name of young William. In this last matter, as might be supposed, Robert of Bellême was found to be taking a leading part. Moreover in this time of trouble it turned out that Henry's alliance with Germany had cost him the support of Flanders, Robert of Jerusalem being on bad terms with his Teutonic overlord.[2] Robert the Frisian had broken with England, as already mentioned.[3] Friendly relations had been restored by his son, Robert of Jerusalem, and a renewal of the old pension of 300 marks obtained from the careless prodigality of William Rufus. We are told that Henry, who gave nothing for nothing, when approached on the subject declined to be bound by his brother's grant, unless some return were to be made by Flanders.[4] The result was a treaty, executed on the 10th March, 1103, a precedent for many a later compact of a similar character, by which the King granted a yearly subsidy of £500 in consideration of the right to call for the services of a Flemish army in England, Normandy, or Maine, in case of need.[5] The treaty had been renewed after the accession of Louis,[6] but nothing apparently had come of it; and the Count, when hostilities break out in 1111, is found fighting on the side of France.

Warlike Outlook.

Ravaging disconnected warfare began all along the frontiers of 'France' and Maine. Louis appeared on the banks of the Epte, at the plank bridge of Néaufles, with an imposing army at his back. Among the feudatories in attendance were Hugh II. the Peaceful, Duke of Burgundy, Robert II. of Flanders, and Henry's nephew, Theobald IV. of Blois. The King of England faced them at Gisors. Efforts were made to induce him to submit the questions at issue to arbitration or legal decision of some sort, one suggestion being the humorous proposal that the two Kings should meet singly in wager of battle on the bridge, which was known to be in a shaky condition. Henry's prudence, however, declined the offer[7] Louis retired from the Vexin to engage shortly in hostilities with his recent ally, Theobald of Blois, whose under-tenants infested the roads to Paris, plundering travellers. The King was defeated in a skirmish near Meaux, and in the rout Robert of Flanders was thrown from his horse, trampled under foot, and injured so severely that in a few days he died.[8]

Louis takes the Field.

[1] Orderic, 837. [2] Sismondi, V. 101; Ord. 837. [3] See above, pp. 92, 101.

[4] So W. Malm.; *G. R.*, s. 403.

[5] *Liber Niger Scacc.* I. 7 (Hearne); and for the year, Eadmer, 146. For excellent remarks on the treaty, see Freeman, *N. C.* V. 181.

[6] *Liber N. sup.* 16. Both treaties are given in *Fœdera*, I. 6, 7, but in wrong order and with wrong dates. (Record Edn.)

[7] Suger, *sup.* 15.

[8] Sism. V. 106; Chron.; Ord. 837. The latter here is utterly abroad in his chronology.

The *casus belli* with Anjou was probably found in a refusal on the part of the Count to do homage for Maine, a point that was ultimately conceded. Henry strengthened his borders by fortifying Nonancourt, Illiers-l'Evêque, and Sorel-Moussel,[1] all on the frontier lines either of 'France' or Maine.

Capture of Robert of Bellême.

While Fulk and Henry were still at arm's length, the contumacious Robert of Bellême fell into the King's hands. Having ventured to come to Henry's court at Bonneville, as envoy from King Louis, he was arrested on a charge of contempt of court for non-appearance in certain proceedings previously instituted against him for malversation in the management of the revenues of Argentan, Exmes, and Falaise (4th Nov., 1112). He was condemned and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Alençon, his chief stronghold, was then attacked and reduced; while he himself in the course of the following year was sent over to England to end his days in Wareham Castle, the worst character, and the most thoroughly hated and hateful man in all Europe.[2]

The arrest of Bellême laid Henry's adversaries at his feet. In the first week of Lent, 1113 (23rd February–1st March?),[3] Count Fulk came to Alençon, where Henry was; did homage for Maine, and engaged his daughter Matilda to the Ætheling William.[4]

Homage rendered for Maine.

Louis followed suit to still greater purpose a month later. He met Henry at Gisors, and made peace on most extraordinary terms, if indeed they have been correctly reported. We are told that the French King 'granted' (*concessit*) to Henry not only the right to retain Gisors,[5] but also Bellême, Maine, and all Brittany.

Treaty with France.

Bellême was not part of Normandy, though often held by Norman lords. It appertained to Mortagne, otherwise Perche, and Henry had no previous right to homage for it. That therefore might well be the subject of a grant. But Fulk had just done homage for Maine; and we also hear that Allan Fergant of Brittany had done homage for his dominions, in consideration of receiving the hand of Matilda, a natural daughter of the King, for his son Conan.[6] Did Louis really

Homage by Brittany.

[1] Orderic, 840. The first two places are in Eure, the last in Eure et Loire.

[2] "Temporibus Christianis in omni malitia incomparabilis"; Ord, 841, 858. The account in the latter place seems to supplement and correct that given in the first place. "Vir intolerabilis"; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 398; Chron.; "In ore omnium positus, ut diceretur Mirabilia Roberti de Bellesme"; H. Hunt, *De Contemptu Mundi*, 310 (ed. Arnold). Bellême was well found in his prison. The sheriff of Wilts was allowed £18 a year for his board, and £2 more for his clothing; Pipe Roll 31 H. I. p. 12.

[3] In 1113 Ash Wednesday fell on the 19th of February. With the writers of the time the first week of Lent usually means the first whole week.

[4] Ord. 841; *Gesta Coss.*; D'Achery, *Spic.* III. 264.

[5] Suger, *sup.* p. 61.

[6] Allan shortly retired to the Abbey of Redon, where he died, 13th Oct., 1119; Bouquet, XII. 559. His son Conan III., "*Le Gros*," then became Count. His union with Matilda did not prove a happy one, and he disowned her only son. Le Prevost, Ord. IV. 302, 308.

release all rights of suzerainty over Maine and Brittany? It seems more natural to suppose that he merely recognised Henry's right to take homage from those provinces, saving his own rights as lord paramount.[1] According to some of the accounts, the King's son did homage to Louis for Normandy at this same time.[2]

Reduction of Castle of Bellême.

Robert of Bellême left behind him a son, William Talevas, who was established in Ponthieu in right of his mother[3]; Robert also had the allegiance of certain under-lords, besides that of the garrison of Bellême. These men refused, in legal phrase, to "attorn" to their new over-lord. Force had to be employed. On the 1st May Henry appeared at Bellême with an army supported by Theobald of Blois, Fulk of Anjou, and Rotrou of Mortagne. On the 3rd the place fell. The day being the Feast of the Invention of the Cross, the King had ordered an abstention from hostilities. His own men obeyed. But the French auxiliaries, who had not heard the orders, began an assault. The garrison venturing to sally on them were repulsed and driven in, and the town carried with a rush. The Keep, Robert's own work, holding out, was fired and burnt to the ground.[4]

Clemency of Henry.

The pacification was accompanied by acts of grace on Henry's part. Among those who had offences forgiven to them were William Crispin, Constable of Dangu; William Count of Evreux, who had been outlawed some fourteen months before; and his sister's son, Amaury of Montfort, himself brother to Queen Bertrade, and so uncle to Fulk of Anjou. Men held in bonds by Robert of Bellême were set free, and men wrongfully ousted by him were recalled to their homes.[5]

His Courtesy to the Clergy.

We have just noticed Henry's regard for a Church Festival. Orderic's account of a visit paid by the King to the monastery of St. Evroult at Ouche—the writer's home—shows his urbanity to the clergy. He was there for the Feast of the Purification (2nd February, 1113). He sat for a long time with the monks in their quarters, enquired of their manner of living, and greatly admired it—he almost wished that he was one of them! Next day he came into the Chapter House, and, at his own request, was admitted an honorary brother of the community.[6] His retinue, we are told, included his nephews, Theobald of Blois, and Stephen the future King; Conan of Brittany, and the King's son Robert, the future Earl of Gloucester.[7]

[1] March 24–31; Ord. 841; *Gesta Coss. sup.*; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 419; W. Jum. *Cont.* p. 307. Martin, *France*, III. 220, takes the view here suggested.

[2] Suger; and *Gesta, sup.* [3] Agnes, daughter of Guy of Ponthieu.

[4] Ord. 841, 842. [5] Ord. 834, 841; Chron. A.D. 1112.

[6] "In claustro monachorum diu sedit . . . in Capitulum venit, societatem eorum humiliter requisivit et recepit"; Ord. 840.

[7] *Id.* Robert attested the charter granted in honour of the King's visit. The King only signed it with a cross; "eam cruce facta signavit."

Towards Midsummer Henry returned to England. The moderation of his ambition, his prompt and unscrupulous action, and his steadfastness of purpose enabled him to leave behind him in Normandy a more stable and satisfactory peace than any established even by the Great William.[1] If King Louis made but a poor appearance in the field, the humble character of his resources should not be forgotten. His revenue was practically dependent on the receipts from the five towns of Compiègne, Paris, Melun, Orleans, and Étampes, while the narrow strip of territory that was all his own was hemmed in by the dominions of the lords of Flanders, Champagne, Blois, Anjou, and Normandy. Nevertheless under Louis the kingdom was at last to enter on that course of aggrandisement that was destined eventually to make it supreme from the Channel to the Pyrenees.[2]

The King Returns to England.

Ecclesiastical appointments were the main work of the year 1114. Both archbishoprics were vacant. Anselm had died in 1109; while Thomas II. of York passed away on the 24th February in the current year.[3] After four years' trial, the King had satisfied himself that Canterbury could be safely entrusted to the hands of Ralph of Escures, Bishop of Rochester, formerly Abbot of Sées. Ralph is described as a man of culture and character, humorous, courtly, and popular. At Sées he had done excellent work as monk, prior, and abbot. Since 1103, when he quarrelled with Bellême, he had resided continuously in England, and mostly with Anselm. To Anselm he owed his appointment as Bishop of Rochester, and since Anselm's death he had administered the Province of Canterbury. On the 26th April he received his appointment at Windsor.[4]

Ralph of Escures, Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the 15th August Thurstan, properly Toustain, a native of Bayeux, a Royal Chaplain, and Canon of St. Paul's, was appointed to York; while on the 15th September Ernulf, Abbot of Peterborough, was named Bishop of Rochester.[5] Peterborough and other vacant abbeys were also filled up. But the native writer groans over the fact that, whatever his merits, under no circumstances could an Englishman be promoted to any ecclesiastical dignity of importance. The caste lines between the two races were still impassable.[6]

Thurstan, Archbishop of York.

Englishmen Excluded from Preferment.

Ralph was not allowed to go to Rome for his *pallium*, excuses being

[1] Chron.; W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 399. [2] Sismondi, *France*, V. 86, 99. [3] Florence.

[4] Eadmer, 221–223; Orderic, 678, 812; W. Malm., *G. P.* 127, 132. Ralph in 1102 had negotiated the surrender of Shrewsbury, so that his quarrel with Bellême might date from that time. He was one of those present at the examination of the relics of St. Cuthberht in 1104. Symeon, *H.D.E.*, *Auct.* 247, 253.

[5] Eadmer, 223–225; Chron.; Flor.

[6] "Rex . . . usque quaque Anglos perosus . . . Unum eos, natio scilicet, dirimebat. Si Anglus erat nulla virtus ut honore aliquo dignus judicaretur eum poterat adjuvare"; Eadm. 224.

made for him on the score of health. A clerical embassy was sent instead. After some demur, Pascal committed the precious badge, enshrined in a silver casket, to a Legate, by name Anselm, sister's son to the late Archbishop. But at the same time he could not refrain from a protest against Henry's system of Church government—no references or appeals to Rome; no letters or envoys from Rome admitted without leave; Synods held, and bishops appointed and translated, without his knowledge or consent;[1] Peter's Pence not half collected. On the 27th June, 1115, Archbishop Ralph received and assumed the Pall with all the ceremony observed by his predecessor.[2]

Supremacy of Canterbury again Contested.

The consecration of the Northern Primate brought up again the question of subjection to Canterbury. Thurstan, a man of strong character, absolutely refused to take the oath of canonical obedience; and his clergy, to a man, backed him up. He had been much at court, both under Rufus and Henry, and much employed by Henry.[3] He reckoned on Henry's support. But at the end of eighteen months, the King, in a council held at Salisbury, to which we shall revert, told Thurstan plainly that he must either submit or resign. Henry doubtless wanted to have the Archbishop of Canterbury thoroughly with him in resisting a fresh assault made by the Papacy on the liberties of the Church of England. Thurstan said that he would resign; then shortly, thinking better of it, he followed Henry to Normandy, to prosecute his cause as best he might. Finding Henry inflexible, he turned to the Pope,[4] not without success.[5] At last in 1119, but not till then, did he obtain consecration at the hands of Calixtus II. in the Council of Rheims.[6]

In an interval between selections and appointments of bishops and abbots Henry found time to lead an army into Wales (June–July?). His influence in those parts had been steadily on the increase. An attempt to instal an English bishop at Llandaff in 1106 proved unfortunate, as the man sent, Waldric the Chancellor, who took Duke Robert prisoner at Tinchebrai, was massacred by the Welsh, with seven of his canons, on Good Friday in the following year.[7]

Affairs in Wales.

An English Bishop at Llandaff.

Henry however immediately appointed another bishop, Urban, who managed to hold his ground; and from him the Anglican succession of Bishops of Llandaff is usually dated.[8]

1 "Præter scientiam . . . conniventiam . . . conscientiam nostram"; 1st April, 1115; Eadmer, 228.

2 See Eadmer, 226–230, and the letters to and from the Pope there; also Chron.

3 "Willielmo juniori domesticus fuerat et carus. Regi vero Henrico familiaris et secretarius"; T. Stubbs, *Decem Script.* 1714.

4 Eadmer, 237, 238; T. Stubbs, 1714, 1715; Florence.

5 See Pascal's letters in his favour; *Epp.* Nos. 493, 494, 5th April, 1117 (Migne).

6 W. Malm. *G. P.* 262–265. 7 12th April, 1107; Ord. 821. 8 *Reg. Sacrum*; *Brut*, A.D. 1104. See for Urban's position, Haddan and Stubbs, I. 309.

Urban's success in maintaining his position may be viewed in connexion with the plantation of a colony of Flemings in Ros, and other parts of Pembrokeshire, a politic measure undertaken by Henry about this time,[1] by which the non-Celtic element must have been greatly strengthened.

Owain, son of Cadwgan.

Under the year 1110 we have a disgraceful outrage perpetrated by Owain, son of Cadwgan, a very turbulent youth. Coming in time of peace, without provocation, he broke by night into the castle of Cenarth Bychan,[2] recently built by Gerald of Windsor, Constable of Pembroke, who at the time was living at Cenarth with his wife Nest. Gerald escaped in his night-clothes; but Owain sacked the place, and violated and carried off Nest, said to be his own cousin. This Princess, as she might be called, being daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the last King of South Wales, had been taken to the English court, where she attracted the attention of Henry, by whom she became mother of a son, by name Henry. When her connexion with Henry came to an end, as we suppose, she was married to Gerald; and she survived him to become the wife of another Welsh captain, Stephen,[3] Constable of Aberteivy.

For the purposes of our narrative the point of the incident of Owain's crime is this, that Cadwgan was threatened with confiscation of his dominion for the misconduct of his son; that he had to make humble apologies to Henry; and that he only 'obtained his territory, that is to say, Ceredigion,' for a fine of £100.[4]

Release of Jorwerth.

It was probably to keep Cadwgan and his unruly son in check that in 1111 Henry released Jorwerth, who had been in his hands since 1103, and restored to him 'his country.'[5] His possessions must have lain in Powys, as we hear that his residence was at Caer Einion, evidently Castell Einion, in the valley of the Usk.[6] But Jorwerth was doomed to misfortune. In the very next year he fell a victim to assassination by the hands of a nephew, Madog, son of Rhirid, another son of Bleddyn.[7] Cadwgan shortly shared the same fate, whereupon the various members of the family hastened to bespeak Henry's support. He allowed the murderer Madog to take Jorwerth's lands in

[1] So *Ann. Camb.* 1107; *Brut*, 1105 (=1108). Florence places the colony in 1111. It may not have been established all at once. According to him the Flemings were brought from Northumberland, as if a previous settlement had been attempted there; according to Malmesbury they were gathered from all parts of England; *G. R.* ss. 365, 401. For Flemings settled in or near Ceredigion (North Pembrokeshire or South Cardiganshire) see *Ann. C.* 1111, 1115; *Brut*, p. 105. Cnf. Freem. *N.C.* V. Appendix C.C. [2] Radnorshire, 4 miles North of Rhaiader.

[3] Giraldus Camb. VI. 28, 89–91, 130; Freem. *N. C.* V. 109, 852.

[4] *Ann. C.* 1110; *Brut* (1106). The narrative of the latter now becomes so full of detail, and apparently of trustworthy detail, that it must be based on records more or less contemporary. [5] *Ann. C.* 1103, 1111; *Brut* (1101, 1107).

[6] 5 miles west of Brecknock. [7] *Brut*, p. 87.

Powys, giving Ceredigion to Owain. But Madog again fell into Owain's hands, who put out his eyes, and divided his land with Maredudd, son of Bleddyn, a common uncle.[1]

Invasion of Wales by Henry.

The disordered state of the country implied by all these crimes will account for Henry's invasion of Wales in 1114. We are told that Richard the Earl of Chester had his charges against Gruffudd of Gwynedd, the son of Cynan, and that Gilbert fitz Richard, otherwise Gilbert of Clare, Henry's representative in Ceredigion, had his complaints against Owain, and that accordingly Henry 'led his army against Gwynedd and principally to Powys.' His preparations, we are assured, were on a vast scale, including contingents from all Great Britain. But the speaking fact is that a Scottish contingent was in attendance under King Alexander in person. Wales was attacked from three sides. Alexander and the Earl of Chester entered from the North; another force came up from the South; while the King took a middle line, advancing to "Mur Castell." Owain withdrew with all his goods and people 'to the mountains of Ereri (Snowdon) . . .[2] the safest place against an army.' He made a compact with Gruffudd that neither should treat with the enemy without the other; but when negotiations were opened by Henry with Gruffudd, Owain, fearing to be left in the lurch, hastened to come forward. He came to the English camp, and, we are told, received his land back 'free.' Gruffudd, content to send an embassy of peace, was made to pay a heavy fine. But Owain, if he was not mulcted, had to follow the movements of the King's court in England and Normandy for a year.[2]

St. David's an English Bishopric.

To carry the English advance in Wales one step further. In 1115 Wilfrith or Gruffudd, the last native Bishop of St. David's, died. Henry immediately appointed a Norman, Bernard, the Queen's Chancellor, and from him again an Anglican succession begins to run.[3]

Normans do Homage to the Ætheling William.

The ecclesiastical affairs of the year 1114 fairly settled, and Wales 'pacified,' Henry on the 21st September sailed from Portsmouth for Normandy. In the course of the ensuing year the chief men of the Duchy were made to do homage to the Ætheling William, the King's only legitimate son, then perhaps twelve years old. This, doubtless, was done to meet the growing movement in favour of the other William, Robert's son. In July, 1115, Henry came back to England.[4]

Ecclesiastical affairs were again to the front, and the King had to call on his subjects for support against Papal pretensions and Papal aggression. The Hildebrandine revival had by no means spent its energy. On the

[1] *Ann. C.* 1112, 1113; *Brut* (1108, 1110).

[2] *Brut* (A.D. 1111); *Ann. Camb.*; Chron.; Flor. 1114.

[3] Eadmer, 235; *Ann. Camb.* Bernard, of course, took the oath of canonical obedience to Canterbury, as all the new Welsh bishops did.

[4] Chron.

contrary, it was in full swing, and developing fresh force day by day. Monasticism was spreading right and left, and striving to rise to greater heights of spiritual perfection through ever increasing mortification of the flesh. In 1098 the Cistercian Order had made its start, when Robert of Molesmes founded St. Mary of Citeaux.[1] By the time that we have reached sister Houses had been established at La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux.[2] In 1113 monks from Tiron, another new French foundation, made their way to Scotland, and were established at Selkirk by the King's brother David.[3] A further indication of the spirit of the times, even more telling because more widely spread, was the expansion of Church architecture, destined shortly to enrich the world with the glories of the Pointed Style. The Papacy, in view of such a state of things, was bound to do its best to turn the movement to account for its own ends. We have already noticed Pascal's letter of this year (1st April, 1115), in which he claimed, not indistinctly, a general right of intervention in the affairs of the Church of England, including the appointment of bishops. This letter had come while the King was abroad. Then, in July, just before he came back, a Papal Legate, Conon, Cardinal of Præneste, had held a Council at Châlons, and had excommunicated some or all of the Norman bishops for non-attendance.[4] The King felt much aggrieved. The claim to interfere in the appointment of bishops he justly regarded as a violation of the *Concordat* on the question of Investiture. His complaints were laid before a Grand Council held at Westminster on the 16th October, Pascal's letter of the 1st April being produced by the Legate Anselm, who had brought Ralph's Pall. An attitude of firm resistance was resolved upon; and the veteran diplomatist, William of Warelwast, Bishop of Exeter, though now afflicted with loss of eyesight, was once more commissioned to go to Rome to remonstrate.[5]

Rise of the Cistercian Order.

Growth of Papal Pretensions.

Resistance by the Anglican Church.

The Ætheling William had been recognised as heir in Normandy, but not as yet in England. The homage of the English Baronage was rendered to him in a Grand Council held at Salisbury on the 19th March, 1116; the clergy, we are told, only pledging themselves to do homage to him at his father's death. It was on this occasion that Henry finally told Thurstan that he must either take the oath of obedience to Ralph or resign.[6]

William Recognised as Henry's Heir.

Not long afterwards the King went over to Normandy,[7] where four years of trouble and anxiety awaited him. One of the first things that he had to face was a Legatine commission presented to him by the younger Anselm (August), who had been

The King in Normandy.

[1] Both in Côte d'Or. [2] La Ferté and Clairvaux are in Aube, Pontigny in Yonne.
[3] Symeon, *H. R.* and note Arnold; *Chron. Melrose.*
[4] 6th July, 1115; Flor.; Eadmer, 234. [5] Eadmer, 231–234.
[6] Eadmer, 237; Florence. [7] After Easter, 2nd April; Chron.

to Rome and returned again since the previous year. The Bull invested him with Apostolic authority over all England.[1] Anselm was not allowed to cross the Channel, but a report of his mission was sent to England. A Council was immediately held in London, under the presidency of the Queen, to consider the situation. The resolution adopted was that the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, as the man most affected, should go to Rome, 'to put a stop to these innovations.'[2] Shortly after the 8th September, Ralph left England, Herbert Losenge of Norwich going with him. Having conferred with Henry at Rouen, they proceeded on their way, but were delayed two months by illness, first one prelate and then the other being laid up. After spending the Christmas season at Lyons they reached the Eternal City in the spring of 1117, to find the place in the hands of the Imperialists, and Pascal in retirement at Benevento. They were allowed to communicate with him by messengers, and as the fruit of their labours received a very clever and truly Apostolic letter, in which he assured them that never for one moment had he entertained a thought of infringing on the 'dignity' of the Church of Canterbury[3]: he had far too much respect for the works of the Blessed Gregory to interfere with any institution of his. Whatever Canterbury had received from him through St. Augustine, whatever rights Anselm of pious memory had rightfully held, it was his will that Canterbury should continue to enjoy.[4]

Fresh Claims of the Papacy.

Politic Letter from Pascal.

This precious concession would not greatly hamper the Papacy. In the first place, the rights of Canterbury were not too particularly defined.[5] Then, as from Pascal's point of view the Church of England could have no rights except by Papal grant, or, at any rate, subject to Papal sanction, no interference by a Pope could be an invasion of any lawful privilege.

[1] See the Bull dated 24th May [1116], Wilkins, *Conc.* I. 377, where it is given under the year 1100. [2] "Ut hæc nova annihilaret"; Eadmer, 239.

[3] "Nec imminuimus nec imminuere deliberamus," 24th March, 1117.

[4] Eadmer, 239–243. The Archbishop was entertained by Henry V. for a week in his camp outside Rome, and probably witnessed his entry into Rome with the Empress Matilda, which took place on the 16th March; Milman. Eadmer again accompanied the Archbishop. [5] So Wm. of Malmesbury remarks, *G. P.* s. 70.

CHAPTER XIX

HENRY I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1116–1123

Affairs in Normandy—War with France—Revolts of Norman Barons—Death of Queen Matilda—Battle of Brémule—Peace with France and Pacification of Normandy—Homage done for Normandy—Loss of the White Ship—The King's Son Drowned—The King's Second Marriage

IN the course of 1116, not long after Henry's landing in Normandy, hostilities with France broke out again, through the misconduct of the King's nephew, Theobald of Blois, styled 'Count Palatine.'

Hostilities with France.

The sons of his sister Adela seemed doomed to be their uncle's snares. But on this occasion he had only himself to blame. William II. Count of Nevers had been attending the King of France in an expedition against an excommunicated robber baron, one Thomas of Marle, son of the Sire de Coucy. On his way home the Count, venturing to pass through the territories of Theobald, was seized and imprisoned. Louis demanded redress, but Henry, instead of coming forward to see justice done, drew the sword on his nephew's behalf, plunging into border warfare against France.[1]

Misconduct by Theobald of Blois.

Then Louis again took up the cause of young William of Normandy; and Baldwin VII. of Flanders and Fulk of Anjou joined in supporting him. The marriage of Fulk's daughter to Henry's son had not been celebrated; and a coolness had come over their relations. Next summer (1117) Louis and Baldwin assumed the offensive, and crossed the border in force, making one day's march into Normandy, and then camping for the night. Next morning they found Henry, with the Count of Brittany and Theobald of Blois, so well prepared to receive them that they went to the right about, and retired without fighting.[2] But what with the marching and countermarching of armies, and the levying of taxes for the war, the Duchy suffered considerably.[3]

Louis Supports young William of Normandy.

In 1118 the plot thickened. Feudalism, held in check in England by

[1] Orderic, 858, 859; Chron.; Sismondi, *France*, citing *Hist. Epp. Autissiod.* Bouquet, XII. 302, and notes there, from which it appears that Count William had been seized before 1116, and was in the keeping of a *Mansel*, Hugh Constable of Condé.

[2] H. Hunt.; Chron.[3] *Id.*

the understanding between the King and people, was still rampant in Normandy. The claims of Robert's son received widespread support, and Henry found himself surrounded by vassals only waiting for an opportunity to turn against him. Private questions also, as so often happened, helped to complicate the situation. On the 18th April, William Count of Evreux died, without issue, whereupon his sister's son, Amaury of Montfort, claimed to succeed him. But Henry would not listen to his request, so Amaury declared war, and led the forces of the French Vexin to afflict Evreux.[1] A very disgraceful defection was that of Hugh of Gournay (son of Gerard), a man whom Henry had knighted, and promoted, and fostered as a son. Having married his sister to Nigel of Aubigni (*de Albinneo*), a man recommended by Henry, Hugh on the very same day revolted, and began ravaging the districts of Talou and Caux. In this he was acting in concert with his neighbours, Henry of Eu and Stephen of Aumâle, now both among Henry's enemies. We are told that eighteen barons were in revolt.[2] Encouraged by this state of things the Count of Anjou was induced to advance to the border of Normandy, and in the last week of July laid siege to La Motte-Gautier de Clinchamp,[3] a fortress near Alençon. Henry hastened in force to Alençon. But he was obliged to act with extreme caution, contenting himself with keeping his adversaries in check, to prevent concentration. Thus he made no attempt to relieve La Motte, and on the 1st August the place fell. Satisfied with this triumph, Fulk razed the castle and went home. The King then, by way, we may suppose, of strengthening his frontier towards Anjou, invested his nephew Stephen, already Count of Mortain,[4] with all the forfeited possessions of Robert of Bellême, including Séez, Alençon, and La Roche-Mabille.[5] The step proved a mistake. Stephen behaved very tyrannically, oppressed and insulted the men of Alençon, and before long drove them to rebellion.[6]

Discontent of Norman Lords.

Extensive Conspiracy.

The Count of Anjou in Arms.

The next point to which Henry was summoned was Laigle. Richer, young Lord of the place, had been pressing for English estates held by his father; the King demurring, Richer called in Louis. Henry hastened to Laigle, to find the castle in the hands of the French, and the town in ashes (3–4 Sept.).[7] Before he could do anything to retrieve this loss an attack on Rouen by Hugh of Gournay and Stephen of Aumâle was reported. Henry turned back at once to defend his capital. The rumour turned out to be unfounded, but, as if to avenge the fright

Richer of Laigle.

Alarm at Rouen.

[1] Orderic, 843. [2] *Id.* 843, 844.

[3] Orne, "Motam Galterii"; Ord. 844. The place was destroyed shortly after; Prevost, note to Ord. [4] Ord. 847; *Grandes Chroniques*, III. 304.

[5] "Cum Rupe de Jalgeio"; Ord.; Le Prevost. [6] Ord. 844, 845, 847.

[7] Orderic, 845. The French kept Laigle for a year.

he had received, he led his forces to harry their lands in Brai. He did much mischief, but his movements were impeded by floods of rain. Then within the month (September) he had to meet an invasion by Count Baldwin, who advanced to Arques, harrying whatever there was to harry. Unwilling to risk an action, Henry shut himself up in Bures. We are told that his army was composed of Bretons and Englishmen—Normans he could not trust. While skirmishing round Bures Count Baldwin received a wound, which proved mortal. He was carried to Aumâle, and from thence to his own dominions, where he died in June (1119).

The desultory character of these attacks on Henry need not be pointed out; the malcontent barons had no man to unite them. But we are told that the King was in great distress, surrounded by traitors, and not knowing whom he could trust.[1] On the 5th October we have a Grand Council at Rouen. Grand Council at Rouen, attended mainly, if not solely, by ecclesiastics, to discuss measures for restoring peace. But while the King was listening to a Legate from the new Pope, Gelasius,[2] descanting on his needs, and inveighing against the Emperor and his doings,[3] Evreux was betrayed to Amaury of Montfort. Henry made no imme- Loss of Evreux diate attempt to recover Evreux, but in the second week of November he led a force to Laigle. In a sally made by the garrison Count Theobald was unhorsed, but rescued by his brother and the King. Henry was in the thick of the *mêlée*, and was struck on the head by a stone; but his helmet saved him from injury. The troubled year And Alençon. ended with the loss of Alençon, in spite of a vigorous effort to avert the blow. The men of the place, driven to extremities by Stephen's ill-usage, had called in the Count of Anjou, using as a go-between Ernulf of Montgomery, the brother of their former lord, Bellême. Fulk was admitted to the town, the castle holding out against him. Henry once more called out his forces, sending on the brothers Theobald and Stephen in advance. But Fulk repelled their assaults, and before the King could come up the castle had surrendered, their supply of water, brought underground from the Sarthe, having been cut off.[4]

For Louis' share in the action of the year, we have only one incident to record, but that a little enterprise of an adventurous character. Henry had seized the fort of Saint Clair-sur-Epte, on the French side of Enterprise of King Louis. the river. Louis retaliated by crossing the Epte to a place known as Le Vey, or Gué Nicaise,[5] with a party of knights dis-

[1] Ord. 843, 846.

[2] Pascal II. died 18th or 21st January, 1118, H. Nicolas; 19th January, Flor. Cont. On the 25th January John of Gaeta was elected Pope, and took the style of Gelasius II. *Id.*, and Ord. 842.

[3] Ord. 846. Archbishop Ralph was present, being on his way back from Rome.

[4] Orderic, 847.

[5] "Vadum Nigasii quod Vani vulgo vocatur"; Ord: "Le Gué-Nicaise"; *Grandes Chron. St. Denys*, III. 305; Now Gasny, on the west bank of the Epte, near La Roche, Guyon; note, Paulin. Paris.

guised as monks and peasants. The village having been occupied, the convent there of Saint-Ouen was promptly converted into a barrack, and ere long, we are told, became a mere den of thieves. Henry coming promptly to the rescue was content to mask the place with two petty forts, on which the French vented their scorn in contemptuous nicknames —"Mal-assis," 'Treuil de Lievre.' [1]

The reader will notice the personal part in leading their men into action that had to be taken by the rulers of the period. In the course of the adventures of this single year (1118) we have had the Kings of England and France, and the Count of Flanders, all engaged in hand to hand encounters; and in one of these affairs the last named was wounded unto death.

In England within the year two important personages had passed away, their deaths, apart from the imposition of 'gelds,' and notes on the weather, being about the only incidents recorded. On the 1st May Queen Matilda died at Westminster[2]; and on the 5th June, Robert of Beaumont Count of Meulan and Earl of Leicester, was laid to his rest. His political sagacity, persuasive speech, and unshaken fidelity had kept him in the wonderful position of prime favourite during two successive reigns. He was not however on good terms with the clergy, refusing even on his death-bed to make restitution of lands claimed by them. That pious work he bequeathed to his sons, to be done by them for the good of their father's soul.[3] The Earl's hostility to the English, which was well known,[4] implies that his master's domestic policy also must have been essentially Norman. Robert left two sons, between whom his honours were divided, Waleran, the eldest, becoming Count of Meulan, Robert, the younger, Earl of Leicester.

Death of Queen Matilda and of Count Meulan.

Matilda had not been in the habit of following the King in his perigrinations. The atmosphere of his court could not be very congenial to a woman of her pious ways. She lived mostly at Westminster, but in great state, with visitors and callers flocking in and out from morning till night; and she quite took her part in public affairs. We have seen her corresponding with Anselm and the Pope; we saw her presiding at the Council in September, 1116;[5] in the previous year she had accompanied the King to St. Albans at Christmas, to assist at the dedication of the Abbey Church.[6] She is described as being fairly good-looking,[7] of spotless reputation, and winning manners. Music and poetry were her delight, and she lavished gifts upon artists and performers

Character and Habits of the Queen.

[1] "Trulla Leporis," *i.e.*, 'Hares' Form;' Ord. 842; Suger, *Vita Lud.* 98–100; *Grandes Chron.: sup.*

[2] Chron.; Flor. Cont.; Eadmer.

[3] See W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 407; and H. Hunt. *Hist.* A.D. 1118, and *De Contemptu Mund.* 306. [4] Ord. [5] Eadmer, 239. [6] Chron.; R. Wendover.

[7] "Non usquequaque despicabilis formæ."

to an extent that made her rather hard upon her tenants.[1] Foreigners were especially welcome. Attendance at daily and hourly church-services probably occupied much of her time, as with so many women of rank in the Middle Ages.[2]

With Laigle, Evreux, and Alençon in the hands of the French and Angevins, matters looked ill for Henry at the beginning of 1119. Some more defections followed, or rather were attempted, one attended by ghastly incidents, almost too horrible to tell.

Further Defections in Normandy.

Eustace, a natural son of William of Breteuil (the son of William fitz-Osbern) had been admitted by Henry to his father's possessions, and married to his own illegitimate daughter, Juliana, as above stated. But Ivry,[3] a castle on the Border line, had been kept in hand under the charge of one Ralph Harenc, a trusty knight. Eustace was instigated to press for the cession of the place. The King put him off with fair words, and by way of binding him and Ralph to keep the peace, gave Ralph's son to Eustace, and Eustace's two daughter's by Juliana to Ralph, as mutual hostages. The plan turned out very badly. Eustace, in an evil hour, allowed himself to be persuaded by Amaury of Montfort, who simply wanted to embroil him with Henry, to put out the eyes of Ralph's son, the boy being then sent back to his father. He in a fury went to Henry, who gave him permission, as an act of justice, to do the like by Eustace's little girls, his own granddaughters. Of course Eustace and Juliana flew to arms. Eustace took charge of Pacy[4] and other holds, sending Juliana to take the command at Breteuil. But the townspeople, not caring for war with the King, sent for Henry and received him into the town. Juliana was then besieged in the castle. Still thirsting for vengeance, she asked for an interview with her father, apparently on the draw-bridge, and then attempted to shoot him with a crossbow. The bolt missed its mark, but the castle was starved out, and Juliana only allowed to go free on condition of submitting to the indignity of wading through the water of the half-frozen moat naked to her waist (Feb. 16–22, 1119). Eustace held out at Pacy, but all his other places were given to his cousin Ralph of Wader, the younger.[5]

Ralph Harenc and Juliana of Breteuil.

Threatened risings at Exmes (Orne), Courcy, and Grand-Mesnil[6] were averted by the King's promptitude; but Les Andelys, on the right bank of the Seine, was won by Louis through the machinations of one Ascelin, son of Andrew, a discontented man

Loss of Les Andelys.

[1] See Anselm's letter rebuking her for her treatment of churches 'in her hand,' *i.e.*, assigned or farmed to her as part of her income; *Ep. IV.* No. 54.

[2] See W. Malm., *G.R.* s. 418. The work was published only seven years after the Queen's death.

[3] Ivry-La-Bataille; Eure.

[4] On the Eure, and in the Department of that name.

[5] Ord. 848, 849. There is no warrant for the allegation that Henry himself put out the eyes of his grand-daughters. Orderic clearly states that Ralph Harenc did it, but by the King's permission.

[6] Both in Calvados on the Dives; the former near Coulibœuf, and the latter near St. Pierre.

of the place, whose quarrel, by the way, was not with Henry, but with Geoffrey, the Archbishop of Rouen. Having arranged plans with the French King at Pontoise, he introduced a party of picked men to Andelys by night, concealing them in the straw of his barn. Next morning the place was thrown into confusion by the appearance of a French force. Ascelin's men mingled with the crowd, shouting ostentatiously the English war cry,[1] and so pressed into the castle.[2] Once inside, they changed their note, crying *Montjoie!* turning out the natives, and holding the place till Louis was master of the town. Among those found taking refuge in the church was Richard, one of the King's natural sons. Louis dismissed him and his comrades in peace.[3]

The possession of Andelys gave Louis a great command over the Norman Vexin,[4] which now became the scene of the chief struggle, and so between the two parties was ere long reduced to a 'solitude.'

But the tide was on the turn. Henry's prudent conduct of the war was beginning to tell, while the strength of his position was becoming more and more apparent. To the West of the Seine he had a series of towns and strongholds—Rouen, Caen, Bayeux, Coutances, Avranches, Falaise, Argentan, Exmes, Séez, Tillières, Nonancourt, Ivry, Vernon; while even on the East of the Seine he had Arques, Fécamp, and Lillebonne. Many of these places were in hand, under trusty captains, in the King's pay. The length of his purse gave him this advantage. Nor was he destitute of influential supporters. Richard Earl of Chester (Viscount of Avranches), his cousin Ralph of Bricquessart Viscount of Bayeux, William of Warenne Earl of Surrey, Walter Giffard III. Earl of Bucks, the two young Beaumonts Waleran and Robert, Ralph of Conches, William of Roumare,[5] Nigel of Aubigni,[6] stood by him. Attempted risings were promptly suppressed, and men began to come in. Henry then turned to negotiation, always his favourite resource. He made overtures to Amaury of Montfort, apparently offering him the county of Evreux without the town. The proposal was rejected with scorn.

Henry's prudent and successful management.

Fulk of Anjou was more open to terms. The King having intimated a willingness to go on with the marriage of their children, the Count asked for nothing more. In May the young Ætheling was brought to Normandy, and in June[7] he was married to Matilda at Lisieux.[8] Fulk was present, and at his request the King received William Talevas, the son of Bellême, into favour, and reinstated him in his father's possessions, including Alençon. From that fact

Marriage of the King's Son to Matilda of Anjou.

[1] "Regale signum Anglorum cum plebe vociferantes," etc.

[2] "Ad munitionem cucurrerunt." [3] Ord. 849.

[4] *i.e.* the territory between the Seine, the Andelle, and the Epte: *Grandes Chron.* III. 308. In fact practically that part of the Department of Eure which lies to the East of the Seine. [5] Seine Inf., near Rouen. [6] See Ord. 850, 851.

[7] The date of the marriage is not very clearly marked. Malmesbury, *G. R.* p. 482,

we may gather that the Count had surrendered the place in honour of the marriage, as when we last heard of it, it was in his hands.

The wedding festivities over, the King, about July, drew the sword to clear his Duchy of enemies. The recovery of Evreux was naturally the first thing to be aimed at.[1] To facilitate his operations against the castle, Henry deliberately fired the town, burning it from end to end, a quasi-consent having been extorted from the bishop by a promise to rebuild the churches on a grander scale.[2] If the church would be saved harmless, the clergy were only too apt to ignore all other considerations. The ruthless act proved of no avail, the garrison in the castle being no way hampered thereby. The command was with Philip and Fleury, sons of the late King Philip by Bertrade, and so nephews of Amaury of Montfort, Henry's bitter enemy. Liberal offers were made to them, but without success. Henry then retired from Evreux; but after a few days we are told that he suddenly reappeared one evening, and in the course of the night, by torchlight, he constructed a stronghold, in which a substantial garrison was placed. But these men had enough to do to resist the daily assaults of Amaury and Eustace of Breteuil, established at Pacy, some twelve miles off.[3]

Siege of Evreux.

The scene of action then shifts again to the unfortunate Norman Vexin. We hear of Louis marching against Dangu, on the Epte, near Gisors. Determined not to submit, the commander, one Robert by name, fired the castle and marched off, leaving the bare walls to the French. An attack on another fortress, Châteauneuf on the Epte,[4] was repulsed. Amaury was pressing for help to Evreux, but Louis had some business to transact at home, and when that was disposed of he returned to Andelys. Raiding in the Vexin seemed to have an equal attraction for Henry, as we hear of his devastating the country round Pont-Saint-Pierre, on the Andelle.[5] On the morning of the 20th August

Operations in the Vexin.

connects it with the homage to Louis; that would bring it to the year 1120, and there are passages in Orderic which seem to support that view. But the statement at p. 851 that the news of the death of Count Baldwin of Flanders reached Lisieux during the wedding festivities seems to fix the event to the year 1119. It also appears that Count Fulk was present at the marriage (*Ib.*). But in June, 1120, he was in, or on his way to, Palestine, having left home 26th April, 1120, to return 24th September, 1121; Le Prevost, Ord. IV. 423.

[3] "Apud Luxovium," Ord. 851. This name with the writer means Lisieux, though Lexovium would be more correct. See Le Prevost's notes. Mr. Freeman makes it Luxeuil, an impossibility.

[1] Orderic introduces first a raid to Pont-Saint-Pierre in the Norman Vexin; but, as he is often inexact in his sequence of events, I venture to connect the expedition with later operations in that quarter. [2] Ord. 852, 859. [3] Ord. 852, 853.

[4] "Novum castrum . . . apud Fascellimontem prope Eptam"; on the right bank of the river; Le Prevost.

[5] Ord. 851. The writer places this incident earlier, but I think that it should come in here. Pont-Saint-Pierre was a possession of the house of Breteuil; Le Prevost.

he attended mass at Noyon, also on the Andelle, a place that he had fortified when Andelys was taken by Louis.[1] After mass, in ignorance of Louis' presence at Andelys, he marched out towards Étrepagny, ravaging the country, and sending his booty back to Lyons-la-Forêt. Suddenly scouts posted on a commanding height called Verclive,[2] reported the appearance of an armed force making as for Noyon. That same morning Louis, as happily ignorant of Henry's movements as Henry was of his, had left Andelys for an attack on Noyon. It was said that he often complained that he could never find Henry in the field. The English in turn having been descried by the French, the state of affairs was soon realized on either side. But on either side the propriety of risking their King in action was discussed. In both armies, however, the spirit of chivalry carried the day in favour of battle.

Battle of Brémule.

Henry descended from the heights of Verclive to face the enemy in the fields of a farm called Brémule,[3] on the high road from Paris to Rouen. He had with him his natural sons Robert and Richard; three Earls, namely, Henry of Eu, who had returned to his allegiance, William of Warenne and Surrey, and Walter Giffard of Bucks, besides William of Tancarville, William of Roumare,[4] Roger of Bienfaite,[5] son of Richard, Nigel of Aubigny, while a stalwart from England, Edward of Salisbury the younger,[6] bore the Royal Standard. Five hundred men made up the force. Louis had young William of Normandy, and some four hundred men in all.

In preparing for action, we are told that Henry kept a hundred men on horseback, under his son Richard, to act as might be required,[7] while he himself and the rest dismounted to fight on foot, but all, on either side, are described as heavy-armed, mail-clad, men-at-arms.[8] The French all kept on horseback, a practice to which, in spite of endless reverses, we shall find them adhering for centuries to come. The *noblesse* would not stoop to fighting on foot. Apparently they were divided into three if not four squadrons. Among the leaders were William of Garlande, Seneschal of France, Matthew Count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, Guy Count

[1] "Apud Noionem"; "Nogione." Between Lyons-la-Forêt and Andelys. The place must not be confounded with Noyon in the Oise, seventy miles off.

[2] "Montem qui Quarcliva nuncupatur."

[3] "Prope montem (*sc.* Quarclivam) planities quæ ab incolis Brenmula vocitatur." So the MS. of Orderic; but in Duchesne's text the name is misread "Brenvilla." See Le Prevost's note, Orderic IV. 356.

[4] Both Tancarville and Roumare are in Seine Inférieure.

[5] I take this man to have been son of the Conqueror's Justiciar. He was lord of Le Hommet, given in exchange for Brionne; Le Prevost, *sup.*

[6] "Fortis agonista, cujus robur erat probatione notissimus." His father Edward had been Sheriff of Wilts at the time of Domesday, and his grandson Patrick became Earl of Salisbury in the next reign; J. G. Nichols, *Arch. Instit.* 1849, pp. 213–317; Doyle; Freeman.

[7] "Centum milites, equis insidentes, ad bellum parati erant."

[8] "Milites ferme nongenti . . . Ferro undique vestiti."

of Clermont (Oise), Bouchard III. of Montmorency (Seine et Oise), Paien of Montjai (Seine et Marne), William Crispin of Étrepagny.[1] The French van, consisting of eighty men, led by Crispin, gallantly charged Henry's footmen, but their horses were speedily disabled, and the whole band surrounded and overpowered. Crispin, who bore the king a deadly personal hate, cut his way to him, and struck him a furious blow on the head with his sword. Again the iron skull-cap saved the king. Crispin was immediately unhorsed and secured by Roger of Bienfaite, when a curious scene ensued, Roger having to shield his captive with his own body from the fury of the king's attendants, who would have despatched him on the spot. Roger, of course, wanted Crispin's ransom, not his life. Meanwhile the second French line was pressing forward to continue the struggle. Their impact drove the English, or Normans, as perhaps we ought to say,[2] back somewhat, but not very far, the foot-soldiers again disabling the horses, and securing the leading knights. Louis was then advised to seek safety in flight, and did as he was told. The whole force broke up, each man making off his own way. Louis eventually found himself alone in a wood, and had to ask the way to Andelys. He placed himself under the guidance of a peasant, who, unconscious of the rank and "money-value" of the man he was escorting, brought him safely in. The pursuit was kept up to the gates of Andelys, not for slaughter, but for capture of prisoners. Of these 140 fell into the hands of the victors, while altogether only three men were said to have been killed. Peter of Maule[3] and others were said to have effected their escape by throwing away their personal cognizances, shouting the Norman war cry, and affecting to join in the pursuit.[4] Louis' banner was taken, and bought for 20 marks (£13 6*s.* 8*d.*) from the man who had taken it by Henry, who kept the trophy. But with Royal courtesy[5] he returned a horse and trappings belonging to the French King, while the Ætheling did the like by a palfrey belonging to his cousin William. In his treatment of prisoners Henry showed a politic discrimination. Men of double allegiance, owing suit to Louis as well as to himself, were set free, but his proper vassels were kept in bonds.[6]

Narrow Escape of King Henry.

Rout of the French.

Henry's talents are usually represented as being of a purely pacific

[1] For notes on these men see Le Provost, Ord. IV. 356, etc.

[2] Orderic speaks in one place of "Angli," and in another of "Normanni."

[3] Seine et Oise.

[4] "Cognitiones suas projecerunt . . . signum triumphantium vociferati sunt." It will not be suggested that the French tried to conceal their nationality by shouting English war cries.

[5] "Ceu Regem decuit."

[6] Orderic, 853–855. Henry of Huntingdon gives a different account; Malmesbury just notices the victory; *G.R.* s. 405; the other writers ignore the battle.

order.[1] But it seems clear that his ability showed itself equally in the conduct of warfare. We have noticed his prudent generalship during the irregular operations of the trying year 1118. Now we find him bringing infantry forward as his principal force with cavalry as an auxiliary arm, novel and original tactics already adopted by him to a certain extent at Tinchebrai. The case of William Crispin illustrates the regard paid to the rights of those who have taken a man prisoner in battle. Crispin was in arms against his lord, in the very act of attempting his life. He was clearly guilty of High Treason, yet the King's right to have him tried as such gave way to the private rights of his captor. Of course, the King could have bought him from his captor, as in a memorable case the English bought the Maid of Orleans from the Duke of Burgundy.

Henry's Talents as a General.

Beaten and dispirited, Louis returned to Paris; but the energetic counsels of Amaury of Montfort persuaded him to call out mass levies for a fresh effort. We are told that lawless bands from all parts of Gaul responded, plundering right and left as they came. What else they did does not appear. Louis himself had a force drawn from Artois and the borders of Flanders to attack Breteuil, the operation recommended by de Montfort (17th Sept.). But Ralph of Wader, who held the place, kept him gallantly at bay till reinforcements came up, first under the King's son Richard, and then under the King himself. At his coming Louis raised the siege. An attempt on Tillières[2] proved utterly abortive. The siege of Breteuil was distinguished by sundry acts of knightly prowess. On one day Ralph threw open all his gates, and invited the French to walk in. Nobody responded. A march through central Normandy enabled the King to stamp out some petty centres of disaffection. Richer of Laigle made his peace and was admitted to all the family estates, English as well as Norman.[3] But Eustace of Breteuil, Amaury of Montfort, Hugh of Gournay, Stephen of Aumâle, and some others were still defiant.[4]

Fresh Efforts of the French.

At this juncture the attention of the Western world was diverted to a Papal Council at Rheims. Gelasius II., elected in succession to Pascal, in January, 1118, unable to maintain his position at Rome in opposition to Henry V., had crossed the Alps to die at Cluny (29th January, 1119).[5] The Cardinals in attendance on him held a hasty Conclave, and, three or four days later, elected Guy Archbishop of Vienne, who took the style of Calixtus II.[6] The new Pontiff was a man of high connexions, son of William

Death of Gelasius II.

Calixtus II. Pope.

[1] So from the time of Orderic, who calls him "Rex pacificus."

[2] This place was held by another Crispin, Gilbert by name, who was loyal; Orderic, note, Le Prevost. [3] Orderic, 855-857. [4] *Id.* 864.

[5] *Id.* 848; Milman; Sismondi.

[6] 1st February, 1119, H. Nicolas; Sismondi; 2nd February, Ord. 848; Milman.

Tête-Hardie, Count of Burgundy, uncle of Adelaide[1] of Savoy, the wife of Louis-Le-Gros, descended through his grandmother from Richard II. of Normandy,[2] and a strong churchman. He had presided at the Council of Vienne in September, 1112, when Henry V. was excommunicated for having extorted the right of investiture from Pascal II.[3] Fifteen archbishops and two hundred bishops from all parts of Europe appeared at Rheims in October. Henry had not allowed his prelates to attend the Council held by a Legate at Chalons in 1115, but he could hardly refuse them permission to pay their respects to the Pope in person. At the same time he was careful to define the conditions under which they were allowed to go. They must not bring before the assembly personal complaints of any kind.[4] He himself was prepared to do full justice to all his subjects. Peter's Pence he had paid, and would pay, but his own rights he would maintain. 'Go ye, greet the Holy Father from me, and listen humbly to the Apostolic words, but bring no uncalled for novelties into my realm.'[5] Henry's efforts, however, failed to prevent the Pope from consecrating the pertinacious Thurstan of York as a preliminary to the meeting of the Council.[6] When the assembly was fairly constituted (21st October), King Louis came forward to prefer his chapter of grievances against Henry. He had invaded Normandy, a fief of France; had ill-treated and incarcerated his brother and overlord, Robert of Normandy, King Louis' 'man'; had disinherited Robert's son, there present among them; had arrested Robert of Bellême when on an embassy from himself; had instigated and abetted Theobald of Blois in all his misdeeds. Calixtus pacified him by promising to see Henry after the end of the Council. The decrees enacted included a republication of the Truce of God (*Treuia Dei*) in the extended form promulgated by Urban in the Council of Clermont, that is to say, forbidding operations of war not merely from sunset on Saturdays to sunrise on Mondays, but from Advent to the Octaves of the Epiphany, from Septuagesima Sunday to the Octaves of Easter, from Rogation Sunday to the Octaves of Pentecost, and throughout the year from sunset on Wednesdays to sunrise on Mondays, an impossible amount of restriction.[7] Sweeping prohibitions were also issued against

Council at Rheims.

Louis' Charges against Henry.

Truce of God.

[1] Ord. calls him 'Dux Burgdn.,' "but the Burgundy meant is the Imperial Palatinate, not the French Duchy"; *N. C.* V. 191. [2] Ord., 848; Sismondi, *France*, V. 150.

[3] See Milman, III. 291, etc., and H. Nicolas.

[4] "Omnino ne alicujus modi querimoniam alterutrum facerent prohibuit."

[5] "Superfluas adinventiones;" Ord. 857, 858.

[6] Sunday, 19th Oct.; *Id.* For Thurstan's affair in full, see Eadmer, 237, 238, 244, 249–259; Chron.; T. Stubbs, 1715, 1716. He was immediately ordered to leave Henry's dominions. The extent to which he was to be subject to Canterbury was apparently not clearly defined by Calixtus. "Ne . . . vaeluti magistro sed quasi coepiscopo subjiceretur." Conf Eadmer.

[7] Orderic 860, 719. In the so-called *Laws of Eadward the Confessor*, c. 3 (1130–1150), the weekly truce is only given as from Saturday to Monday.

simony, lay investiture, and clerical marriage; while the Emperor and his Anti-pope Burdino, Archbishop of Braga in Portugal, were again excommunicated.[1]

The Pope was as good as his word. When the Council rose he went to Gisors, the border fortress (November 20–27 ?)[2] Henry received him with all distinction, falling at his feet (*ad pedes pronus accessit*). Calixtus raised him, and gave him his blessing, and the kiss of peace. To the Pope's humble request—given as from the Council—for the release of Duke Robert, and his reinstatement and that of his son, Henry's answer was clear. The deposition of Robert was a necessity, demanded by his own subjects, and specially by the clergy; his deposition involved his detention, but he was not ill-treated; he was established in a Royal Castle (apparently Devizes), surrounded with luxury and comforts.[3] With respect to his attitude towards Robert's son, Henry's explanations were not quite so satisfactory. Of course young William's case went with that of his father, but the King thought it right to assure the Pope that he had been anxious to bring up his nephew along with his own son; that he had offered him an English Earldom, but that Hélie of Saint Saens, misreading his intentions, had carried him off to strange lands. With respect to Theobald's misconduct in detaining the Count of Nevers he promised to intervene. Finally, with exquisite diplomatic effrontery, he begged the Holy Father to convey once more to his other nephew, William, the offer of a peaceful home in England.[4]

Henry's Diplomacy.

With Henry manifesting such excellent dispositions Louis could no longer hold back from peace. His allies were gone. Anjou had been won over by Henry, and the new Count of Flanders, Charles 'the Good,'[5] had also entered into friendly relations with England. Normandy had been finally pacified. Henry had kept up the siege of Evreux, till Amaury of Montfort condescended to accept the terms already offered, but hitherto rejected, namely, the county of Evreux without the castle. Theobald, 'the Count Palatine,'[6] negotiated this arrangement. Then the unfortunate Eustace and Juliana of Breteuil threw themselves in abject submission at the King's feet. They met with a chilling, in fact a harsh reception, but were allowed to return to Pacy with a promise of a pension in lieu of Breteuil. That possession was left in the keeping of Ralph of Wader, to be made over by him with the hand

Peace with France.

[1] Orderic, 863. He gives a graphic account of the opening proceedings, which he must have witnessed. See also Eadmer, *sup.*; Symeon, *R.H.* s. 197; and Flor. Cont.

[2] See Le Prevost, Ord. IV. 398, 406.

[3] "Abundantiam ciborum et aliarum deliciarum variamque supellectilem." A good table again seems the chief indulgence for which credit is claimed. [4] Orderic, 864–866.

[5] Nephew to the late Baldwin, the Seventh, by his sister married to Saint Cnut of Denmark; W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 261; Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 687.

[6] This title apparently went with the county of Champagne; the title was derived from the days of the later Empire; Le Prevost.

of his daughter, Amicia, to the King's son, Richard.[1] The last man to submit was Stephen of Aumâle, his wife Hadwise or Havoise of Mortemer keeping him up to the mark. An army had to be led against him, and then he gave way.[2]

Pacification of Normandy.

At some time in 1120 peace with France was proclaimed, to the immense joy of the afflicted peasantry on either side of the border. Mutual restitution of castles and prisoners was the basis of the settlement, and Henry was at last induced to do homage for Normandy—if he had not done so before—not, however in person, but through his son William.[3] This recognition it suited him to yield, because it implied the acceptance of the Ætheling, and the rejection of the other William, Robert's son.

Homage done for Normandy.

Successful and triumphant, with all his adversaries overcome, and his position at home and abroad thoroughly established, Henry after an absence of four years and a half prepared to return to England. On the evening of Thursday, 25th November, he embarked at Barfleur, reaching his destination next day. But his hopes for the future had already been dashed by a terrible blow. His son William, with the junior members of the court circle, had established themselves on board of a smart new vessel of fifty oars,[4] called *La Blanche Nef*, or 'the White Ship.'[5] As a preparation for the voyage the Ætheling and his young friends amused themselves with plying the sailors with wine, till the whole crew were more or less intoxicated. Stephen of Blois, two monks from Tiron, and some other prudent persons, finding themselves in noisy company, removed to another vessel.[6] It would seem in spite of assertions to the contrary that the night was dark;[7] anyhow the drunken crew, making efforts to overtake the King's ship, ran their own ship on a rock,[8] when she filled and sank with all on board. Geoffrey, younger brother of Richer of Laigle, and a butcher from Rouen, by name Berold, got hold of the yard-arm. After a while Geoffrey, unable to stand the cold, dropped off; the butcher, clad in a

The Loss of the White Ship.

The King's Son Drowned.

[1] Richard died before the marriage was celebrated. After his death Amicia married Robert of Beaumont II., Earl of Leicester; Ord.

[2] Orderic, 863, 864, 867.

[3] *Id.* 866; Symeon, *H.R.* s. 199; Chron. According to Suger homage had been done in 1113. See above, 272.

[4] Ord.; Symeon.

[5] "Candida Navis," Ord.; "Blanche Nef," *Roman de Rou* (marginal summary).

[6] Orderic. He also names among those who thus escaped William of Roumare, afterwards Earl of Lincoln; Eadward of Salisbury, the Standard-bearer at Brémule; and Rabel of Tancarville, the Chamberlain. See notes, Le Prevost.

[7] Orderic asserts that the night was clear, and the 19th of the moon, or 5 days after the full, when she would shine at 9 p.m. But M. Le Prevost in his ed. of Ord. (IV. 414, cited Pearson), asserts that the 25th Nov., 1120, was just after the new moon. Wace too says "neir ert le temps," II. 348.

[8] R. Hoveden has preserved the name of the rock, or rather reef of rocks, "Chaterase," now Raz de Gatteville, about 1½ miles from Barfleur.

sheepskin jacket, held on and was rescued. According to one account a boat was launched with the Ætheling in it, who might have been saved, had he not insisted on turning back to take in his natural sister the Countess of Perche, whose cries he heard.[1] The losses, besides the king's only legitimate son William, included his natural son Richard, and his natural daughter Matilda, wife of Rotrou of Mortagne, otherwise Count of Perche; Richard Earl of Chester, with his wife Matilda, sister of Count Theobald, and niece to the King; and the Earl's brother Ottuel, governor of the King's sons.[2] As a fifth scion of Royalty lost we have a young Dietrich (*Theodoricus*), nephew (*nepos*) of the Emperor.[3] Among the lesser personages were two sons of Yvo of Grand-Mesnil, their cousin William of Rhuddlan (son of Robert), William Bigod, Geoffrey Riddel,[4] Hugh of Moulins, Gilbert of Exmes, Ralph "Le Roux" of Pont Echanfré. From 200 to 300 souls in all were supposed to have perished. Very few of the bodies were recovered, a circumstance that to the mind of the period added greatly to the horrors of the casualty, as the victims passed away without Christian burial.[5]

Other Personages Lost.

A shipwreck with all hands lost is but too common a disaster; but the case of the White Ship stands alone for the rank of those who went down with her. When the news reached England the King's attendants kept it from him for a whole day. At last a boy, son of Count Theobald, was deputed to break the news to him. It was said that he fainted with agony at the shock.[6] According to some accounts he was never the same man afterwards. That the national mourning was great we cannot doubt. The

[1] So Wm. of Malmesbury. No other writer has this incident.

[2] The Earldom of Chester passed to Ralph of Briquessart, Viscount of Bayeux, surnamed "Meschin," of whom we heard at Tinchebrai, cousin to the late Earl, being son of his aunt Matilda, sister to Earl Hugh. Ralph was married to Lucy, a relict of Roger fitz Gerold of Roumare. This Lucy, a great *crux* to genealogists, was daughter and heiress of one Thorold or Turold, apparently an Angevin, who was Sheriff of Lincolnshire, founder of Spalding, and married to a daughter of William Malet. Lucy was first married to Ivo Taillebois, by whom she had no issue; then to Roger of Roumare, by whom she had a son William of Roumare, afterwards Earl of Lincoln; by Ralph she had another, Ralph "Gernons," who succeeded his father as Earl of Chester. On being admitted to Chester Ralph Meschin was required to surrender to the King the Honour of Carlisle, previously held by him, as well as some of his wife's estates in Lincolnshire, a source of trouble in the future. See Orderic, 871, 876; Symeon, *H.R.* Cont. p. 306; National MSS. of Scotland, No. 19. For Countess Lucy see the exhaustive paper by Mr. R. E. G. Kirk, *New Genealogist*, V. 60, 153.

[3] Probably a son of Henry V.'s sister Agnes by Frederic Duke of Suabia; Le Prevost.

[4] Son-in-law of Hugh, Earl of Chester; his widow Geva founded Canwell Priory in Staffordshire; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I. 104; Prevost.

[5] See Orderic, 867–870, by far the fullest account; also W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 419; Flor. Cont.; Eadmer, 288; Symeon, *H.R.* 199; Chron. Symeon gives the number of gentlemen lost (*militaris numeri*) as 140; Orderic estimated the total at 300.

[6] Ord. 869.

Ætheling was popular,[1] his succession could hardly be disputed—in itself a very great blessing—while again he was looked to as the green shoot that should fulfil the supposed prophecy of the Confessor, and inaugurate a new era.[2]

Apart from all feelings of parental affection, Henry's position undoubtedly suffered by the loss of his legitimate son. His only other lawful issue was a daughter; the succession of a woman would be an equal novelty in England or Normandy—sure to be contested—while the daughter in question was away in Germany, married to the Emperor, but childless. It seemed as if, after all, the great inheritance of the Conqueror would fall to Robert's son, a hateful contingency. Besides, if this William were once recognised as heir, his position as such would infallibly react on Henry's tenure of Normandy, if not of England. As the only thing to be done, Henry at once resolved to take another wife in hopes of a male heir.

Henry's Distress.

His Position Affected.

On the 6th January, 1121, a Grand Council was held in London, when the King took his subjects into his confidence, announcing his intentions, and asking for their approval of his choice. The lady towards whom his inclinations were turned was Adelaide,[3] beautiful daughter of Godfrey VII. Count of Louvain and Duke of Lower Lorraine.[4] Of course the assembly gave a hearty approval, and so, not many days later, the youthful Bride appeared at Dover. On the 29th January she was married to Henry, at Windsor, by the Bishop of Winchester, acting at the request of Archbishop Ralph, who was in weak health. Next day, being a Sunday, she was duly hallowed and crowned by the Archbishop in person.[5] The rites were interrupted for a moment by a hitch of a singular character. The *Introit* had been sung, and the Archbishop had ascended the steps of the altar to begin his part of the service, when he perceived that the King was sitting on his throne with his crown on, the crown not having been placed

He Marries Again.

Coronation of Adelaide at Windsor.

[1] Henry of Huntingdon thought that he had seen in young William the pride that goes before a fall; and he attacks his private character as well as that of the majority of the court (*Hist.* A.D. 1120, and *De Contempt. M.*, 303). But after all William was only just past seventeen years old, and could hardly have forfeited the interest taken in him as the heir of the Saxon line. [2] Malm. *sup.* p. 495.

[3] The modern "Adelaide" seems as faithful a rendering as any of the original German *Adelheid, i.e.* Nobleness. From this we have (*a*) Adelejd or Adelid (Ord.; H. Hunt), (*b*) Athelid (Eadmer; Flor. Cont.). The former has the support of the Queen's attestation of the Foundation Charter of Reading Abbey, *Signum Adeleidis*; and from this we have a shorter Aalid, also recognized by the Queen herself; *Sigillum Aalidis* (charter in possession of the Duke of Westminster). From Athelid we have Aðelis (Chron.), Aaliz (Chr. Melrose), or Aeliz (R. Monte). Adelin (Symeon; H. Hunt) runs off the line. Adela, Alice, and the French Adèle, and Alix, seem all from the same root. See Mr. Earle's note to his *Parallel Chronicles, ad. loc.*

[4] Eadmer, 290; Flor. Cont.; "Propter pulchritudinem"; H. Hunt.

[5] Eadmer, 290–293; Flor. Cont; Chron.; Sym. *H.R.* s. 200.

on his head by himself, Archbishop Ralph. Descending from the altar, he went up to the King, and asked who had presumed to crown him. Henry making an evasive answer, Ralph quietly undid the chin-strap,[1] took the crown from the Royal head, and then having asserted his prerogative by replacing it, went on with the service.[2] To console the Londoners, as we may suppose, for the loss of the wedding festivities, we hear that a court of extra grandeur was held at Westminster at Whitsuntide (29th May), when King and Queen wore their crowns in state.[3]

The youth and beauty of the Bride were attractions to which Henry would not be insensible. But we must not suppose that the match was destitute of political significance. Godfrey, apart from some outbreaks, had been on the whole true to his Imperial Overlord. The alliance with the Duke therefore offered a certain guarantee for the continuance of friendly relations with Germany. Again, the importance of an understanding with one whose territories hemmed in Flanders, and bordered upon France, need hardly be pointed out.[4]

Archbishop Thurstan

The Council held to arrange for the King's marriage brought Archbishop Thurstan's case to an end. He had made himself useful during the peace-negotiations of the previous year; the Pope had taken up his cause energetically;[5] and the King had been induced to overlook his previous offences. He was now given leave to return to England and take possession of the See of York, without taking the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a great triumph for the Northern clergy.[6]

Admitted to York.

No Oath of Canonical Obedience to Canterbury.

In the previous year our good Eadmer, the Historian, and Biographer of St. Anselm, a man of course devoted to the interests of Canterbury, had suffered a bitter disappointment, in which his brethren of the Southern Province would feel for him. The See of St. Andrew's in Scotland had apparently been vacant since the retirement and death of Turgot in 1115.[7] King Alexander wishing to have another Englishman as bishop, wrote in 1120 to Archbishop Ralph offering the appointment to Eadmer. Ralph, seeing a door opened for the extension of the influence of Canterbury, gave a ready consent, and obtained that of King Henry. Eadmer then went down to Scotland, and was duly elected on the 29th June. But a difficulty immediately arose as to his consecration, Eadmer demanding to be consecrated at Canterbury, while Alexander refused to subject his kingdom to the authority of the Southern Primate. Then Thurstan, who had been restored to favour,

Eadmer the Historian in Scotland.

[1] "Ansulam qua sub mento innodata erat corona." [2] Eadmer, *sup.*

[3] Chron.; H. Hunt. [4] On all this see Rössler, *Mathilde*, 60.

[5] See his letters in Migne, vol. 193, Nos. 26 and 44; also *Monasticon*, VI. 1185.

[6] Eadmer, 291; Sym. *H. R.* s. 202; T. Stubbs, 1716, 1717. The former hints at corruption in the *Curia*; Thurstan had obtained the Pope's support "more quo cuncta Romæ impetrantur."

[7] Symeon, *H. R. in anno*, and s. 162.

intervened, and induced Henry to withdraw his consent. The end of it was that Eadmer resigned his ring and crosier, and went back to Canterbury to resume his functions as chaplain or secretary to the Archbishop.[1]

A Papal Legate coming to England.

Another attempt at the introduction of a Papal Legate had now to be met. Calixtus II., encouraged by the success of his Council at Rheims, had re-crossed the Alps, meeting everywhere with a triumphant reception. The Anti-pope Maurice Burdino, otherwise Gregory VIII., fled from Rome at his coming (June, 1120), and next year falling into his hands (April, 1121) was consigned to a convent-prison for the rest of his days.[2] To strengthen his general position Calixtus now issued Legatine commissions right and left. One Peter, a monk, said to be son of the celebrated Peter Leonis,[3] the great supporter of the Papacy, was given authority over all 'Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and the Orkneys.' Henry met the threatened attack with his usual adroitness. According to Eadmer he had received from Calixtus in their interview at Gisors a promise that he would respect the customs of England, and in particular a pledge that he would never send a Legate to England during Henry's life, except at his request.[4] When the coming of the Legate was announced, Henry, instead of showing temper or threatening violent measures, sent the Bishop of St. David's over to Normandy to bring Peter to England with all ceremony, and at the King's expense.

Henry Baffles Him.

When they met, Henry dwelt on the promise that he had received from Calixtus, and his own determination to maintain his prerogatives. Under any circumstances the question of the Legate's reception could not be adequately discussed without a Grand Council of the realm, and that he could not summon at the time, as he was just bound on an expedition to Wales. The Legate seeing that Henry was too much for him departed as he had come.[5]

A Welsh Campaign.

The Welsh campaign of 1121, like that of 1114, was directed towards Powys, or Mid-Wales, and against the same set of men, namely Maredudd son of Bleddyn, and his nephews the sons of Cadwgan. The exact circumstances that stirred the King to action are not recorded;[6] but the native annals show clearly enough that the country had been kept in hot water by the feuds and wars between these

[1] See the story and documents in Eadmer, 279–288; also Haddan and Stubbs, II. 191–202. The Pope insisted on consecration by the Archbishop of York. Eadmer was apparently present at the King's wedding, and therefore must have returned by that time, *i.e.* January, 1121. [2] See Milman, *Latin C.* III. 315–317; Ord. 870.

[3] Peter son of Leo, a man of Jewish extraction, and great wealth, "who had an extraordinary influence over the people of Rome." At one time a partisan of the Anti-pope Guibert of Ravenna, he was afterwards steadily opposed to Henry V. See Milman, *sup.* 283, 285, 302. The younger Peter, the Legate, became Anacletus II. in 1130; below, 313. [4] *Hist. Nov.* 258. [5] Eadmer, 294–297.

[6] According to Symeon, *H. R.* s. 202, the Welsh thought that their opportunity had come when they heard of the death of the Earl of Chester, lost in the White Ship, and so began to break out at once.

men and their native competitors for power. A fresh element of disturbance had been introduced in 1115 by the return of Gruffudd, son of Rhys ap Tewdwr, the last King of South Wales, who had been in Ireland since the time of his father's death.[1] As in 1114, so now again when Henry drew near, the men of Powys turned for succour and a refuge to Gruffudd son of Cynan, who was still ruling in North Wales and Anglesey. But he had been keeping on good terms with Henry; he had sent one David to Westminster to be consecrated Bishop of Bangor in the previous year;[2] and he was not prepared to change his attitude towards England. In consequence, when Henry reached the borders of Powys, Maredudd and his nephews came in, and submitted to pay a fine of 10,000 head of cattle.[3]

Of the King's doings in 1122 almost the only thing that we hear is a progress to York, late in the year, followed by an excursion to Carlisle, where he ordered further fortifications to be built. In connexion with this we may notice the foundation of Norham Castle, established in the previous year by Bishop Flambard of Durham, on the Tweed, at a spot previously known as "Ethamesford."[4]

The King at Carlisle.

But the event of European interest by which the year 1122 will be remembered was the close of the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire over the question of the Investitures. Weary of the struggle both parties had seen the necessity of abandoning extreme claims. A preliminary treaty settled at Wurzburg agreed that the Emperor should retain the rights appertaining to the Empire, and the Pope the rights appertaining to the Church. The final *concordat* propounded in Imperial Diet at Worms, followed in the main the lines already struck out by the ingenuity of the King of England. The Emperor granted the right of free canonical election, and disclaimed investiture by the ring and crosier; but he received the right of conferring the temporalities by the sceptre, a purely lay symbol. It was also conceded that the elections should take place in his presence, or in that of his commissioners. The clergy would thus have to recognise the authority of the State in respect of their endowments. But in granting canonical election the Emperor surrendered the kernel of the matter in dispute. The Papacy thus had the best of it. The Emperor's intrigues might influence the proceedings of the Chapters, but he was bound not to interfere directly. On these terms Henry V. received

Settlement of the Question of Investiture Abroad.

The Concordat of Worms (1122).

[1] See the *Brut-y-T.* 119–145 (given as A.D. 1112–1116); *Ann. Camb.* A.D. 1115–1118.

[2] Eadmer, 259; Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* I. 314. This David came from one of the Scottish (Irish) monasteries on the Continent; he was a man of letters, and wrote a chronicle of his own times, now lost, but utilized by Orderic and others.

[3] *Brut*, p. 147 (given as A.D. 1118); *Ann. Camb.* A.D. 1121; Chron.

[4] Symeon, *H. R.* ss. 200, 205. Henry was at York on his return from Carlisle, 6th December; Orderic, 874 (given as 1120).

the kiss of peace from the Papal Legate, and was re-admitted to the pale of the Church.[1]

On the 2nd October Archbishop Ralph died at Canterbury,[2] a worthy man and a successful archbishop. We have seen the firmness with which he could hold his own between the King on the one hand, and the Pope on the other hand. The only fault alleged against him was a certain jocularity, which some thought inconsistent with the dignity of his office.[3]

A New Archbishop of Canterbury. Contest between Secularis and Regulars.

The appointment of his successor involved a struggle between the Monastic and the Secular parties in the Church.[4] The Canterbury monks, again alleging that every previous archbishop except the schismatic Stigand had either been a monk or become a monk on his appointment, came forward with a list of nominees, all monks, of whom they suggested that the King and his council should select one. But the bishops, who doubtless had the mind of the King, protested against the appointment of any man in monastic Orders, and tendered the monks a list of four names for them to choose from. The man they selected was William of Corbeil,[5] not a monk, but the next thing to it, being a Canon Regular and Prior of St. Osyth's Chiche, in the county of Essex. At one time chaplain to Bishop Flambard of Durham, he had nevertheless been much at Canterbury in the society of Anselm. He is described as a man of respectable life and well lettered:[6] but the writers of the time are more divided in their estimate of his merits than they are with respect to those of his predecessor Ralph, possibly on account of the party questions involved in his appointment, possibly on account of his submissive attitude towards the Papacy.[7] On the 18th February he was consecrated at Canterbury by his own suffragans.[8] In the ensuing month he started for Rome in quest of his *Pallium*, a special embassy from the King going with him to support his application. It was granted,[9] but not without demur, exception being taken to the circumstances of his appointment. Thurstan happening to be at Rome at the time, the question of the supremacy of Canterbury over York was mooted by Archbishop William. But Calixtus, who was pledged to Thurstan,

[1] See W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 436; and the text of the *Concordat* in Pertz, *Legg.* II. 75; dated 23rd September, 1122. This is said to be the date of the final ratification by Calixtus at Rome, the treaty having been accepted by the Emperor and Legate at Worms on the 8th September; Sismondi. [2] Eadmer, 302; Chron.

[3] W. Malm. *G. P.* s. 71.

[4] See too with reference to Ralph's election, Eadmer, *H. N.* 222.

[5] On the Seine (Seine et Oise).

[6] "Modestæ vitæ virum ac litteris bene eruditum"; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 206; Chron.; Flor. Cont. For the introduction of the Order of Augustinian Canons into England during the reign see below, 329, 330.

[7] The Continuator of Florence calls him "vir eximiæ religionis." Henry of Huntingdon knew no good of him; "Cujus laudes dici nequeunt quia non sunt"; *De Cont. Mund.* 314. [8] Gervase; 16th February, Flor. *Cont.*

[9] William received his Pall on the 21st May, 1123; *Angl. Sacr.* I. 792.

refused to decide the case himself, leaving it to be determined by a Council to be held in England under the presidency of a Legate.[1]

Among the many changes in the Episcopate that took place about this period we may notice the death of Robert Bloet, for thirty years Bishop of Lincoln, a man whose gifts were said to be of a more secular than of a spiritual sort. He was riding with the King in the deerfold at Woodstock when he was struck with apoplexy, and fell from his horse, dying next day (10th January, 1123). His successor was Alexander, nephew to the great Bishop Roger of Sarum, whose influence was now said to be quite paramount.[2]

Death of Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln.

[1] Symeon, *H. R.* ss. 206, 208; T. Stubbs, 1718; Chron. The latter, hostile to the new Archbishop from monastic spirit, openly taxes the *curia* with corruption in granting the Pall. 'That overcame Rome that overcometh all world, that is, gold and silver.'

[2] Chron.; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 265; W. Malm. *G. P.* p. 313; H. Hunt, *De Cont. M.* 300.

CHAPTER XX

HENRY I. (*continued*)

A.D. 1123–1135

Fresh troubles in Normandy—The young Barons—Henry reduces them to order—Legatine Commission over England of Cardinal John of Crema—Matilda declared heir to the Throne and married to Geoffrey of Anjou—Troubles with Geoffrey—Deaths of William of Normandy and of his father, Duke Robert—Death of Henry I.

ABOUT the 10th June (1123) Henry sailed from Portsmouth for Normandy,[1] again in view of coming troubles. Fulk of Anjou, who had gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem after the marriage of his daughter to the Ætheling, had returned to find the ties with England severed by the death of his son-in-law.[2] He asked to have Matilda, still a mere girl, sent home to him. This was done.[3] But a difficulty arose as to the return of her dowry, which included castles on the Continent, Border castles, no doubt. We hear of envoys from Anjou being in England at Christmas, 1122, and we hear of their going back in February dissatisfied with the results of their mission. We are also told that at a Council held at Woodstock, apparently in March, Henry made arrangements for sending troops to reinforce the garrisons in Normandy.[4] Then the King had been married to Adelaide for fully two years; but there was no heir forthcoming.

Movement in favour of young William of Normandy.

Men therefore began once more to turn their eyes towards young William of Normandy as the man of the future. The arch-plotter, Amaury of Montfort, now Count of Evreux, aggrieved, we are told, by the stringency of Henry's rule, and the exactions of his fiscal officers, began to work for a new rising in William's favour; and as the first step in that direction induced his nephew, Fulk of Anjou, once more to espouse the young man's cause,

His Marriage with Sibylle of Anjou.

and marry him to his younger daughter, Sibylle, investing him at the same time with the county of Maine.[5]

[1] Chron.; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 209.

[2] Fulk left home 26th April, 1120, and had returned by 24th September, 1121; Le Prevost, note to Orderic.

[3] Chron. A.D. 1121. According to Orderic, 875, she was but twelve years old when she was married. Eventually she took the veil at Fontevrault, became Abbess, and died there in 1154; Prevost.

[4] Chron. A.D. 1123; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 205; W. Malm. *G. R.* p. 498.

[5] Ord. 876. The date of the marriage or betrothal is not given: it may have happened in 1122 or, more likely, in 1123. See Bouquet, XII. 708, note A.

It might be thought that the Norman Baronage had had a sufficient lesson in the events of 1116–1120; so, in fact, it turned out to be. Of the men who figured in those hostilities only one besides Amaury now comes forward again, namely William of Roumare. He had hitherto been faithful, but he had a grievance. His mother's third husband, Ralph of Briquessart, surnamed Le Meschin, when he became Earl of Chester in 1120, was forced to surrender certain estates previously held by him in Lucy's right. These included the Honour of Carlisle and Lordship of Kirkby Kendal. Henry was naturally unwilling to leave so large a tract of border-land in the hands of one man. William, Lucy's son by her second husband Roger of Roumare, thought that though his stepfather might not hold these lands he himself might well be allowed to do so; but the King refused to listen to his demand.[1] The only other men weak enough to listen to Amaury were a group of silly young magnates,[2] namely, Waleran of Meulan and Beaumont-le-Roger, and his three brothers-in-law, by name Hugh of Montfort-sur-Risle,[3] Hugh of Châteauneuf-en-Thimerais,[4] and William Louvel (*Lupellus*) of Ivry,[5] brother and heir of Robert Goel, a man who figures largely in Orderic's pages. Not only were these men without a shadow of a grievance—their regard for William's claims must have been a mere pretext—but their conduct involved the grossest ingratitude, as they had all been more or less treated by Henry as sons. All that can be said for them is that again and again we shall find great feudal lords sacrificing splendid positions with the same insensate recklessness.

Discontent of William of Roumare.

Young Barons in Revolt.

The operations of the petty war, altogether one-sided in themselves, were practically confined to the basin of the Risle, where the malcontents had their chief strongholds. In the month of September they held a secret meeting at La Croix-Saint-Leufroy,[6] and agreed on a rising. But Henry knew everything. Early in October he gathered troops at Rouen; then, one Sunday, after dinner, he suddenly ordered his men out for a march. Hugh of Montfort, who was at court, was called to the King's side, and invited to surrender his castle. Being in the King's hands he could not do otherwise than consent; but on his way to

Petty War.

[1] Ord. *sup.* Ralph of Briquessart is sometimes supposed to have had the Earldom of Carlisle; *Monasticon*, III. 581, 582. But the charter there is evidently a concoction, and is contradicted by Henry's Charter, p. 585, from which it clearly appears that he only held Carlisle as an Honour or Barony, not as an Earldom. Appleby, Salkeld, and Wetherall are also named as being under him. It would seem that these estates had been held at one time by Ivo Taillebois, doubtless in right of Lucy.

[2] See Orderic's word, "Puerilis levitatis frivola spe."

[3] R. de Monte; Dept. Eure. To be carefully distinguished from Montfort-l'Amaury, the seat of the plotter, in the French Vexin (Seine et Oise). [4] Eure et Loir.

[5] The ladies' names are given as Adeline, Amicie, and Auberée; Le Prevost.

[6] Eure, near Gaillon.

the place, to deliver it to the King's officers who were sent with him, he gave them the slip, got to Montfort first, and then, having told his wife and brother to hold out to the utmost, pushed on to Brionne to seek for help from Waleran. But no help came, and so Adeline, Hugh's wife, had to make her peace and surrender. Liberal offers were made through her to her husband, but the unfortunate man refused to accept of a pardon, electing to stand out and risk everything. Meanwhile the King himself was laying siege to Pont-Audemer—a place belonging to Waleran, but partly garrisoned by French auxiliaries. During some seven weeks that the siege lasted the King showed himself as active as a youth, seeing to everything, keeping every one up to the mark, and even directing the carpenters how to construct a moveable 'belfry.'[1] The garrison yielded on honourable terms, the auxiliaries removing to Beaumont where Waleran was established. An unsuccessful attempt by Amaury to seize Gisors brought the operations of the autumn to a close. The King, who evidently took the rising very calmly, thinking that his troops had done enough, disbanded them for Advent (December). Evreux was taken into hand, Amaury not venturing to defend it, and placed under the charge of Ralph, the new Earl of Chester.[2]

Henry reduces Montfort-sur-Risle

Pont Audemer

And Evreux.

The campaign of 1124 opened with a spirited ride by the leading insurgents from Beaumont to relieve Fatouville,[3] a small castle near the mouth of the Seine, which was being attacked by the King's men. After a night's march the barons reached the place in safety, namely on the morning of the 25th March, and threw in supplies. The return journey, however, next day was less successful. Near Bourgtheroulde they found the Earl of Chester waiting to receive them with 300 men. Following his master's tactics he had dismounted part of his men-at-arms to fight on foot, with the archers posted in front of them, the rest of the men-at-arms remaining on horseback. On viewing these dispositions Amaury, as a man of years and experience, swore 'By all the nations'[4]—his usual oath—that they ought not to fight. But Waleran, with all the cheery confidence of youth, insisted on charging with forty men-at-arms, and was utterly discomfited, the horses being disabled by the fire of the archers. The end of it was that he, with two of his brothers-in-law, and some eighty men in all, were carried off in triumph. The third brother-in-law, William Louvel, divesting himself of his armour, managed to escape on foot. Amaury owed his escape to the chivalrous generosity of William of Grandcourt, son of William Count of Eu. Loth to commit a man of Amaury's age and distinction to hopeless bondage, yet afraid to show himself at Rouen

Action near Bourgtheroulde.

Defeat and Capture of Rebels.

[1] For more of this engine see Symeon, *H. R.* p, 274. It was raised to a height of 24 feet above the walls. [2] Ord. 876–879.

[3] Eure, between Honfleur and Quillebœuf. [4] "Per omnes gentes."

without him, he threw up his holdings in Normandy, and went off with his captive to take his chance of what the future might provide for him in France.[1]

The rising now collapsed. Brionne and Fatouville were reduced in the course of April, and then the King summoned Waleran to order the surrender of Beaumont, his last stronghold. Captive as he was he could not refuse, but compliance did not purchase forgiveness. Waleran and his two brothers-in-law were kept in strict custody, first in Normandy, and afterwards in England, to linger in bonds for various terms of years.[2] William of Roumare held out to the last, and eventually obtained from the King almost all that he wanted; while even Amaury and Louvel were finally admitted to grace.[3]

End of the Rising.

Treatment of Prisoners.

When the leaders were being treated with such leniency it is painful to hear of three subordinates condemned by the King, sitting in judgment in person, to lose their eyesight for participation in the rebellion. Charles the Count of Flanders, who was at Rouen at the time, ventured to remonstrate. With respect to two of the offenders the King had nothing very special to urge beyond breach of the oath of allegiance. The third culprit however, Luke, lord of La Barre-en-Ouche,[4] was intimately allied with Count Waleran.[5] Set free at Pont-Audemer, he had recommenced hostilities more furiously than ever. Worse than all, he could wage war with the pen as well as with the sword. He was a poet, a *trouvère*, and had written lampoons bringing his liege lord the King into great ridicule. Against such a charge Count Charles had nothing to plead. La Barre was delivered to the tormentors; but refusing to live without eyes, he tore himself from their hands, and dashed out his own brains against the walls of his dungeon.[6]

Case of Luke de La Barre.

But, the reader may ask, what of the Count of Anjou and young William of Normandy? and what of the King of France all this time? How came they to throw away their opportunities? Henry's diplomacy had met both contingencies. The Emperor, his son-in-law, who bore Louis-le-Gros a grudge for his friendly relations with Calixtus, was persuaded to raise a mighty host for an attack on France. The invading army never got beyond Metz, but Louis was kept fully employed watching their movements.[7] Then the

Action of France and Anjou Forestalled.

[1] Ord. 879, 880.

[2] They were brought to England in the King's train in 1126; Waleran and Hugh of Châteauneuf were released at the end of five years; Hugh of Montfort dragged out fourteen years in prison and then died; Ord. 881.

[3] Ord. 876, 882. The Lincolnshire Survey, called *Testa de Nevill*, shows that large estates previously held by Ivo Taillebois and Ralph Meschin came to Wm. of Roumare. *New Genеal.* V. 135. [4] Eure. [5] See Le Prevost IV. 448, note. Luke, however, had fought for the King loyally in 1119. [6] Orderic, 880, 881.

[7] A.D. 1124. See Sismondi, *France*, V. 174; Freeman, *N. C.* V. 197, and more

"subtlety of Henry's canonists" found out that young William was related to Sibylle of Anjou. The relationship was not a very near one—only in the tenth degree[1]—the lady being third cousin twice removed to the bridegroom, but the objection was allowed at Rome.[2] The marriage was dissolved, and the "Clito" once more driven from Anjou, to wander from monastery to monastery with a band of hangers-on, a spirited youth who excited much sympathy, but a burden and anxiety to those who ventured to entertain him. Wherever he set the sole of his foot the 'long strong arm' of his relentless uncle was sure to follow him.[3] Thus by the end of 1124 England was again at peace with France and Anjou, but Henry did not think it prudent to leave Normandy for two years more.

Distress and Crime in England.

At home the year 1124 was marked by bad weather, failure of crops, and dearth, aggravated by heavy taxation. Crime in consequence was rife; but repressive measures were not wanting. We hear of a Bloody Assize at Huncote in Leicestershire, styled a Witenagemot, more correctly perhaps a folcmot or county court, held under the presidency of Ralph Basset, royal Justice, in which forty-four men were hung for thieving, and six more mutilated. 'They bereave men of their goods, and then they kill them. Full heavy year it was. If a man had anything they bereaved him of it with gelds and courts. If he had nothing he died of hunger.'[4] The connexion with Normandy was a grievous incubus; but for expeditions to Normandy English taxation might have been very light.

Hitherto we have found Henry, if not exactly straightforward, at least very consistent in his policy. On no point had he been more firm than in his resistance to Papal encroachments, whether on his own prerogatives, or on the rights of the national Church. Legatine missions he had uniformly withstood. In this he had historic precedent on his side. Apparently on two occasions, and two occasions only, within living memory had Papal Legates been allowed to intervene in English affairs, namely, first in 1062, when Ermenfrid, Bishop of Sion, was received by the Confessor; and again in 1072, when the same dignitary, with two

fully Rössler, *Mathilde*, 72–76; but he brings the Counts of Anjou and Brittany into action against the evidence of Suger.

[1] See the pedigree, Ord. 838, and again 882; Chron. A.D. 1128; W. Malm. *Hist. Nov.* p. 528; and especially the Bulls of Calixtus II. and Honorius II. 26th August, 1124, and 12th April, 1125; D'Achery, *Spicil.* III. 479; and Migne. Dr. Lingard very candidly points out that Henry's son married to Fulk's daughter, and his daughter thereafter married to Fulk's son, must have been related in precisely the same degrees as Robert's son to Fulk's daughter.

[2] Marriage within the seventh degree was all that was prohibited by Anselm's Canons of 1102, or by those passed in London in 1125.

[3] "Longa et valida patrui sui brachia," etc.; Ord. 882.

[4] Chron.; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 210. The currency was said to be in a very bad state from extensive coining, and we hear of wholesale mutilations of coiners; Chron. A.D. 1124, 1125.

coadjutors, was brought over by the Conqueror to depose Stigand.[1] As recently as the year 1121 we saw Henry politely bowing the Legate Peter out of England. Undeterred by previous failures, Calixtus in 1124 returned to the charge, giving John of Crema, a leading Cardinal, a commission that extended over Scotland as well as England,[2] and Henry, reversing his previous policy, consented to receive him. This concession will be viewed in connexion with the dissolution of the marriage of young William and Sibylle. The King did the thing handsomely. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York were brought over to Normandy to provide a suitable escort for the representative of St. Peter. Towards Easter they landed in England, and the Cardinal, to the intense indignation of the whole Canterbury community, celebrated High Mass in the Archbishop's own church on Easter Day (29th March), John of Crema not being even a bishop, but only in priest's orders. William of Corbeil's enemies consoled themselves by whispering that that came of having an archbishop who was not in monastic Orders.[3]

A Papal Legate.

The Legate was taken the round of the bishoprics and abbeys of England, being everywhere received not merely with 'worship,' but also with gifts, 'mickle and mair than mickle.'[4] His tour extended to Roxburgh, where he had an interview with the new King of Scots, David I.[5] The supremacy over the Scottish Church claimed by the See of York, a point mooted when Eadmer was appointed to St. Andrews, was one of the matters that he had been specially charged to investigate. What came of the meeting with David we are not told, but the Scots certainly continued to resist the pretensions of the Northern Primate.[6]

Visitation of England and Scotland.

From the banks of the Teviot the Legate returned to London for a Synod to be opened in Westminster Abbey, on the 8th September. He had not been allowed to issue the summonses for the assembly, either in his own or the Pope's name,[7] but

Synod at Westminster.

[1] See above, I. 485, and II. 81. For the next case we must go back to Offa's days, and the 'contentious' Synod of Chelsea, above I. 215. The missions bringing Palls for Anselm in 1095; for Thomas II. in 1109; and for Ralph in 1115 seem to stand on a different footing.

[2] See the Bulls of Honorius II. dated 12th, 13th April [1125] confirming previous Bulls of Calixtus II.; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 211. Calixtus died 12th or 13th Dec. 1124; when Lambert, Bishop of Ostia, became Pope under the style of Honorius II.; he was enthroned on the 21st Dec.; H. Nicolas.

[3] Flor. Cont.; Chron.; Gervase, *Decem Scriptt.* c. 1163. [4] Chron.

[5] Alexander I. died in 1124. (20 April, Chron.; 24 April, Fordun, p. 230; 25 April, *Chron. Melrose*; 26 April, Symeon, *H. R.* s. 210). He was succeeded by his brother David I., the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret. He was married to Matilda, daughter of Earl Waltheof by Judith, and widow of Simon of Senlis, and with her hand had received the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton, previously held by Simon; Ord. 702; W. Jum. Cont. 312.

[6] Symeon, *H. R.* s. 211. For the continuance of the struggle by Thurstan see T. Stubbs, 1719, 1720; and Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* II. 20-23, and 212, etc. In 1127 King David allowed Robert, Bishop Elect of St. Andrews, to be consecrated by Thurstan, saving all rights; *Ib.* 215.

[7] See the Archbishop's summons, Wilkins, *Conc.* I. 408; Hook.

he presided. Seventeen Canons for the reformation of the Church were passed. In spite of the assertion of the Peterborough Chronicler to that effect, it does not appear that they were a mere repetition of Anselm's Canons of 1102. They were less stringent and minute, and avoided monastic questions. Of course marriage was again prohibited to canons, priests, deacons, and subdeacons; but they were not required to take vows of chastity before ordination. Then intermarriage within the seventh degree of consanguinity was again forbidden, but apart from those moot points there was nothing enacted that would not commend itself to modern sentiment. Fees are forbidden to be taken for administering the Sacraments; offerings on great occasions, such as consecrations of a church or bishop, must not be taken by force; men in minor orders when presented to a benefice are not to refuse to take higher orders, "*quo liberius vivant*" (*in order to lead freer lives*). No man to be made archdeacon unless in deacon's orders; no man to hold two archdeaconries at once; neither priest nor deacon to be ordained without a title; clergymen not to lend money at interest, or embark in trade (*usura et turpe lucrum*), etc.[1]

Canons enacted.

But the mission of John of Crema ended in a dismal *fiasco*; food for scoffing to the end of time. In his speeches in the Synod on the subject of clerical marriage he had inveighed in a tone of exalted morality against the shocking profanity (*summum scelus*) of priests, married men, rising from the couches of their wives to consecrate the Body of the Lord. Yet he himself one night, after having in the course of the day consecrated the Body of the Lord, that is to say having celebrated Mass, was found in the apartment of a woman of improper character. Amid jeers and derision he left England in October.[2] The two Archbishops again went with him, having been summoned to Rome on business. The question of the relation of Canterbury to York had proved too thorny for the Legate to dispose of, and so again it proved at Rome, the stiffness of the contending parties rendering all attempts at compromise futile.[3] But Archbishop William had also to protest against the invasion of his rights by the recent mission of Cardinal John to England. As a protection against future attacks of the sort he condescended to accept of an appointment as Papal Legate over England and Scotland. This was

Scandalous end of the mission.

Archbishop William appointed Legate.

[1] Flor. Cont.; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 212 (given wrongly as A.D. 1126).

[2] "Cum meretrice post vesperam interceptus est. Res apertissima negari non potuit, celari non debuit"; H. Hunt. p. 246, the original authority for the incident. No doubt he was in favour of clerical marriage. The other writers of the time ignore the story; later writers, such as Hoveden, Wendover, Paris, Hemingburgh, accept the Archdeacon's story. The Cardinal in truth was more of a soldier than a priest, he led the Papal troops in Italy in 1120. A letter to him from St. Bernard, written in 1133, reminds him that his earlier life called for 'repentance and conversion.' (No. 163, Migne.)

[3] See the York writer, T. Stubbs, 1718, 1719.

a distinct surrender on his part, but we may point out that it would give him personally the desired supremacy over the Northern Province,[1] and the writers of the time evidently regarded it as a feather in his cap.[2]

Henry returns to England.

After an absence of three years and a quarter Henry on the 11th Sept. (1126) returned to England. Among other personages in his train he brought home his daughter, Matilda, the Empress,[3] left a widow in the previous year by the death of her Imperial husband Henry V.[4] No child had been born of the marriage. But "Augusta" enjoyed her position and life in Germany, and was popular there; thus she and her late subjects were loath to part.[5] But her father's commands were imperative, and he insisted on her return.[6]

The Empress Matilda now a widow.

Determined at all hazards to keep out his nephew, Henry had made up his mind to risk the chances of a female succession, and to settle both England and Normandy on his daughter. The experiment was a bold one, and as all the world knows it proved a failure. It is a remarkable fact that the idea of handing down the inheritance of William the Bastard to a son not born in wedlock should never have been entertained; though Henry had in his eldest illegitimate son, Robert of Caen, a man of unquestionable ability.[7] This must be taken as indicating a growing respect for morality and the laws of the Church. With regard to the succession of a daughter, it must be pointed out that if female rule, that is to say, the discharge by a woman of the duties of an elective office, was equally unknown to the annals of England and Normandy, female succession to property was fully recognised in both countries, while the growth of the new feudal ideas was rapidly obliterating all sense of distinction between the tenure of an office and the tenure of property. If a sole Queen Regnant could not be thought of, a Queen might reign with a husband to act for her. If a man could hold an Earldom in right of his wife,[8] why might not a husband wield a sceptre in the like right? So Henry may have argued.

England and Normandy to be settled on Matilda.

[1] See the Bull dated 25 January [1126], *Angl.-Sacr.* I. 792; Wilkins, I. 409.

[2] See Flor. Cont.; Symeon, and Gervase. Dean Hook points out that at the period of which we are now treating the Pope, on the strength of the doctrines of the pseudo-Isidore, was being regarded as *Episcopus Universalis*. We might say in feudal language both immediate lord and over-lord of all the clergy. *Archbishops*, II. 313.

[3] Symeon *H. R.*; Chron.; the state prisoners, Waleran and his brothers-in-law, were also brought over with the King. The two Archbishops likewise came back at or about the same time, on their return from Rome; *Id.*

[4] Henry V. died 23 May, 1125, Lappenberg (Thorpe) 336; Orderic 882; Sismondi. The electors rejecting Frederic of Hohenstaufen, Henry's nephew, took Lothar Duke of Saxony for King of Germany. He was not crowned Emperor till 1133.

[5] For Matilda's life and doings in Germany since her marriage the reader may consult Dr. Rössler's *Mathilde*, 15-28. [6] W. Malm. *Hist. Nov.* s. 450; W. Jum. Cont. 304.

[7] See Freeman, *N.C.* V. 199, 851.

[8] For instance, Simon of Senlis had held the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northamp-

No time was lost in pushing on the scheme of succession. The King of Scots, David I. was invited to court,[1] doubtless to make sure of his support for his niece. An extra-grand gathering of magnates was called to Windsor at Christmas. The irrepressible Thurstan, always to the front, wanted to concur with the Southern Primate in placing the crown on the King's head. Not only was his claim rejected, but his cross-bearer was turned out of the chapel. It was explained to him that an Archbishop had no right to have his cross borne before him except within his own Province.[2] As if to secure greater publicity, the *gemot* was adjourned to London, and there on the 1st January, 1127, the King extorted[3] from the Peers, Spiritual and Temporal, an oath, binding them to accept his daughter, the Empress Matilda, as his successor in England and Normandy, failing the birth of a male heir of his own body. Stress was laid on the fact that Matilda, and Matilda alone, could represent the lines both of Rollo and Ecgberht.[4]

Grand Court at Windsor.

Homage done to Matilda in London.

First of the lay vassals to take the oath was King David, Earl of Huntingdon in England. The honours of the second place were disputed between Stephen of Blois, now Count of Boulogne[5] as well as Mortain, and Robert, now Earl of Gloucester, the first outbreak of an antagonism destined to last through both their lives. The legitimate nephew, however was preferred before the illegitimate son.[6]

We are told that the Barons were not brought to the point without much discussion and argument; and we may take it as certain that considerable pressure had to be exercised by the King.

Reluctance of the Baronage.

For the success of such a plan much would depend on the popularity

ton through his marriage with the daughter of Waltheof; and King David of Scotland at this very time held the same earldoms in the same right, Orderic 702; W. Jum. 312. See also, for female succession to great fiefs in Gaul, Sismondi's *France*, V. 179, etc., where he also calls attention to the succession of Urraca, daughter of Alphonse VI. to the throne of Leon and Castile in 1109.

[1] After Michaelmas; Chron. [2] Flor. Cont.; Gervase, c. 1664; T. Stubbs, 1719.

[3] "Adegit et obstrinxit," W. Malm; "ad jussum regis," Flor. Cont.; "Jubente illo"; Symeon. The *Gesta Stephani*, the work of a partisan of King Stephen, of course represents the oath as extorted by sheer pressure; IV. 9 (Rolls Series, No. 82, R. Howlett).

[4] "Ut si ipse sine herede masculo decederet Matildem filiam suam . . . incunctanter et sine ultra retractione dominam susciperent"; W. Malm. ss. 451, 504. "Sponderunt filiæ regis se totum regnum Anglorum illi contra omnes defensuros," etc.; Flor. Cont. "Ut filiæ suæ . . . regnum Angliæ hereditario jure post eum servarent nisi," etc.; Sym. *H.R.* s. 213. The Chronicle includes Normandy, so too Malmesbury, *sup.*, 504.

[5] Eustace III. of Boulogne, the Crusader, died in 1125; whereupon Stephen, as husband of his only surviving child Matilda ("Mahaut") became Count; Matilda was daughter of Mary of Scotland, daughter of Canmore and Margaret.

[6] W. Malm. *sub.* In the latter of the two passages he makes Robert gain the day, *sed quære.*

and capacity of the future King-consort. We are told on the authority of the great Bishop Roger of Salisbury, that he and others only took the oath on receiving an assurance that the Empress would not be married out of the kingdom without the consent of the Barons. We feel tempted to say, without the consent of the *Witan*.[1] On feudal principles they had a right to be consulted as to the new lord to whom, in legal phrase, they would have to "attorn." Their allegiance could not be transferred without their consent. Only six years before, on the occasion of his second marriage, a matter of much less importance, Henry had taken the constitutional course of consulting his subjects, at any rate in outward form. On the present occasion it is clear that he did not consult them at all. He had a match ready, a match that promised great things for his dynasty, but at the same time one that he probably knew would not be at all acceptable to his subjects; and so he kept his intentions to himself.

Question of Matilda's Future Husband.

The King's Pledges.

The first result of Henry's apparent purpose of making Matilda his heir, was, that Louis le Gros made up his mind to give young William of Normandy more definite support than he yet had given him. At Christmas 1126, before the oath of allegiance had been taken, he convened a Grand Council of his Barons, a wholesome practice, in which he was beginning to follow the example of other princes. William's case was laid before them. With their approval, in January (1127), after the homage, he gave the young "Clito" the hand of Johanna, daughter of Rainier or Reinier, Marquis of Montferrat, and half-sister to his own Queen,[2] investing him at the same time with the French Vexin, which comprised the towns of Pontoise, Chaumont, and Mantes. William at once took possession. Early in February he presented himself at the gates of Gisors, and made a formal demand of all Normandy.[3] Further promotion followed. On the 2nd March[4] Count Charles of Flanders died, assassinated in a church at Bruges, through the intrigues of a rival, William of Ypres. As he left neither issue nor near relatives, a crowd of competitors came forward, among them King Henry, and his nephew, as representing Matilda the wife of the Conqueror. Louis, as over-lord, at once entered the county and put young William in possession.[5]

His Secret Intentions.

Young William of Normandy again taken up by the King of France

Henry was much disturbed, not so much at the rejection of his own

[1] W. Malm. s. 452. [2] Adelaide, Louis' Queen, was daughter of Humbert II., Count of Maurienne and Savoy, by Gisele of Burgundy: the latter, after Humbert's death, married the Marquis of Montferrat, and by him had Johanna; Le Prevost, IV. 464.

[3] Orderic, 884; Sismondi, *France*, V. 202. [4] Le Prevost, *sup.* 275.

[5] According to M. Le Prevost, William was 'elected' (in accordance with old Teutonic custom), at Arras 25th or 26th March, and confirmed at Bruges 2nd April. IV. 476. Lecoy de la Marche (Suger, *Vita L.* 475), and the *Art de Verifier* give the 23rd March as the date. Rössler, *Mathilde*, 93, places the election at Bruges, on the 5th April, citing Galbert, *De Multro Caroli Comitis*, p. 57.

claim, as at the aggrandisement of his nephew.[1] As a counter-move, his plans for the disposal of his daughter's hand had now to be pushed forward, but his intentions were not made public one day sooner than could be helped. Whitsunday (22nd May) was kept at Winchester; and then the Empress, under the charge of her brother Earl Robert, and Brian of Wallingford, son of Count Allan Fergant of Brittany, was sent over to Rouen to be 'bewedded,' *i.e.*, betrothed to Geoffrey, the son of Count Fulk of Anjou. From Henry's point of view the addition of Anjou and Maine would place Normandy at the head of all Gaulish states, the kingdom of France not excepted. By the King's subjects the marriage was thought fatal to Matilda's prospects.[2] Geoffrey, in the first place, was a mere boy, not fourteen years old,[3] the bride being five-and-twenty. But the real difficulty was that the Normans, full of local feeling, would never bring themselves to bow to the rule of an Angevin; while the English, without having any reason to hate an Angevin more than any other Frenchman would, as a matter of course, blindly follow the prejudices of the ruling caste. In the simple words of the Peterborough Chronicler, 'It liked neither French nor English, but the King did it to have sibb (*connexion*) of the Earl of Anjou, and for help against his nephew William.' As it turned out, both views proved correct. Matilda never got real possession of England, but her son became a very great King.

And invested with Flanders.

The Empress Matilda betrothed to Geoffrey of Anjou.

Unpopularity of the Connexion.

On the 26th August the King himself went over to Normandy.[4] Hostilities had broken out between the young Count of Flanders and his cousin Stephen. Boulogne was an under-fief of Flanders, but Stephen refused to recognize William as his overlord. In this connexion it is due to William to notice that the faithful services of his old 'pedagogue,' as Orderic liked to style him, Hélie of St. Saens, were rewarded with the charge of Montreuil, the capital of Ponthieu, another Flemish fief.[5]

But it seemed as if fortune could never smile for long on the ill-starred son of Duke Robert. At the same time it must be admitted that, for the final catastrophe, he had himself to blame. He thought it his duty to inaugurate his rule by merciless severity to all implicated in the murder of his predecessor, thereby alienating public sympathy, and raising up a host of enemies. He soon had to drop his war with Stephen in order to cope with disaffection at home, and the attacks of a competitor, Thierry or Dietrich, Count of Alsace.[6] A plot to assassinate him was laid at Ypres,

[1] Ord. *sup.*; Chron.; Symeon, *H.R.* s. 213; H. Hunt.; Freeman.

[2] H. Hunt; Chron.; W. Malm. *H.N.* p. 530.

[3] Geoffrey was born 24 August, 1113; Bouquet, XII. 302, note.

[4] Symeon, *H. R.* s. 213; Flor. Cont. [5] Ord. 885.

[6] "Theodoricum Comitem Auscensem"; Ord. "Terri de Auseis"; R. de Monte. He was descended in the female line from Count Robert the Frisian; Freeman. See Le Prevost, IV. 478.

while Alost broke into open revolt. Louis raised troops for his support; but Henry kept him at home by marching an army to Epernon.[1] While skirmishing against Alost, William 'the Unfortunate'[2] was wounded by a spear-head driven through the palm of his hand into the wrist. Five days he lingered. Feeling his case hopeless he took monastic vows at St. Omer—a death-bed profession, a practice of which endless instances are recorded at this period; and so, in the full odour of sanctity, passed away on the 28th July, 1128. With him ended all thought of further resistance to Henry's rule in Normandy. Without a leader or a war-cry the most turbulent could not think of drawing the sword. It was said that William's fate was revealed to his captive father in a dream.[3] Dietrich of Alsace, the man who apparently had the best title to succeed, was then accepted as Count of Flanders by Louis. Henry hastened to make friends with him, inducing Stephen of Boulogne and others of his subjects who held lands in Flanders to do homage.[4]

Death of William of Normandy.

The year 1128 also saw the end of Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham. Unprincipled man as he was, we must not forget that to him we owe the completion of the nave of Durham cathedral. He died on the 5th of September, after an episcopate of more than nine and twenty years.[5]

Death of Ralph Flambard, Bishop of Durham.

Within the same twelvemonth we have the first appearance in English history of the famous Order of the Knights of the Temple, who might be described as Canons Regular, professing chastity and obedience. Originally started in 1118 as a band devoted to the humble duty of keeping the roads round Jerusalem for the protection of pilgrims from robbers—a volunteer constabulary—the institution had waxed rich and great within ten years' time.[6] In 1128 Hugh of Payens,[7] one of the founders and the original Grand Master, came on a mission to the West. Henry gave him a handsome reception in Nor-

The Knights Templars in England.

[1] Eure et Loir, A.D. 1128; H. Hunt. [2] "Miser cognomine"; Flor. Cont.

[3] Ord. 885–887; Chron.; Flor. Cont.; Symeon. The three latter give the date as 27th July. Orderic gives the 28th from William's epitaph. He was buried in the church of St. Bertin at St. Omer.

[4] Ord. 886. Dr. Rössler regards Dietrich as simply holding Flanders as Henry's Lieutenant (*Statthalter*); *Mathilde*, 96.

[5] Sym. *H.D.E. Cont.* 139–141; *H. R.* p. 283; see also 260; Flor. Flambard also built a long wall from the choir of the cathedral to the moated keep (ad arcem castelli), and founded Norham Castle; but the vaulting of the nave of the Cathedral was the work of the monks during the five years of vacancy that followed Flambard's death. He also cleared the area now known as Palace Green, which before was covered with houses (Sym. *sup.*). Of his wall nothing remains, but the line of it is marked by the houses abutting on the Bailey Street.

[6] R. Wendover, *in anno*, from William of Tyre. The rival institution of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem dates from the year 1100, with one Gerard as its first Warden. In 1113 Pascal II. gave a Bull confirming the foundation. See the *Art de Vérifier*, etc., V. 301, 539. [7] Champagne, now Payns (Aube).

mandy, and sent him over to England. From thence again he went on to Scotland, that country being still willing to follow England's lead. Hugh gathered large contributions in money, and enlisted many personal recruits for the Crusade, on the assurance that 'a full fight,' that is to say a real big battle, had been appointed to be taken between the Christians and the heathen, and that men might depend on its being fought out. 'But when they came thither it was nought but lies, and so the poor folk were all swinked for nought.'[1] They had gone all the way to Palestine but got no battle after all!

A Good Battle Promised in Holy Land.

The Pledge not Kept.

Once more triumphant over his foes, and successful in all his plans, Henry returned to England (7th July, 1129).[2] Early in the year he had felt strong enough to liberate his captives, Waleran of Meulan and Hugh of Châteauneuf. The former was fully restored to favour, his castles only being kept back.[3] It has been suggested that the charms of a sister Elizabeth, who had borne a daughter to the King,[4] may have pleaded effectually on his behalf. On the 9th June[5] Henry had seen the Empress fairly married to Geoffrey of Anjou. The wedding festivities over, Fulk surrendered his dominions to his son, and went off to the Holy Land, to receive the hand of Mélisende, eldest daughter of Baldwin II., and therewith the reversion of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[6] But alas for the vanity of matrimonial schemes! We are told that not many days after his landing in England, Henry was followed by the news that Geoffrey, unable to endure the society of the Empress, had turned her out of his house, and packed her off to Rouen—a first quarrel that augured badly for the future.[7] In fact, from this time forward the son-in-law of his choice became Henry's chief trouble.

The King's Return to England.

Geoffrey and Matilda.

Two national Synods may here be noticed, both held by Archbishop William in London; the first May 13–16, 1127; the latter apparently 30th Sept.–4th Oct.,[8] 1129. The Canons passed in 1127 were practically a repetition of those enacted in 1125, traffic in church-preferment and clerical marriage being the main evils attacked.[9] The Canons of 1129 have not been preserved. We are simply told that they were 'all about archdeacons' wives and priests' wives,' to be put away before the 11th November, under the forfeiture of 'kirk and house and home.' The writer goes on 'But it

Synods in London.

[1] Chron.; H. Hunt. [2] Symeon, *H. R.*; Flor. Cont.; Chron.; H. Hunt.
[3] Chron.; Symeon. [4] W. Jum. Cont. 306. She is given as his youngest daughter.
[5] So Le Prevost, IV. 498, citing Chron. Tours; Ord. 889.
[6] Ord. *sup.*; H. Hunt. Baldwin died 21st August, 1131. Fulk was crowned as his successor on the 14th September following; Le Prevost; *Art de Vérifier*, etc.
[7] Symeon, *H. R.*
[8] So Chron.; Henry of Huntingdon gives the 1st August as the date.
[9] See these, Flor Cont. *in anno.*, and Wilkins, I. 410.

profited nought: they all kept their wives by the king's leave as they had done before.'[1] The Archdeacon of Huntingdon gives explanatory details. Henry, after gravely approving of the decrees, persuaded the simple-minded Archbishop to leave the execution of the decrees (*justiciam de uxoribus sacerdotum*), in his hands. The result was that those who could pay a sufficient fine retained their wives. The proceeding was not a new one. The reader will remember the indignant protests entered by Anselm against this very interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

From London Henry went down to Winchester to instal a new bishop. William Giffard, whose appointment was the first act of the reign, had died on the 25th January.[2] The man chosen to succeed him was another ungrateful scion of the House of Blois, another future opponent of the rights of Matilda, Henry, youngest son of the King's sister Adela. A monk trained at Cluny, he had been quartered by Henry on the Abbey of Glastonbury.[3] Appointed bishop in October he was consecrated on the 17th December.[4]

Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester.

From this time onwards to the end of the reign our sources of information, except for Church affairs, seem to dry up entirely. Under the year 1130 we have the consecration of new Canterbury Cathedral (4th May) begun by Lanfranc and carried on by others, but destined to be again destroyed by fire within the century. Four days later St. Andrew's Rochester, the Cathedral, was also dedicated, the King assisting on both occasions.[5] Later in the year[6] he went over to Normandy. We may suppose that he went over to arrange matters between Geoffrey and Matilda. If so Henry was doomed to be disappointed, as in the course of the following year we have him coming back to England, and his luckless daughter with him. The trip to Normandy however brought him again into contact with an exiled Pontiff, and enabled him to declare himself as between two competitors for the Chair of St. Peter.

The King in Normandy.

The great question of the Investitures having been settled, the Church under the quiet pontificate of the Second Honorius might flatter itself that it was finally united and at rest. The antagonism of Roman factions soon brought on a new era of trouble. Honorius passed away at Rome on the 14th February (1130).[7] Before the breath was well out of his body, certainly before he was laid in his grave, a minority of the Cardinals held a hole-and-corner Conclave, and elected Gregory, Cardinal of St. Angelo, who took the style of

Double Election to the Papacy.

[1] Chron. [2] Flor. Cont.; Chron.

[3] "Ad procurationem sui;" Sym. *H. R.* Florence, Cont. and the Chronicle style him Abbot of Glastonbury; but the Continuator of Florence under the next year tells us that an old man, William, had been Abbot, and that one Walter was then chosen to succeed him. [4] Flor. Cont.; Chron.; Symeon. [5] Chron.; Flor. Cont.

[6] 'On harvest'; Chron.; 'Michaelmas'; H. Hunt. [7] H. Nicolas.

Innocent II. To strengthen their position they gave out that Honorius was still living, and approved of their choice. The majority of the Sacred College, acting in due form, and after the burial of Honorius, elected the Cardinal Peter, son of Peter Leonis the great Hebrew financier and politician. He took the name of Anacletus II.[1] Both candidates were men of character and learning. Peter had been trained at Cluny; he had his father's wealth and the stronger party in Rome; and he promptly secured the support of Duke Roger II. of Sicily, already married to his sister, whose allegiance he rewarded with the grant of a crown.[2] But with most churchmen his Semitic extraction would be fatal to his claims.

Innocent, however, unable to maintain his position in Rome (May or June) retired to France, as Calixtus II. had done under similar circumstances. Sailing to the mouths of the Rhone he made his way to Arles and Avignon. Cluny welcomed him with open arms (October, 1130),[3] though Anacletus as an actual brother of the House would seem to have had a special claim on their support. Louis le Gros convened a Council at Étampes to examine the merits of the rival Popes. But the impetuous eloquence of Bernard of Clairvaux, brushing away all technical objections, demanded and obtained a unanimous declaration for the Second Innocent. The English clergy, who had seen something of Peter during his abortive mission to England in 1121, were inclined to hold back, but Bernard, again overruling their advice, secured King Henry. 'Thou fearest the sin of acknowledging Innocent? Answer thou for thy other sins, be that upon my head.' On the 13th January, 1131, the king met Bernard's Pope at Chartres,[4] and gave in his allegiance, at the same time of course presenting handsome offerings. Four months later Innocent was received at Rouen, where the king procured for him further contributions from his subjects, including the Israelitish community, the kinsmen of Pope Anacletus.[5] In return for all this kindness Innocent was pleased to grant, and William of Corbeil again stooped to accept, the office of Papal Legate in England.[6]

St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Henry I. and Innocent II.

In the course of July Henry came back to England, and his daughter

[1] See the facts stated, by a partisan of Anacletus no doubt, but very temperately, in a letter given by W. Malm. *H. N.* p. 532. Anacletus was the Legate of 1121; above, 295.

[2] By a Bull of the 27th September, 1130, Anacletus created Roger King of Sicily, and overlord of Capua and Naples; Le Prevost, notes to Orderic, V. 24 and 37.

[3] Innocent dedicated a new church at Cluny on the 25th October; Orderic.

[4] Innocent signs at Chartres on the 17th January; Haddan and Stubbs, I. 338.

[5] Orderic, 895; W. Malm. *H. N.* p. 533; W. Jum. Cont. 307; Milman, *Latin C.* III. 337, citing *Vita Bernardi*; Sismondi, *France*, V. 223, citing Suger, *Vita Ludovici*, p. 57, etc. The Pope signs at Rouen, 9th, 10th May; Jaffé, cited Haddan and Stubbs.

[6] W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 456. Before 7th March, 1132; Haddan and Stubbs, I. 343.

with him.[1] Count Geoffrey however now intimated a wish for the society of his wife. His request was taken in consideration at a Grand Council held at Northampton on the 8th September, and agreed to, but the king once more thought it prudent to require the Baronage to swear allegiance to Matilda as his successor, whether they had already done so individually or not.[2]

The King returns to England with his Daughter.

It has been well pointed out that this renewed acceptance of the Empress, after her marriage, entirely disposed of the allegation of Bishop Roger of Salisbury, if there was anything in it, that he and others had been relieved of their oaths because the King had not kept his word as to consulting them in the disposal of her hand.[3]

Fresh Homage to Matilda.

To ensure his daughter a good reception in Anjou the king apparently took the trouble of going over with her in person. If he did he must have returned to England before the year was out,[4] as his Christmas was kept at Dunstable,[5] where he had founded a priory of Augustinian Canons.

She Rejoins her Husband in Anjou.

Under the year 1132 we have a Grand Council held in London, after Easter (10th April), to consider a dispute of long standing between Urban Bishop of Llandaff, and the Bishops of St. David's and Hereford, as to the boundaries of their Sees.[6] The matter again came up at Councils held in London on the 8th February, 1133, and at Winchester about the 30th April in the same year. A further quarrel between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Lincoln had also to be dealt with. But Urban's case was finally disposed of by his death, which occurred at Rome in the course of the year.[7]

Councils and Ecclesiastical Disputes.

The King, who at Christmas (1132) had been at Windsor, and out of health; at Easter (26th March) 1133 paid a last visit to Oxford, occupying the 'new Hall'[8] or Beaumont Palace, recently built outside the North gate of the city.[9]

Henry's Last visit to Oxford.

During the summer we have the appointment of three new Bishops, and the establishment of a new Bishopric. Geoffrey Rufus, who had been Chancellor since 1123,[10] was rewarded with the See of Durham, vacant since the death of Flambard in 1128. The King's confessor, Æthelwulf, a man whose name stamps him as an Englishman, was selected for the new diocese of Carlisle. This foundation was not without a political object. The Scottish

Bishops Appointed to Durham and Ely, and See of Carlisle Established.

[1] After June 29, but 'before harvest'; Chron.; H. Hunt.; Malm. *H. N.* s. 455.

[2] Malm. *sup.* s. 455. [3] Rössler, *Mathilde*, 164.

[4] Flor. Cont.; Chron. [5] H. Hunt; R. de Monte; *Ann. Waverley.*

[6] *Id.*; W. Malm. *H.N.* s. 456. For the matter see Haddan and S. I. 303, 309–343, who give the Council as held 24th April.

[7] *Id.* A.D. 1133. Urban had been Bishop since 1107.

[8] H. Hunt.; *Ann. Waverley.*

[9] See C. W. Boase, *Oxford*, p. 78 (Historic Towns Series.) [10] Foss, *Judges*, I. 79.

Bishops of Glasgow claimed spiritual jurisdiction over Cumberland, North of the Derwent, as having formed part of the old Kingdom of Strathclyde, otherwise called "Cumbria."[1] To exclude these pretensions, which might lead to political complications, Henry created a new bishopric for Cumberland and Westmorland in subjection to York.[2] The appointment of Nigel, nephew of Bishop Roger of Salisbury, to the See of Ely deserves notice if only on account of the long family connexion with the Treasury, begun under his uncle Roger, and destined to be continued after Nigel's death by his son Richard. This last man eventually became Bishop of London, and to him we owe the celebrated tract, the *Dialogus De Scaccario*.[3]

At the beginning of August Henry got ready for another trip across the Channel, fated to be his last. Usually matters of a disagreeable nature had called him to Normandy, and so it may have been on the present occasion, but it is also possible that he wished to gladden his eyes by a sight of the hope of the dynasty, the future HENRY II., the first-born child of Matilda, who had come into the world on Saturday the 25th March at Le Mans.[4] Alarming portents delayed the King's departure. On Wednesday, 2nd August, being the anniversary of the death of Rufus, the Court being at the seaside, ready to sail, the sun suffered a total eclipse at midday; while on the 4th August an earthquake was felt in the Western counties. William of Malmesbury tells us that he saw the stars shining clearly during the eclipse; and that on the Friday the house in which he was sitting rocked under him. On Saturday, 5th August, Henry I. took final leave of England.[5]

Birth of the Future Henry II.

Henry's Last Voyage to Normandy.

Eclipse and Earthquake.

[1] David of Scotland, before his accession to the throne, being clearly Earl of the districts included in Strathclyde, takes the style of Earl of "Cumbria." See the Inquest, Haddan and Stubbs, II. 17, 20; also Skene, *C.S.* I. 455, 456, citing Palgrave, *Documents*, etc., 70, where Cumbria is defined as including the Dioceses of Glasgow, Candida Casa or Whithern in Galloway, and Carlisle; and again the Glasgow Charter No. 10, cited Haddan and S. *sup.* p. 22.

[2] Sym. *H.R.* Cont. 285; R. de Monte; Scotichron. I. 449 and II. 202; Haddan and Stubbs, II. 12, 28. Both Geoffrey and Æthelwulf were consecrated by Archbishop Thurstan on 5th August; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[3] Madox, *Hist. Exchequer*, II. 349; *Select Charters*, 160. Nigel was consecrated 1st October, 1133, and died in 1169. His son Richard became Bishop in 1189; *Reg. Sacr.* For Bishop Roger's work at the Treasury see *Dialogus*, *Select Charters*, 187; and for that of his nephew Bishop Nigel, *Id.* 191. Richard assisted his father in his duties, 197.

[4] R. de Monte; Ord. 763; and Le Prevost, V. 46, note.

[5] The chronology of our writers here is confused, but the facts can be made out clearly. H. Huntingdon, R. de Monte, and John of Hexham, the Continuator of Symeon (*H.R.* p. 285) clearly indicate 1133 as the year of the eclipse and of the King's departure. The last named also gives the week-day of the eclipse as being a Wednesday; but makes it=the 3rd August, which is wrong. The *Annals of Rouen*, Bouquet, XII. 785, cited Howlett, and the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, cited Freeman, also give 1133 as the year of the eclipse and of Henry's voyage. Wm. of Malmesbury, *H.N.* s. 457, and

Death of Ex-Duke Robert.

The events of the year 1134 seemed to bring further security for the Succession. On the 10th February the ex-Duke Robert died at Cardiff,[1] while about the 1st June the Empress gave birth to a second son, Geoffrey, born however, not in his father's dominions, but at Rouen.[2]

It does not speak well for Matilda that her return to England in 1126 had inaugurated a period of stricter confinement for her unfortunate uncle, who, having been previously at Devizes, doubtless under Bishop Roger of Salisbury, was removed from thence to be placed in the more jealous hands of Earl Robert of Gloucester.[3] At the same time it shows that Robert was still looked on as a possible source of danger. According to Roger of Hoveden Henry had homage done to the infant Henry as heir in succession to his mother.

Welsh Risings.

But to the last the King was destined to be pressed by troubles on his right hand and his left. The Welsh were profiting by the King's absence to raise their heads, and had attacked and destroyed "Caus,"[4] a castle belonging to Payen or Payne fitz John of Ewyas, a leading Marcher and King's Justice.[5] Again in 1135 we have it that Henry heard such reports of the doings of the Welsh that he thrice had soldiers ready for shipment to England, but that thrice events occurred to arrest his voyage.[6] With respect to the alleged disturbances the Welsh annals have nothing to tell us under the years in question. But we may say that their records for Gwynedd and Powys since the year 1121, when we last noticed the affairs of Wales, present as continuous a series of family feuds and family assassinations as ever. Gruffudd ap Cynan, however, still ruled in North Wales; the numerous descendants of Bleddyn still battled for the relics of their inheritance in Powys; while Gruffudd son of the dethroned Rhys ap Tewdwr could still be styled the 'light and strength' of South Wales.[7] With all his lawless ferocity poetic diction never failed a Celt. We might search the simple pages of the Anglo-Saxon records in vain for such a phrase as that a national hero was 'the light and strength' of England.

the Continuator of Florence, who give most details, seem to refer the events to 1132; but the days of the week given by them prove the year to be 1133. In fact they skip over 1132 altogether. The Rouen Chronicle, though right in the year, gives the day of the eclipse as the 29th July, "IV. Kal. Augt."; for which we must read "IV. Nonas Augt."

[1] Ord. 899; Flor. Cont.; and for the day of the month, *Ann. Bec.* (A.D. 1135), cited R. Howlett. [2] R. de Monte.

[3] Chron.; Ord. 887; Freeman, *N.C.* V. 206. We are expressly told that the change was made at the instigation of Matilda and her uncle King David.

[4] Qy. Cause, S. Shropshire? 9¾ m. S.W. of Shrewsbury.

[5] Ord. 900. See Foss, *Judges*, I. 117. Cf. *Ann. Camb.* A.D. 1128; *Brut*, 1125.

[6] Ord. *sup.*

[7] He had no real position however. Henry had driven him over to Ireland in 1127; *Ann. Camb.* Both he and the son of Cynan died in 1137; *Id.* (1136 *Brut y T.*).

The matter that detained Henry in Normandy was the undutiful attitude of his son-in-law. Geoffrey behaved as a spoiled child: he wanted money, he wanted castles in Normandy. He waged war on another son-in-law of the King, Viscount Roscelin of Beaumont-le-Vicomte.[1] Then the Norman Baronage, still unreconciled to the rule of the 'Lion of Justice,' shewed a disposition to abet Geoffrey, while even Matilda was not held free of blame.[2] William Talevas and Roger of Tosny laid themselves especially open to suspicion. Roger was kept in order by a body of troops sent to occupy Conches. Talevas, having failed to appear after repeated summonses to court, was outlawed. But three of the last months of Henry's life were spent in giving effect to this decree. At last Alençon, Almenèches,[3] and other strongholds having been reduced, their contumacious lord retired to Mamers in Anjou.[4] Altogether Henry was so incensed with Geoffrey that he had thoughts of taking Matilda from him.

Geoffrey of Anjou Giving Trouble.

Normans Abetting Him.

But the thread of the King's career was spun. Having once more by his personal exertions reduced Normandy to order, on Monday, 25th November, he came to Saint-Denis-le-Ferment,[5] a little place near Gisors, some forty miles from Rouen, intending on the morrow to hunt in the Forest of Lyons. His strength and energy must have been still unbroken. But in the night he was taken ill, it was said, from having partaken too freely of lampreys, a dish that always disagreed with him.[6] His case assuming a serious aspect, Archbishop Hugh of Rouen, previously Abbot of Reading, was summoned to his bedside, and administered the comforts of religion. The King confessed his sins, and made promise of amendment; he ordered his debts to be paid, and all arrears of salary to be settled; the rest of his treasures he gave to the poor. Of his son-in-law Geoffrey he made no mention, and so having received the Viaticum and Extreme Unction, he passed away on Sunday, 1st December, towards nightfall, in the 36th year of his reign, and the 67th of his age. According to Orderic he renewed his declarations in favour of Matilda, but the fact is not noticed in the report of the King's last moments given by one who was present.[7] Among those at his bedside were the Earls Robert of Gloucester, William Warenne of Surrey, Rotrou of Mortagne or Perche, Waleran of Meulan, and Robert of Leicester. On the Monday the remains were carried in state to

The King's Illness

And Death.

[1] Maine et Loire. Roscelin was married to Constance, natural daughter of the King; Le Prevost, V. 45. [2] So H. Hunt.

[3] Orne. [4] August–October, 1135; Orderic, 900.

[5] "Sanctum Dionysium in silva Leonum"; H. Hunt; Sym. *H.R.* Cont.; Dept. Eure.

[6] "Carnes murenarum"; H. Hunt; Sym. *H.R.* Cont. Huntingdon however goes on to describe a chill followed by fever.

[7] Ord. 901; W. Malm. *H.N.* s. 457; H. Hunt. For Henry's actual death-bed dispositions see the letter of the Archbishop of Rouen to the Pope, Malm. *sup.* 458.

Rouen and laid in the Cathedral, where the body was embalmed after a fashion, the bowels being buried in the neighbouring church of Ste. Marie des Prés, otherwise Notre Dame de Bonne Nouvelle, a foundation begun by his mother and finished by himself. The embalmed body was taken to St. Stephen's Caen, and kept there some weeks awaiting a favourable opportunity for transmission to England, for final burial, according to Henry's wishes, in his own foundation at Reading.[1]

[1] Ord. *sup.* ; W. Malm. *sup.* s. 459. For revolting details of the embalming see H. Hunt. 256.

CHAPTER XXI

Character of Henry I.—Estimate of his Rule—His Administrative Reforms—The King's Justices—The Exchequer and its Proceedings—The Pipe Rolls—Revenue of Henry—Monastic Foundations—Architecture of the Reign—Literature—The King's Issue.

Appearance and Character of Henry I.

IN bodily make Henry I. conformed to the family type, being a stout man of middle height, with an ample chest, and inclined to corpulence. His eyes beamed with serene self-confidence beneath the mass of black hair that overshadowed his fore-head.[1] Pleasant and ready in conversation, but not a maker of set speeches, he became jocose as soon as business was disposed of. In spite of the traditional cause of his final illness, Malmesbury describes him as a moderate man in his eating, and still more in his drinking, but a heavy, stertorous sleeper. In energy and determination of purpose he was not one whit behind his father or his brother Rufus; but he possessed a self-control, and a command of temper that were not theirs. Diligence, circumspection, and foresight were also his. A thorough politician, indefatigable in picking up information as to all that was going on, whatever he heard he remembered.[2] A man of peace, and not a shed-der of blood, he shewed as great ability in the conduct of a campaign as in the Council Chamber. His diplomatic victory over the Papacy in the matter of the Investitures was a signal triumph. His management of the Scots was most happy. In the suppression of baronial license, the crying evil of the times, he never spared his own exertions.[3] If he levied heavy taxes for his expeditions to Normandy, that was an inevitable result of the connexion with the Duchy. He had his duty to fulfil by his Continental as well as by his Insular subjects. But even in his taxation, as we shall see, he was not unmerciful, certainly not in his later years.[4] William of Malmesbury, describing him as equally persistent in his likings and dislikings,[5] implies that he was

His pleasant Manners.

His Wonderful Ability.

Not Unmerciful.

[1] "Crine nigro et juxta frontem profugo, oculis dulce serenis, thoroso pectore, carnoso corpore"; W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 412.

[2] "Audita tenaci memoriæ commendabat"; Ord. 823.

[3] "Nec facile quam diuturnos sudores in talibus (*i.e.* maintenance of public order) effuderit enumerem"; Malmesbury, *sup.* 411. "Vehementi pollens industria"; Ord. 823.

[4] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 390.

[5] "Odii et amicitiæ in quemlibet tenax"; *G. R.* s. 411. So too in fact Orderic,

unforgiving; while Henry of Huntingdon, representing hostile views, taxes him with cruelty, avarice, and treachery. Fond of money he certainly was, and a man of nice honour he certainly was not. The pledges of his coronation charter were violated, one and all, without scruple, but he does not appear to have been incapable of keeping faith with individuals. Nor was he vindictive to his enemies, except in the case of men who, like the unfortunate Luke de La Barre, or William of Mortain, had wounded his royal pride. In the horrible case of Juliana of Breteuil, it must be remembered that Henry took no personal part in the mutilation of his grandchildren: what he did was to give them up to be dealt with after the *lex talionis*, possibly through a ghastly sense of justice. On the other hand we find him again and again pardoning and reinstating men who had wantonly taken up arms against him. Two of the five Earls who stood by his deathbed were pardoned rebels. Henry preferred to win over men by management and clemency, rather than drive them to extremities by severity. Henry of Huntingdon again describes the King as an inscrutable man, a man of unfathomable dissimulation.[1] This again was perhaps true, but the instance given hardly bears the writer out. Robert Bloet, the Bishop of Lincoln, had been mulcted by the King through some judicial proceedings, and felt much aggrieved. When friends assured him that the King still spoke of him in friendly terms, he answered with a groan, 'The King never speaks well of a man unless he means to ruin him.' Yet Bloet died in full favour, riding at the King's right hand. In his partiality for legal proceedings as a mode of undermining obnoxious magnates Henry might be compared to Edward I. The irregularities of his private life, again, have been brought against him, but these did not affect the nation. He was, no doubt, a selfish man, but his interests, wisely conceived, coincided with those of the people. "Destroying his enemies, he destroyed theirs."[2] Nor was he without feeling for the lower orders, as shewn by the restrictions he imposed on the exactions of his followers during his progresses.[3] On his general merits as a King he is entitled to appeal to the voice of the clergy and people of his time, which with one accord proclaim him their friend. 'Good man he was, and mickle awe was of him. Durst nane man misdo against other on his time. Peace he made for man and deer (*beasts*).'[4] So

But not a Man of Honour.

An Inscrutable Man.

Skilful in the Use of Legal Weapons.

A Selfish Man.

High Estimate of his own Age

805; but he distinctly negatives the allegation that Henry was more mindful of injuries than of benefits. "Servientes divitiis et honoribus remuneravit." The high position of the men who suffered at Henry's hands gave an exaggerated idea of his severity. The fall of such men appealed to the popular imagination.

[1] "Summæ simultatis erat et mentis inscrutabilis"; *De Cont. Mund.* 300.

[2] Stubbs, *C. H.* I. 341.

[3] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 192; Malm. *G. R.* s. 411.

[4] Chron. E.

too the Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel styles him 'the father of his people, the King and guardian of the poor.'[1] His subjects knew him as the 'Lion of Justice.'[2] Higher praise no ruler need wish for. But of all earthly honour and success Henry clearly attained to the fullest measure. Malmesbury and Orderic thought him the greatest King on record, certainly the greatest of England's Kings, thus exalting him above the Conqueror. The Welsh Annalist described him as a man 'with whom God alone could contend.'[3]

His immense Success.

Henry, unlike his father, was a man of cultured mind and versatile tastes. Even in his busiest hours his fondness for books never deserted him. He considered that he had learned valuable lessons from books. His favourite saying was that an unlettered King was but a crowned ass.[4] Men of learning were invited to England, but personally, we are told, the King was not much in the habit of reading aloud, nor did he join very audibly in the responses in church.[5] We take it that he could read, probably write, Latin and French fluently. With an English wife, English mistresses, and an English confessor, after numerous expeditions with forces largely recruited in England, we may well suppose that Henry could speak English. Direct evidence of his acquaintance with English legal phraseology, however, is supplied by an entry in the MS. Register of St. John's Abbey Colchester, the foundation of Eudo the *Dapifer*. The original charter having been lost, a fresh one was drawn up by the monks, and sent over to Henry, who was then in Normandy (1119). The charter was handed to 'John of Bayeux,' *i.e.* the son of Bishop Odo, to read aloud. He could manage the Latin, but coming to some technical terms in English he stuck. Henry took the parchment from him, and read and explained to his circle the meaning of the cabalistic terms "*Soc, Sac, Toll, Team*, etc." The King, after considering the document awhile, turned to Eudo, who was present, and said, 'But for thy sake I would never grant such rights.' And well he might hesitate, the grant being most sweeping, and amounting to an entire concession of all Royal prerogatives.[6]

His Scholarly Tastes.

Knowledge of English.

[1] "Pater populi rex et tutela pusilli." R. de Monte, 126; "Justitiæ rigore inflexibilis provinciales quiete, proceres dignanter continebat"; Malm. *sup.*; "Ecclesiæ tutor pacisque serenus amator"; Ord. 902, also 805, 823. So too Sym. *R. H. Cont.* 286. Even the biographer of King Stephen calls him "pax patriæ gentisque suæ frater"; *Gest. Stephani*, p. 1. (Rolls Series, No. 82, Vol. III. Howlett.)

[2] "Leo justiciæ"; Ord. 887, from the supposed prophecy of Merlin; also Suger, *Vita Lud. G.*; Duchesne, *Hist. Fran. Scriptt.* IV. 295.

[3] *Brut y T.* p. 129.

[4] "Rex illiteratus asinus coronatus"; W. Malm. *G.R.* s. 390.

[5] "Quamvis ipse nec multum palam legeret nec nisi summisse cantitaret"; *Ib.*

[6] See the communication of Mr. J. Horace Round, *Academy*, 13 Sept. 1884. Apart from some misspelling, due doubtless to miscopying, the terms in the charter can all be identified and explained.

Unconscionable as a game-preserver, Henry would have kept all the hunting in England to himself. Few were allowed to sport in their own woods. The Forest Laws were kept up in all their horrible severity. Dogs in the neighbourhood of the forests were mutilated.[1] At the same time Henry took an interest in animals and natural history, and had a menagerie at Woodstock.[2]

Love of Sport.

Henry was not a legislator. The so-called *Leges Henrici Primi*,[3] apart from the first two chapters, which give his coronation charter, and his charter to the City of London,[4] are not an authoritative enactment at all. Nor are they even the work of a practical lawyer, but of an antiquarian, intended however as a legal text-book. The author was apparently a Frenchman, a clerk in the King's service at Winchester, who wrote between the years 1113 and 1118,[5] so that the work does, on the whole, represent the law of the time of Henry.

His So-called Laws.

On the other hand Henry did a great deal towards bringing the administration of the kingdom into shape, by organizing both the legal and the fiscal, systems, the two in fact running into one, the same machinery serving for both. In this work he had the able assistance of Bishop Roger of Salisbury. Henry's policy was one of centralization, in the interests of the Crown. In the county courts under the old English system local influences had been supreme. Local magnates presided, and all business had to pass through the county court. Nothing could be brought before the King, under ordinary circumstances, except by way of appeal from the county court. Henry cut down local influence as exerted through the county courts in two ways. On the one hand he narrowed their jurisdiction by depriving them of the cognizance of the higher class of cases—'Pleas of the Crown' as they were called (*placita de corona*)—such as suits relating to land between tenants *in capite*—removing these into his own *Curia Regis*.[6] On the other hand he sent down officers from his own Court, King's Justices (*Justiciæ*), to sit as assessors to the Sheriff in the county court, and represent the central authority. From this practice the system of judicial circuits takes its origin. We have distinct cases of such iters under Henry;[7] but more commonly we find men holding standing commissions to act as

Administrative Organisation.

The County Courts.

New Pleas of the Crown.

Justices in Eyre.

[1] Ord. 823.

[2] W. Malm. *G. R.* s. 409; H. Hunt. *De Cont. Mundi*, 300; Pipe Roll, 88. Lappenberg says that Henry also had a collection of animals at Caen.

[3] Schmid, 432; Thorpe, I. 497.

[4] Also in *Fœdera*, I. 11, and *Select Charters*, 103.

[5] See Dr. Liebermann, *Quadripartitus*, and Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. Eng. Law*, I. 3, 76. The Latin rendering of the Anglo-Saxon Laws seems to come from the pen of the compiler of the *Leges Henrici*, who is also the author of the *Quadripartitus*.

[6] See the Ordinance, *Fœdera*, I. 12; *Select Charters*, 99.

[7] See Bishop Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I., 423.

King's Justices, and sometimes for several counties at once. A further step was that of appointing men connected with the *Curia* to be Sheriffs of counties. In this way the King and the presiding officer of the *Curia* would have in their hands "the reins of the entire judicial administration."[1] In connexion with this we may again notice the fact, already referred to, that Henry for his Justices and agents selected men of moderate position, Normans or Frenchmen of course, such as the Corbets, Clintons, Bassets, Riddels; men well connected, but not Domesday tenants-in-chief, and therefore despised by the great feudatories as nobodies.[2] It is possible that the establishment of the Court of Exchequer as a special branch of the King's Court may also date from this reign.[3]

Court of Exchequer.

Apart from the above innovations the action of the county courts was still kept up as of old. The full court met twice a year under the Sheriff, or the Sheriff and the King's Justice conjointly. The Bishop, Earl, lords of land and their stewards, with the parish priest and the reeve and four men from each township, are still required to attend.[4] The *gemot* is still competent to declare folk-right in all cases civil or criminal, except those specially called up by the King to the *Curia Regis*; the suitors are still judges as well as witnesses. Compurgation and the Ordeal still hold their ground, but Norman trial by battle has become fully established.[5]

Old Procedure still in Force.

For the organization of the Exchequer we have the evidence of the Pipe Rolls, the earliest of our Royal Accounts, a series begun under Henry I. and carried on to the time of William IV. The term "*Scaccarium*," Exchequer, first appears under Henry I. Under the Conqueror and William Rufus we hear of the "*Fiscus*" or "*Thesaurus*." "*Scaccarium*," or Chequer Board, properly denoted the table on which the audit was conducted, the name being derived from a certain resemblance to a chess-board, the table being divided by white lines into columns according to the system of notation then in use. Separate columns are marked out for pence, shillings, pounds, twenties of pounds, hundreds of pounds, and thousands of pounds. The sum paid in by each man was marked, not by figures, but by counters deposited in the appropriate columns, the sum due by him being marked on the board in like manner as a debtor account. Thus the sums in the several columns could be compared without the mental effort of much addition or

The Exchequer: Its Procedure.

The Chequer Table.

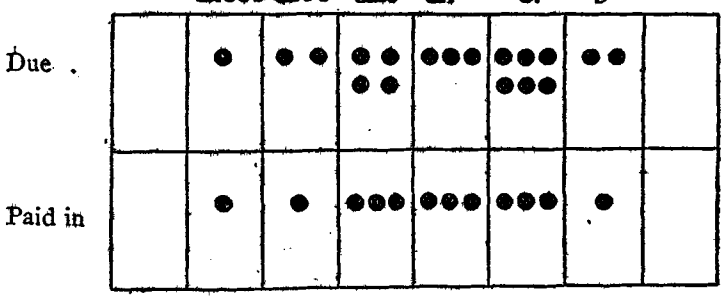
How the Money was Reckoned.

[1] *Id.* 424; J. H. Round, *Mandeville*, 107. [2] See above, 243, and Stubbs, *sup.* 338.
[3] Foss, *Judges*, I. 94. [4] Stubbs, *sup.* 425, 426.
[5] See Henry's Ordinance, *sup.* where he requires the county courts to be held at the times and in the places customary in the time of the Confessor; adding that he can always summon extra courts at will if necessary. "Quando voluero faciam ea satis summonere propter mea dominica necessaria."

subtraction. How far the system of the Exchequer was derived from Normandy, and how far it was based on old English use we cannot tell. We know nothing of the earlier fiscal practice either of England or Normandy. The business of the Exchequer must have been greatly systematized by the Normans, and especially by Roger of Salisbury under Henry I. But we have already seen reason to hold that a good deal must have been derived from earlier times. In one particular we can detect a bold attribution of an English system to Norman invention. The practice of requiring certain payments to be made in whited or blanched silver, *i.e.* silver tested by actual assay was certainly English, not Norman.[1] But in one passage the author of the *Dialogus de Scaccario* seems to claim it as something due to the jealous prudence of his great-uncle Bishop Roger.[2] So in other respects old institutions may have been claimed as new.

The Procedure probably partly Old English, partly Norman.

EXCHEQUER BOARD.[3]



	£	s.	d.
Due	1,283	6	2
Paid in	1,163	3	1
Balance left owing	120	3	1

Of the Pipe Rolls of the time of Henry I. unfortunately only one has come down to us, that for the thirty-first year of his reign (1130–1131), but a precious record it is, and from it for the first time we get a definite view of the revenues of an English King. But this view is not as complete as we could wish, because the Roll is, to a certain extent, defective.

Pipe Roll of Henry I.

The entries on the Pipe Rolls are arranged by counties, the sheriffs being the principal accounting parties, but originally all branches of the King's Revenue were brought into these Rolls. In the course of time as fresh sources of income were developed new subsidiary accounts were started, with finally an all-embracing series both of Receipt and Issue accounts in the Pell Rolls.

[1] See above, vol. I. 524. [2] *Dialogus, sup.* 186.
[3] From Mr. H. Hall's *Introduction to Pipe Rolls*, p. 37.

Twice in the year, at Easter and Michaelmas, the sheriffs were summoned to the Exchequer audit, wherever it might be held, in London or elsewhere, to 'proffer' (*proferre, profrum facere*) the sums for which they were accountable, or so much thereof as they were able to pay at the time. The Easter payments were held payments on account, the Easter audit being styled a "*Visus Compoti*" or 'View of Account,' not a strict "*Compotus*" or final account. The parties paying in money at Easter were given receipts in the shape of tallies, slips of wood on which their names were written, with the sum credited to them marked by notches cut in the wood.[1] The Exchequer retained counter-tallies notched identically. At the Michaelmas audit each man's account for the financial year was closed, and the 'Great Roll,' as it was called, made up.[2] If the accounting party had paid in full he received his quittance—"*Et quietus est*" being entered to his name on the Roll. If he had not settled fully the amount due was recorded against him, "*Et debet £—.*" If perchance he had paid in more than was due the balance was credited to him, "*Et superplusagium habet £—.*" Credit was also given to him for payments made by him either under established custom, or by special warrant from the King or Treasurer, such as expenditure to secure approvers (*probatores*) as King's evidences, charitable allowances, pensions, wages to crown servants (*Liberationes*), and expenditure on public works.

The Easter and Michaelmas Audits.

Exchequer Tallies.

Closing of the Accounts.

The liabilities of an outgoing sheriff were taken over by his successor, in consequence whereof the Pipe Rolls in time became overloaded with entries of bad debts, hopelessly lost, but still carried forward religiously from year to year, with the stereotyped answer on the part of the sheriff, "NIHIL, QUOD INDE NIHIL HABUIT" (*Nothing paid in, because he received nothing*). It appears that the sheriffs were held primarily responsible for all payments due by collective groups, not for those due by single individuals.[3] The reader will readily believe that every technicality, every legal presumption ran in favour of the King and against the accounting party.

Debts carried forward; continuing Liability of Sheriffs.

The first item taken in each sheriff's account was the "*Firma Comitatus*," the 'ferm' or farm-rent at which the King's manors, and the ordinary incidents of justice as administered in the County and Hundred Courts, were assessed. As the items are nowhere specified we cannot tell exactly what the "*Corpus Comitatus*," as it was called, comprised. The items were too well known to need telling.[4] It

The County Rents.

[1] For engravings of tallies see *Lancaster and York*, I. 160; H. Hall, *Introduction to Pipe Rolls*, 65 (Pipe Roll Society, 1884). [2] See *Dialogus, sup.* 204.

[3] *Dialogus*, 224–226.

[4] For the Pipe Rolls generally see H. Hall, *sup.* A record of the County Ferms was kept in the *Liber Exactorius*. *Dialog.*

was a general principle of the finance of the times to farm out the different branches of the revenue, leaving the farmer to collect the items and make what he could of them. The assessments were apparently fixed by the itinerant justices.[1] But as the Kings' revenues might be swelled by forfeitures, so they might be diminished by grants of land made by him to deserving followers. If these were taken from the possessions assigned to the sheriff at his 'ferm,' a corresponding allowance had to be made to him; and, accordingly, the *terræ datæ*, as they were styled, form a regular deduction from the sheriff's account. The first item always taken on the Roll is the balance, if any, left owing by the sheriff on account of his 'ferm' at the close of the previous year (*Vetus Firma*). Then come the payments on account of the 'ferm' for the current year (*Nova Firma*), with the appurtenant deductions. Payments by the sheriff and others on account of Danegeld and other incomings not included in the *Corpus Comitatis* then follow; these include all the incidents of feudal tenure, Wardships, Reliefs, Fines for marriage, felons' goods, also penalties imposed by the Justices in Eyre. Customs' duties or other indirect taxes nowhere appear.[2] They would be included in the farm-rents either of the counties or of the chartered towns. Thus the Revenue would be practically derived either from the land, or the tenure of land, the administration of justice, or fines arising from the exercise of the prerogative. We have also a *Donum*[3] from the towns, sometimes assessed by themselves, sometimes by the justices.[4]

The Revenues Farmed out.

Terræ Datæ.

Danegeld and Miscellaneous Sources of Revenue.

For our purposes we find it convenient to give the Revenue under three heads, namely, the County Ferms, Danegeld, and Miscellaneous Receipts. The counties of Somerset, Worcester, Hereford, and Salop are wholly wanting on our Roll, while Oxfordshire and others are defective. Danegeld from Hants is also wanting. Pembroke now figures as an organized county, while the men of Glamorgan, treated as an Honour or large Barony, are called upon to account. Very little, however, is got out of them. So with respect to the Lancashire lands between the Ribble and the Mersey. The men are called to account, but pay in nothing.

Heads of Revenue.

County Ferms.

As for the Danegeld, we gather generally from the Roll, and from the more express statements of other authorities, that it was raised annually.[5] The rate is not given on the Roll, but the *Dialogus de Scaccario* tell us that it was two shillings on the

Danegeld, the Rate at which it was Levied.

[1] *Dialogus*, 201, 217, 227. The County Ferms could not be lowered, but might be raised by the judges.

[2] Except that one-half of the customs (*theloneum nauium*) of Winchelsea was let to the Abbot of Fécamp for £40 (not paid), p. 71.

[3] Also in some places styled *auxilium*, but not one of the three strict feudal Aids.

[4] *Dialogus*, 227.

[5] So H. Hunt., A.D. 991 and 1136, and the *Leges Henrici Primi*, cap. 15.

hide. This statement is confirmed by Henry of Huntingdon,[1] and by the fact that on Henry's Roll the assessment for the five western counties comes to more than one-third of the amount paid by them under the geld of 1084, which was levied at six shillings the hide; and so, in a word, two shillings is the rate usually accepted by scholars.[2] If, as we seemed to find in Domesday, the hide was estimated as worth about £1 clear *per annum*, two shillings on the hide would amount to ten per cent., a terrible tax. Even five per cent. would be a heavy impost, and, accordingly, we find the Danegeld very badly paid, the arrears sometimes going back for four and five years. No Danegeld is returned from Durham, Cumberland, or Westmorland, but we have apparent substitutes in the shape of taxes on cattle, styled in the first case 'cornage' and the latter two cases *geldum animalium*.[3] It will be seen from our table that though the impost stood in the King's books at £4,200, the King only received £2,300, remitting £1,785, while £146 was still claimed from the sheriffs.

Under our third head we sweep in everything but Danegeld and County Ferms. It will comprise the *Dona* from the towns, returns from the forests, returns from mines (Devon and Cumberland), fines for encroachments on the forests (*essarts*, *purprestures*) murder-fines, special judicial penalties (*Placita*), probably imposed by the King's Court or by Justices in Eyre, compositions for offences (*conventiones*, *oblata*), fines for royal licences, with all the well-known feudal incidents in their worst shape. The hands of women are sold; the estates of minors farmed out.[4] Countess Lucy of Chester having been thrice married, and thrice left a widow, has to promise a thousand marks of silver (£666 13*s.* 4*d.*) to be allowed to live a single life for five years certain. On this transaction the Queen gets a percentage of twenty marks. It should, however, be borne in mind that this tyranny fell mainly, if not exclusively, on the Baronage, the tenants-in-chief. Again, the king seemed to regard himself as the general heir of wealthy ecclesiastics. Whatever they leave at death may be swept into his coffers.[5] The See of Durham, the only one vacant at the time of the Roll, is farmed out for some £428 a year, two years' payments coming into the account, besides £230 from the under-tenants of the bishopric.[6] Lastly,

Miscellaneous Receipts.

Sale of Heiresses.

Minors' Estates Farmed out.

Vacant Sees Farmed.

[1] Ut *sup.*

[2] So Stubbs, *C.H.* I. 411; Round, *Feudal England*, 55. The *Leges Henrici Primi*, however, give the rate as twelve pence the hide, c. 15.

[3] Pipe Roll, 131, 141.

[4] See *e.g.*, for the lands of Roger of Berkeley, Pipe Roll, p. 133; for the lands of Roger of Molbrai, 137. Men pay for offices of trust, and again have to pay to be relieved of them. See further cases given, Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* I. 414.

[5] So *e.g.* at the death of Ralph Flambard, the Bishop of Durham, Sym. *H.D.E. Cont.* 141. So in the next reign we shall find it at the death of Bishop Roger of Salisbury.

[6] Pipe Roll, p. 130.

the Jews, only heard of in London, appear as a distinct source of income.

Receipts from the Jews.

We find several of their number fining to be allowed to enforce their claims on debtors; while the whole body is charged £2,000 for a sick man alleged to have been killed by them.[1] It must be admitted that on the Roll the King's justice bears a very venal aspect. But even so it was hailed as a boon in comparison with the sufferings entailed by private war and baronial oppression.

Queen's Gold.

The Queen's Gold, of which one instance has just been given, was an extra percentage on so-called 'voluntary' offerings[2] to the King (*oblata et conventiones*), exceeding 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*) in amount. The impost seems to date from this reign, though some notices of analogous payments are found in Domesday. In the case of Countess Lucy the rate was two per cent. The writer of the *Dialogus* gives it as a mark of gold (£6) on one hundred marks of silver (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*), say ten per cent.; and he says that efforts were being made to extend the tax to all sums above ten marks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*), and in fact, on that footing the Queen's Gold was eventually established, namely, ten per cent. on all fines and oblations to the King of ten marks or upwards; and so it continued down to the time of Charles I.[3]

The year's Revenue then will stand thus:—

County Ferms (including arrears)	£11,082	9	8
Danegeld (*Id.*)	2,302	3	7
Other Receipts	10,883	0	1
	£24,267	13	4
For Missing Counties add, say one-eighth	3,000	0	0
	£27,267	13	4

With every reasonable allowance we may take it that Henry's income did not reach £30,000.[4] According to the estimate formed by us of the income of the Conqueror, an estimate based on data drawn from Henry's Roll, this income should have been equivalent to £1,500,000 or £2,000,000 of our money.

No Earls as Fiscal Officers under Henry I.

Henry's policy of employing men of moderate station in life has been already noticed. Orderic stigmatizes them as basely born and raised from the dust (*de pulvere*). That only means that they were not Montgomerys or Beaumonts. But it is a fact that on Henry's Pipe Roll not a single earl appears in any position of financial trust. Under the Second Henry we shall find them freely employed. Altogether at Henry's death we seem to trace only eight English Earls; viz., those of Gloucester (the King's son Robert), Surrey

[1] Pipe Roll, 146–149. [2] "Qui in pecunia numerata regi sponte se obligant;" *Dialogus*, 256. [3] See Ellis, *Domesday*, I. 171.

[4] The sum of £66,000 given as the gross amount of the Revenue of the year by Bishop Stubbs, *C.H.* I. 415, must have been made up by including all the unpaid arrears, as well as the value of the lands actually given away by the King (*Terræ Datæ*).

(William Warenne II.), Warwick (Roger of Beaumont), Leicester (Robert II. of Beaumont), Bucks (Walter Giffard III.), Chester (Ralph II. surnamed "Gernons"),[1] Richmond (Stephen of Brittany),[2] with the combined earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton held by David of Scotland.

Henry on the other hand was ready to grant charters to towns and Trade Guilds for the encouragement of industry.[3] The practice of conceding municipal rights to *communes* was assuming considerable proportions in France, but it may be questioned whether on either side of the Channel the King looked to anything beyond the profit of the fine or rent secured by the transaction.

Monasticism was renewing its youth by one of those periodical revivals necessary to its existence. Self-abnegation seemed to have become a passion. "Man could not inflict upon himself too much humiliation or misery." The true Christian life was to be "one long unbroken penance."[4] In the previous century the rules of Cluny had been thought the perfection of monastic rigour and monastic virtue. Now Cluny was deemed lax in comparison with the austerities of Clairvaux. England was not behindhand in the movement. In 1118 the new Order found its first home in England at Waverley in Surrey, through the zeal of Bishop William Giffard of Winchester.[5] Furness,[6] Neath (Glamorganshire), Tintern,[7] Rievaulx,[8] Fountains,[9] Calder (Cumberland),[10] followed in quick succession. But the great feature of the reign was the introduction of the Order of the Black or Augustinian Canons according to the Rule of St. Augustine of Hippo, as resuscitated by Ivo of Chartres *circa* 1080. No fewer than some 35 Houses were either founded or refounded for the Order under Henry I. We give their names in our Appendix to this chapter.

Monastic Revival.

Cistercian Foundations.

Henry's great foundation was Reading Abbey for Benedictines, the building now unfortunately a mere mass of ruins. The first stone was laid in 1121. The charter is dated in 1125.[11] He is also said to have endowed the Abbey of Cirencester, the Priory of Dunstable, and the churches of Ste. Marie de Mortemer and Ste. Marie du Pré, otherwise Notre Dame de Bonne Nouvelle, both at Rouen. The latter, however, was a work begun by his mother.[12] Two new Bishoprics we have also seen set up by Henry, namely Ely (1109), and Carlisle (1134).

[1] Son of Ralph Briquessart, who died in 1128 or 1129.

[2] Brother of Allan II., and second son of Allan Rufus; Doyle, *Official Baronage*.

[3] See *Select Charters*, 102–106; *Fœdera*, I. 10, 11; Pipe Roll, 5, 37, 114.

[4] Milman, *Latin Chr.* III. 329. [5] *Ann. Waverley*.

[6] Originally founded by Stephen, afterwards King of England, at Tulketh, outside Preston, in 1123; and removed by him to Furness some three years afterwards; Sym. *H. R.* p. 267. [7] *Ann. Camb.* 1130, 1131. [8] *Chr. Melrose*, 1132.

[9] *Monasticon*, V. 286; Freeman; W. Newburgh, I. 49, 50.

[10] Haddan and Stubbs, II. 27; *Monasticon*, V. 339; A.D. 1134. [11] *Monasticon*, IV. 28.

[12] *Ann. Dunstable*, A.D. 1135 (Rolls Series, No. 36, vol. III.); Orderic, 901.

If we cast a glance across the Border we shall find the whole Church of Scotland reorganized during this period. We have Bishoprics established for Moray and Dunkeld (before 1115), for Aberdeen (1125, transferred from its earlier seat at Mortlach), for Brechin (1128–1130), for Ross and Caithness (1130); with the old Galloway See of Whithern revived (1126).[1] These Bishoprics were made territorial, not tribal as the jurisdiction of the earlier Scottish bishops had been, while the beginnings of a parochial system may also be referred to this period.[2] Again in 1113 David, being then Earl of Cumbria, brought monks from the reformed Benedictine monastery of Tiron in France to found a House at Selkirk: in 1128 they were removed to Kelso. In 1118 he founded an Augustinian monastery at Jedburgh,[3] while Holyrood, also for Augustinian or Black Canons, followed in 1128.[4] Canons of the same Order were also introduced at Dunkeld, St. Andrew's, and elsewhere to oust the Culdees, canons apparently of an indigenous type, who had lost caste, either through natural decay, or for want of conformity to the usages of the Church at large.[5]

The Church of Scotland.

With churches and monasteries springing up in all directions the builder's art could not fail to flourish. Of the extant remains of Norman-Romanesque church architecture in this country great part must be referred to the reign of the First Henry. At Canterbury Lanfranc had led the way, rebuilding the cathedral (1070–1089), recently destroyed by fire.[6] His choir, perhaps like that of St. Stephen's Caen, was found too small, and was pulled down to be rebuilt on a grander scale by Prior Ernulf, afterwards Bishop of Rochester (1093?). The work was carried on by Prior Conrad, who succeeded Ernulf in 1107. Malmesbury tells us that there was nothing in England to be compared to it.[7] The church was dedicated in 1130.[8] But Conrad's choir was destined to be destroyed by fire in 1174.[9] Of Lanfranc's work little can be seen, but a good deal of his building probably remains in the cores of the piers of the central tower, encased in later additions. The existing nave retains the dimensions of his nave. To

Architecture of the Period.

Canterbury.

[1] See Haddan and Stubbs, II. 24, and 190–217.

[2] See Skene, *Celtic Scotl.* II. 365, etc.

[3] Haddan and Stubbs, *sup.*; *Id.* 15, 16; *Chr. Melrose.*

[4] *Chronn. Melrose* and *Holyrood.* See generally the list, Haddan and Stubbs, II. 181, from MS. Cleopatra A. XII. f. 56.

[5] For the Culdees see Haddan and Stubbs, *sup.* 175. The name seems derived from the Irish Céle Dé (*Servants of God*), a name applied to monks and hermits. They are first heard of about the year 800. The writers think that they were Secular Canons following a rule akin to that of Chrodegang of Metz (*circa* A.D. 757, regulated by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817).

[6] 6 Dec., 1067; above, p. 86. [7] *G. P.* p. 138. [8] Above, 312.

[9] Gervase, *Scriptt. Decem*, 1290–1294. His description of Conrad's choir is taken from earlier accounts by Eadmer; R. Willis, *Canterbury*, 9.

Conrad, not to Lanfranc, belongs the Western crypt, though Lanfranc's pillars may have been used.[1] Of Conrad's work something may be seen in the wall-arcading and wall-piers of both of the choir-aisles, as far East as the towers of St. Andrew and St. Anselm, which are his. The Eastern transepts are also his, but remodelled internally by William of Sens (1175–1178?). The window-heads of the choir-aisles are likewise due to Conrad, though they have been raised 3 feet 8 inches above their original positions, the stones having been taken down and replaced. Externally, fine specimens of the work of Ernulf and Conrad may be seen in the staircase-towers[2] on the West sides of the two Eastern transepts, and in the buildings connected with the North-East transepts. "The pillars of the choir, pier-arches, and clerestory above are wholly the work of William of Sens."[3]

The rebuilding of Rochester Cathedral was begun by Bishop Gundulf (1077–1108), and continued by his successors Ralph of Escures (1108), Ernulf (1115), and John (1124). In 1130 the church was dedicated.[4] The fine West front, partly restored, exhibits the original plan, all but the central window. The inner face of the West wall retains the original wall-arcading. Beyond the West front and ruins of of a detached tower on the North side, nothing is to be seen externally of the church of 1130, but internally, the piers, arches, and triforium of six bays of the nave remain. Two bays of the nave, the central tower, transepts, and choir are Early English, the original work (Gundulfs?) having tumbled down. But in the oldest parts we may trace in the zig-zag mouldings of the arches, and the clustered piers of the nave, a distinct advance on the work of Ernulf and Conrad at Canterbury.

Rochester.

Chichester, begun soon after 1082, was not dedicated till 1148. The plan and large portions of the existing fabric, including the lower arches, and most of the triforium, and greater part of the nave, are original.[5] At Norwich the choir, tower, and transepts must be ascribed to Bishop Herbert Losenge (1091–1121); the nave to his successor Everard (1121–1146).[6]

Chichester.

Norwich.

The new Minster at Ely, begun by Abbot Symeon of Avranches (1082–1093), and continued by Abbot Richard of Clare, was dedicated in 1106.[7] To Richard we owe the extant transepts.[8]

Ely.

So at Winchester we have the transepts, almost unchanged, of Bishop Walkelin (1070–1098.) The long nave, encased in the later work of William of Wykeham, is there still. Walls and piers are both "Norman."[9]

Winchester.

[1] Willis, *sup.* 39, 67, 73. [2] See engravings in J. Britton, *Cathedral Antiquities*, I. Plates v. and vii. [3] Willis, *sup.* 73. [4] Above, 312.

[5] See R. Willis, *Hist. Chich. Cathedral* (1861).

[6] So Blomefield, cited Britton, *sup.* II. 20, and Plates.

[7] Thomas of Ely, *Angl. Sacra.* I. 613.

[8] Lysons, *Magna Britannia.* [9] G. W. Kitchin, "*Winchester*," 56 (*Historic Towns*).

Gloucester.

The foundation stone of St. Peter's Gloucester, was laid in 1089, and the church consecrated in 1100.[1] The lofty piers, arches, and triforium of the nave confront us still; so apparently do the piers of the choir, but hidden by the elaborate groinings of later days.[2]

Peterborough.

Peterborough, begun by John of Séez in 1118, and finished by Abbot Martin in 1140,[3] was not however dedicated till 1143,[4] but the greater part is extant.[5]

Exeter.

At Exeter the transept-towers are the work of Henry's diplomatist William of Warelwast (1107–1137).[6]

Hereford.

At Hereford Bishop Robert Losenge (1079–1095) is said to have rebuilt the cathedral church.[7] But the work was still going on under Reignhelm (1107–1115). To this period belong the piers, arches, and triforium of the nave, choir, and South transept.[8]

Carlisle.

St. Mary's Carlisle, was dedicated in 1118 as a Priory of Augustinian Canons. The choir and transepts are extant.[9] The Priory became a Bishopric in 1133.

At Lincoln the newly founded cathedral of Remigius was ready for consecration in 1092. The central portion of the existing West front is his work. This includes five rounded archways on the ground floor, and the arches of the two aisles above. But the arches of the three central doors are enriched with zig-zag mouldings of later date. The rudeness of the work as compared with that of the rest of the building shows the immense strides that architecture made in the ensuing century.

Durham.

Exact details of special interest are forthcoming in connexion with the great Minster, the final resting-place of St. Cuthberht. The church of Ealdhem was pulled down and a new church begun by Bishop William of St. Carilef in 1093.[10] He died in January 1096, having built the choir and one bay of the nave. So far the mouldings of the arches are plain; there are no zig-zags. The transepts were added by the monks during the vacancy of the See (1096–1099); and, with the transepts, we have the addition of a triforium passage to the clerestory, there being no such passage in the walls of the choir. This triforium-clerestory, if we may call it such, is a distinct feature of the architecture of the period.[11] From the second bay to the West end of the nave, up to the vaulting of the roof (*usque ad testitudinem*), was the work of Bishop Flambard, and here zig-zag mouldings make their appearance. Lastly the vaulting of the nave was accomplished by the monks during the five years' vacancy that

[1] *Hist. Mon. Glouc.* I. 11 (W. H. Hart, Rolls Series, No. 33).
[2] Britton, *sup.* V. Plates viii. and xix.; Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 389.
[3] Hugo Candidus, 76 (Sparke, *Scriptt.*). [4] *Monasticon*, I. 351.
[5] Britton, *sup.* V. and Plates.
[6] *Monasticon*, II. 513; Freeman, *sup.* 378; Britton, *sup.* IV. Plates iv. and v.
[7] W. Malm., *G. P.* p. 300. [8] Britton, *sup.* V. and Plates.
[9] Bp. Creighton, "*Carlisle*" (*Historic Towns.*) [10] Sym. *H.D.E.* p. 128.
[11] As at Romsey, and Christchurch Oxford.

followed Flambard's death (1128–1133).[1] Throughout choir and nave we have clustered piers, to carry vaulting ribs, alternately with massive cylindrical piers. Choir, nave, and transepts as well as aisles seem to have been vaulted from the first. The vaulting of the choir has been re-done, but the vaulting of the nave seems to shew what that of the choir must have been, the plan being the same, except that the cross ribs of the nave have *Pointed Arches*, a feature that we could hardly ascribe to the time of William of St. Carilef. If clustered piers are to be found at Winchester, Rochester, and Norwich, still Durham may claim to show the earliest vaulted nave, and the first Pointed groinings in Great Britain. We may mention that at Durham the pointed arch makes its appearance exactly in the situation, and under the circumstances, in which it is first found in Continental churches, namely, in the cross ribs of the vaulting, having been adopted from purely structural considerations, to lessen the outward thrust of the arch, and so gain stability for buildings boldly roofed with masses of stone.[2]

First Vaulted Nave and First Pointed Arches.

The nave of Durham must have been well advanced in 1104, when the remains of St. Cuthberht were translated [3] from their resting place in the Cloister Garth, to a new shrine prepared for them, behind the high altar, and just in the centre of the semicircular Norman apse.[4] The 29th August was the day fixed for the interesting ceremony. In the course of the preparations the actual state of the venerated remains was much discussed. The orthodox view was that the body was there, whole and uncorrupt. But some ventured to question the presence of any real relics of the Saint; while others maintained that if the body was there at all, it could only be in a state of utter dissolution. To set such doubts at rest an investigation was made by night on the 24th August by Prior Turgot and nine monks, our historian Symeon being one of them. All had duly sanctified themselves beforehand by prayer and fasting. When the sepulchre was opened a huge wooden chest was found, hooped with iron, and covered with leather, studded with nails. With some hesitation the chest was broken open, and then another wooden chest appeared inside, wrapped in coarse linen cloth of triple thread, which was at once recognized as the coffin described by Bæda. After further prayer, and with much devout fear and trembling,

Examination of Remains of St. Cuthberht.

[1] Symeon *H.D.E. Cont.* 139–141. The allegations seem clear. Flambard found the work completed to the nave, *i.e.* the second bay of the nave, as the building itself shews. "Usque navem Rannulfus jam factam [ecclesiam] invenit." He carried on the nave "circumductis parietibus ad sui usque testitudinem." The vaulting of the nave was the only thing left to be done after his death, and then "eo tempore navis . . . . peracta est." [2] See Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire.*

[3] "Ecclesia. . . . non parva ex parte perfecta." Sym. *H.D.E. Auct.* p. 248.

[4] *Ex relatione* Dean Kitchin of Durham. The apse was subsequently pulled down to make way for the existing Galilee to the East of it, but the foundations of the apse have recently been explored and may be seen.

they raised the lid, to find a copy of the Gospels lying on a plank supported by cross bars that concealed all below. On the threshold of further discovery fresh hesitation seized the party. But a couple of iron rings in the plank suggested that it was meant to be raised. When raised it disclosed the body of the Saint, lying on his right side, whole and fragrant, as if in sweet sleep. Beside him had been deposited a quantity of relics, including the head of St. Oswald, the bones of Aidan, and Bæda, etc., etc. The latter were eventually removed to be entombed elsewhere.[1] The head of St. Oswald, however, was allowed to remain, while the body of St. Cuthberht, wrapped in precious vestments, was replaced on its back. Personal articles reinterred with the Saint included an ivory comb, a pair of scissors, a little silver altar, a paten and a chalice, the latter carved out of an onyx supported by a golden lion.

To satisfy the public that complained of the secrecy of these *ex parte* proceedings a further inspection was granted in the presence of a distinguished audience, among whom were Alexander, afterwards King of Scotland, and two future Archbishops of Canterbury, namely, Ralph, then Abbot of Séez, and William of Corbeil, then a priest in Flambard's household. Ralph of Séez was deputed to touch and handle the body of the Saint, so as to satisfy all that it was really incorrupt. On the 29th August (1104), as arranged, the remains, enclosed in a third outer coffin, were carried in procession round the Minster, and then laid in the new shrine.[2] At the suppression of the Monastery, the shrine was destroyed, but the Saint's coffin was reinterred underneath the place where the shrine had stood (1541–1542). There St. Cuthberht was left in peace till the year 1827, when his coffin was again opened, and he was found, alas! no longer whole and uncorrupt, but reduced to the state of a skeleton. With him, however, were duly found the relics reinterred in 1104.[3]

Other Architectural Remains of the Reign.

We cannot go on to give details of the other architectural monuments that have come down to us from the reign. The tower and transepts of St. Alban's are earlier than the time of Henry I. They were built by Lanfranc, in whose hands the Abbey was, under the supervision of his reputed son, Abbot Paul (1077–1088).[4] But the church was not dedicated till 1115.[5] Tewkesbury Abbey must be noticed as being a twin structure with St. Peter's Gloucester, and of the same age. Southwell Minster again (Nottinghamshire) must be pointed out as an extremely fine specimen of the art of the period.[6]

[1] Bæda's remains lie within the Galilee.

[2] See the full account evidently written by Symeon, but not penned till after 1122, *H. D. E. Auct.* 248–262.

[3] Dean Kitchen *ut sup.* For the examination in 1827 see Canon J. Raine's "Cuthbert" (Durham, 1828).

[4] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* 15. See Freeman, *N.C.* IV. 399. [5] Above, 282.

[6] See *Arch. Institute*, 1848, p. 211, and the engravings.

If Henry gave England a time of peace and immunity from lawless outrage, he could not guarantee fine weather. His reign seems to have passed through a cycle of bad times, mostly in the way of autumnal rains, leading to failure of crops, followed by dearth and mortality, both among men and beasts. The years 1103, 1105, 1110, and 1111 were marked by these dismal features, the last year ending with a very severe winter, when even the birds died.[1] So in France 1109, 1110, and 1111 were years of famine.[2] On the 10th October, 1114, we have an extraordinary low tide in the Thames and Medway, when men were able to ford the river below London Bridge.[3] This suggests a season of extraordinary drought, the weather being always in extremes. A hard winter ensued, followed again by a wet summer. In 1116, rain fell from the month of August till February in the next year, the crops failing in both years.[4] The Peterborough chronicler, to whom we owe most of these facts, regularly couples the record of a bad year with a complaint of the King's "gelds." Apparently he wrote from the point of view of one who held that churchmen had no business to contribute to secular taxes, but the pressure of Danegeld of course would be severely felt in bad years.

Bad Seasons.

Famine and Pestilence.

In 1118 a terrible gale, destructive to trees and buildings, was experienced on the 21st December. So too in France, where it was accompanied by floods in the Seine.[5] Just three years later a great storm passed over all England on the 24th December,[6] when even stone buildings were blown down. In 1122 we have two 'mickle winds,' one on the 21st March, the other on the 8th September,[7] both rather unusual times for such tempests. But the most dismal picture of dearth is given us under the winter of 1124–1125. 'Ful heavy year was it. The man that had any goods they bereaved him of them with hard gelds and hard 'sizes (*motes*). He that had none died of hunger.' We are told that from Christmas to Candlemas (2nd February) the two 'seedlips' or basketsful of corn needed to sow an acre of wheat cost six shillings, the three seedlips needed for an acre of barley costing the same sum, and the four seedlips needed for an acre of oats costing four shillings.

Destructive Gales.

Again, under the year 1125, we have a great flood in August, when bridges were carried away, and men drowned; the whole autumn continuing wet, with dearth and mortality to follow. Finally, 1131 witnessed the outbreak of an extraordinary murrain or plague among cattle and swine, one that emptied stalls and pigstyes for two years at least. Not a township was free from it. 'At last the hen-fowls died.'[8] Altogether one-third

[1] Chron.; Flor. [2] Ord. 839. [3] Eadmer, *H.N.* 225; Chron., Flor. [4] Chron.
[5] Chron.; Ord. 847, 851. The gale in France was felt on the very same day.
[6] Chron. A.D. 1121; Symeon, *H. R.* s. 203. [7] Chron.
[8] Chron.; W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 456.

of the years of the reign must have been marked by calamities connected with atmospheric disturbances.

Literature.

The literature of the period must not pass unnoticed. For the vernacular we have little to show beyond the annals of the Peterborough Chronicle, (very corrupt English) and some Homilies.[1] Norman ascendancy could not be expected to foster the culture of the native tongue; and so, for the time, it sinks from the rank of a literary to that of a merely popular speech.[2] But for works composed in Latin a considerable expansion begins to appear. The writings of Lanfranc and Anselm of course belong to the literature of Europe, not of England. But those exceptional men had been followed to England by minor lights, priests and monks of a scholarship and learning much above any previously known to Britain. To Ernulf of Beauvais we owe, besides his architectural work at Canterbury and Rochester, the compilation of the *Textus Roffensis*, perhaps our most important collection of Anglo-Saxon Law, still preserved at Rochester.[3] David the Scot (*i.e.* Irishman), appointed Bishop of Bangor in 1120, was a literary celebrity. He had been chaplain to the Emperor Henry V., and had written a history of his struggle with Pope Pascal. William of Malmesbury, while condemning the Bishop's partisanship, condescended to borrow useful matter from his book.[4] Again, in 1128, Gilbert the Universal, the wonder of his age, was called by Henry from his canonry at Lyons to preside over the See of London.[5] Robert of Gloucester, and Walter Espec[6] of Helmsley, the founder of Rievaulx, like their royal master, patronised men of letters. Geoffrey Gaimar was assisted by them with books.[7] Altogether we have new and higher subjects taken up, and old ones handled in more effective style. As literary compositions the works of Eadmer and William of Malmesbury rise distinctly above the productions of earlier workers in similar fields. Symeon, Florence, Henry of Huntingdon were all writing in the reign. Hagiology flourished in the hands of Osbern of Canterbury and Ælred of Rievaulx. Even in writings of this class "a finer taste and better Latinity" become perceptible.[8] Then we hear of the Epigrams of Godfrey Prior of Winchester,[9] "happily caught from Martial," with a purity of style "noteworthy for the Middle Ages." So again we have verses by Reginald of Canterbury (*circa* 1120) on Legendary and other subjects.[10] Henry of Huntingdon also tried his hand at Epigrams and

[1] Kington Oliphant, *Standard English*, 67, cited Freeman. For the York Bidding Prayer, of older date, but doubtless then still in use, see Simmons, *Lay Folks Mass Book*, 62. [2] Freeman, *N.C.* V. 525. [3] See Schmid, xxiii.

[4] *G.R.* ss. 420–426; Orderic, 763; Geoffrey Gaimar, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 829.

[5] "Gilbertus cognomine vero universalis"; Flor. Cont. A.D. 1128; *Reg. Sacr.*

[6] Espec or Espoit; modern "pivert," = *picus viridis*, = *green woodpecker*; Godefroy.

[7] See his "Estorie des Engles." *Mon. Hist. Brit. sup.*

[8] Ten Brink, *Hist. Engl. Literature*, I. 128. (Translation Kennedy.)

[9] W. Malm. *G.R.* ss. 441, 444. [10] Ten Brink, *sup.* 129, 130.

miscellaneous writing.[1] More interesting is the disposition to turn towards mathematics and natural science as subjects of study.

Mathematics and Natural Science.

"As early as 1082 one Gerland appeared as the author of a *Computus*, and a treatise on the *Abacus*. Roger, surnamed *Infans*, composed a new *Computus* about the year 1124;" while Athelhard of Bath,[2] drawing from Arab sources, promulgated treatises on astronomical and mathematical subjects, including the elements of Euclid. Above all in his allegory *De Eodem et Diverso*, and his *Quæstiones Naturales* he asserted the rights of reason and scientific enquiry as against the tyranny of current dogmatic theology.[3]

But from the purely literary point of view the feature of the time was the outburst of Romance, and especially of the Arthurian cycle of Romance. William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Regum* had sought to enliven his pages, or to fill up gaps in his narrative, by introducing entertaining stories, gathered from various sources.[4] Prophecies attributed to Ambrose Merlin of the time of Vortigern, rewritten and brought down to date, so as to include references to events of the time of Henry I., were thought worthy of insertion in the sober narrative of Orderic.[5] He tells us that he took them from a little book of Merlin's,[6] being probably one of the works from which Geoffrey of Monmouth shortly afterwards compiled the wonderful *Gesta Britonum*, supposed to have been translated by him from Breton or Welsh; but in all likelihood only transcribed from Latin texts, of which we had an early issue in our Nennius (A.D. 800–831).[7] Celtic feeling had been greatly stirred by the subjugation of England by the Normans, and hopes excited that were not destined to be at all realised. Disappointed nationality consoled itself with literary effort.

The Arthurian Romance.

Turning from poetical romance to the daily work of education we have to notice the first mention of Oxford as a place of instruction. In 1133 Master Robert Pulein began to lecture there in theology. His reputation was such that it was said that Henry offered him a bishopric, but that he declined it. Eventually in 1145 Pope

Lectures at Oxford.

[1] "*De Amore*"; "*De Herbis*"; *Satirical Poets of 12th Century*, II. 163. (Wright, Rolls Series, No. 59.) [2] Pipe Roll, 31 H. I. p. 22. [3] Ten Brink, *sup.*

[4] See ss. 168–175; and Bishop Stubbs' discussion of them, vol. II. lxi. etc.

[5] p. 887, A.D. 1128. See Le Prevost, IV. 488.

[6] "De Merlini libello," 888. The opening words of the prophecy as given by Orderic correspond exactly with those in Nennius, s. 41 (ed. Stevenson), where the prediction is first found.

[7] The prophecies of Merlin, as seen by Orderic, were evidently published before the death of Henry I. They are found with a purer text in the *Gesta Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but that work refers to Henry as dead. With respect to the language of the originals from which Geoffrey wrote, Robert of Torigny no doubt gives him credit for having translated "De Britannico in Latinum" (A.D. 1152); so does William of Newburgh, I. 12. Henry of Huntingdon, Gervase, and Giraldus were of the same opinion, but they probably took Geoffrey's word for it.

Lucius II. appointed him Chancellor to the Apostolic See.[1] It is reasonable to suppose that Pulein's lectures may have been delivered in the newly rehabilitated Priory of St. Frithswyth, now Christ Church Cathedral.

By Eadgyth-Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret of England (she died 1st May, 1118) Henry had issue:—

(1) MATILDA, born in January or February, 1102,[2] married, first in January, 1114, to Henry V. of Germany (no issue); and secondly in June, 1129, to Geoffrey, afterwards Count of Anjou, by whom she had HENRY II., born 25th March, 1133; Geoffrey, born 3rd June, 1134,[3] died July, 1157[4]; William, born August, 1135, died 30th January, 1164[5]; Emma, married to David son of Owain of North Wales.[6]

Henry's Issue.

(2) William, born, summer or autumn, 1103[7]; married in 1119 to Matilda of Anjou; died 25th November, 1120 (drowned in the White Ship). No issue.

(3) Richard, died young.[8]

By Adelaide of Louvain Henry had no issue. After his death she married William of Aubigny,[9] afterwards Earl of Arundel, and died in 1151. By ladies, mostly if not all of good birth and family, Henry had a number of natural children, the order of whose births cannot be given. Robert de Monte in his Continuation of William of Jumièges mentions six sons and seven daughters, but his list is incomplete. Beginning with the sons we have the eldest and most distinguished.

Robert of Caen, born before his father's accession to the throne, and of a French mother; created Earl of Gloucester 1121–1122[10]; married to Mabille, daughter and heiress of Robert fitz Hamon, and with her hand received Torigny[11] in Normandy, the Honour of Gloucester, and the

[1] *Ann. Osney*, A.D. 1133 (Rolls Series, No. 36). "Robertus Pullanus . . . Britannia oriundus"; Sym. *H.R. Cont.* p. 319; *Ann. Waverley*, A.D. 1145.

[2] Matilda was born "anno secundo"; Gervase, *Scriptt. Decem*, c. 1138; I. 91, 92, Rolls ed.; that would be 5th Aug., 1101–4th Aug., 1102. The *Winchester Annals* state that she was eight years and fifteen days old when she was sent abroad in 1010; that happened 'before Lent'; Chron. E; *i.e.* before February 23rd. Symeon, *H.R.* 241, places the crossing a few days later, at the beginning of Lent, "initio Quadragesimæ." The exact day of Matilda's birth therefore has yet to be made out.

[3] Above, 316. [4] Sandford, *Geneal. Hist.* 37. [5] R. de Monte.

[6] R. Hoveden, II. 134; R. Diceto, 585.

[7] William was born "anno tercio," *i.e.* 5th August, 1102–4th August, 1103, Gervase *sup.* The Pope congratulated Henry on the birth of his son William, 23rd November, 1103; Eadmer, *H.N.* 155–157. According to Malmesbury the Ætheling was seventeen years old and 'a little more ("paulo plus") at the time of his death in November, 1120. *G.R.* p. 496. I need hardly notice Dr. Rössler's strange theory that Matilda and William were twins, born 7th February, 1102; *Kaiserin Mathilde*, 8, 417. Such phrases as "Gemina proles," "Gemini," etc., in Mediæval Latin do not necessarily imply twinship. [8] Gervase, *sup.* [9] R. de Monte, A.D. 1139.

[10] See J. Horace Round, "*Mandeville*," 433. Perhaps he was created in the Grand Court at Westminster at Whitsuntide (29th May), 1121. [11] Dept. Manche.

Lordship of Glamorgan and other estates in Wales; died 31 Oct., 1147, leaving issue.[1]

Richard, distinguished in the wars in Normandy, also born before 1100,[2] of an Englishwoman, "Ansfrida," widow of Anskill, a Berkshire landowner[3]; died 1120, drowned in the White Ship.

Reginald of Dunstanville, alleged son of Sibylle, daughter of Robert Corbet of Alchester in Warwickshire.[4] He was still a young man (*juvenis*) at Henry's death, was created Earl of Cornwall 1140, and died in 1175.[5]

Robert II., son of an Englishwoman, Eadgyth or Edith. She was subsequently married to Robert of Oily the younger.[6]

Gilbert,[7] also a young man at Henry's death.

Henry, not named in the *Continuation* of Jumièges, but probably older than the three preceding, being the son of Nest, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, last King of South Wales, who was killed in 1093. When her connexion with the King came to an end, Nest married Gerald of Windsor, Constable of Pembroke Castle, and after his death again Stephen of Aberteivy. She must have been married to Gerald some years before 1110, as she had then two sons and a daughter.[8] Her son Henry was killed in the Welsh campaign of 1157,[9] and left issue.

William of Tracy, who died soon after his father.[10] It has been suggested that as his name is coupled with that of Reginald in the *Red Book of the Exchequer* they may have been sons of the same mother.[11]

As for the daughters we have—

Matilda, by an Englishwoman, Eadgyth or Edith,[12] but clearly not the same person as the mother of Robert II., as in 1103 Matilda was married to Rotrou of Mortagne, Count of Perche, by whom she had a daughter, Philippa. Matilda died in 1120, lost in the White Ship.[13]

Juliana, married in 1103 to Eustace of Breteuil. The ghastly story of her children has been given already. Died a nun at Fontevrault.[14]

Matilda II. married to Conan III., Count of Brittany, by whom she had issue. She again must have been born before 1100, as she had been married or betrothed some time before 1113.[15]

[1] See W. Jum. Cont. 306; W. Malm. *G.R.* ss. 446, 452; Doyle, *Offl. Baronage*, and below, 431. [2] Jum. Cont. *sup.*

[3] *Id.*, and Freeman, *N.C.* V. 843, citing *Hist. Abingd.* II. 17, 37, 122; *Domesday*, 58 b. and 63. [4] So Carte, cited Lapp. (Thorpe), 348.

[5] Jum. Cont. *sup.*; Doyle, *sup.*

[6] Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 310, and Freeman, *N.C.* V. 306, citing *Monasticon*, VI. 253.

[7] W. Jum. *sup.*

[8] Giraldus, *It. Camb.* p. 130 (ed. Dymock); Florence, A.D. 1093.

[9] *Ann. Camb.* A.D. 1158; *Brut.* A.D. 1156. For the date see William of Newburgh, I. 106. [10] Jum. Cont. *sup.* [11] Lapp. *sup.* 348, citing Carte.

[12] Pipe Roll, 31 H.I. p. 155. [13] Jum. Cont. *sup.*; Ord. 810, 870, 891.

[14] Jum. Cont. *sup.*; Ord. 810, 864, above, 283, 290.

[15] Jum. Cont. *sup.*; Ord. 544, 841.

Sibylle, married to Alexander I. of Scotland (after 1107). Died in an island in Loch Tay, 1122.[1]

Eustacia,[2] married to William Goiet, of Montmirail in Maine.[3]

[ ] married to William of Chaumont-en-Vexin (before 1119).[4]

Aline,[5] married to Matthew, son of Bourchard of Montmorency (qy. after Brémule, 1119?).[6]

Constance, married to Roscelin of Beaumont-le-Vicomte (bef. 1135), and had issue.[7]

[ ] born late in the reign by Elisabeth of Beaumont, sister of Earls Waleran of Meulan, and Robert of Leicester.[8]

Thus Henry was deemed the father of three legitimate and sixteen illegitimate children, truly a goodly family. It will be noticed that of nine daughters given in marriage not one was bestowed upon an English magnate, only one upon a Norman baron, the rest upon border neighbours; men worth securing but not likely to give trouble in internal affairs.

[1] Sym. *H.R.* p. 265; *Scotichron.* I. 316. The island where the Queen died was doubtless the little island near Kenmore, where the ruins of a convent may be seen.
[2] So Lappenberg, *sup.* [3] Dep. Sarthe; Jum. Cont. *sup.* [4] Oise; Ord. 856.
[5] So Lapp. [6] Seine et Oise; Jum. Cont. *sup.* conf. Ord. 855.
[7] Sarthe, Ord. 900; Sandford, *Genealogical History*, p. 33. [8] Jum. Cont. *sup.*

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXI.

Priories founded for or handed over to Augustinian Canons under Henry I.

BEGINNING with St. Julian and St. Botolf's Colchester, said to have been the first Augustinian House established in England, namely *circa* 1105, we have next Holy Trinity or Christ Church Aldgate, and, after that, Barnwell, Nostell (Yorkshire), Hagmon (Salop), St. James' Northampton, Carlisle, Dunmow, Taunton, St. Mary Overey, (Southwark), Brisett (Suffolk), Cirencester, Hexham, Launde (Leicestershire), Thurgarton (Notts), Kirkham (Yorks), Launceston (Cornwall), St. Denys (near Southampton), Leeds (Kent), Kenilworth, Dunstable, Southwick (Hants), Merton (Surrey), Osney, Giseburn (Yorks), Bridlington (W.), St. Bartholomew (Smithfield), Warter (Yorks), St. Osyth's (Essex), Runcorn (Cheshire), Brumore (Hants), Tonbridge, Anglesey (Cambridgeshire), and Trentham (Staffordshire). See *Monasticon*, VI. pt. 1, 37, etc.

CHAPTER XXII

STEPHEN

(*English* "Stefne"; *Fr.* "Estenne")

Born *circa*, 1086 [1]—Crowned 22nd December, 1135—Died 25th October, 1154

A.D. 1135–1136

Accession of Stephen—Issue of Charter—Affairs on the Scottish Border—Confirmation by Innocent II.—Siege of Exeter—Reverses in Wales

THE events immediately consequent on Henry's death clearly shewed how personal his rule had been. Everything depended on him. When his controlling hand was removed everything went to pieces. The authorities with one accord tell us that within an incredibly short space of time both England and Normandy had fallen into states of chaotic disorder. This was a direct result of the fact that no King's Peace had been or could be proclaimed till a new head of the State was installed. But the mischief was probably aggravated by the fact that Henry left behind him no administration capable of standing on its own legs. The men of moderate position whom he loved to employ had no strength of their own; while the Magnates who had been kept in the background hastened to reassert what they conceived to be their rights. Before going farther we may point to one feature of the situation which impressed men's minds as a sign of the collapse of law, namely the speedy and wholesale destruction of the King's game,[2] which till then had probably been the most ubiquitous and visible symbol of Royal authority.

Disorders at Henry's Death.

Destruction of Game.

At Rouen we hear that the Barons, instead of taking any steps to proclaim a new King or Queen, contented themselves with appointing governors for the districts. William of Warenne was given charge of Rouen and the Pays de Caux, while William of Roumare and Hugh of Gournay went home to guard the Vexin frontier.[3] What became of the Earl of Gloucester does not appear, but he remained abroad. One man, and one man only, shewed himself equal to the occasion, and his promptness gained him the Crown. The late King's favourite nephew, Stephen Count of Mortain and Boulogne,

Affairs in Normandy.

[1] He was knighted by Henry I. in 1103; Orderic 811. He might have been 16–18 years old then. For the old forms of his name see the Peterborough Chronicle, and "Guil. le Mareschal" (P. Meyer).

[2] *Gesta Stephani*, 4 (Ed. Howlett; Rolls Series, No. 82, vol. III.). [3] Orderic, 901.

was at home in the *Boulonnais* when he heard of his uncle's death. Seizing the opportunity, he crossed the Channel with a small band of followers, to put himself forward as a candidate for the vacant Throne. On his mother's side he was of the blood of the Conqueror, while his wife Matilda through her mother Mary, daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret, traced descent from the Saxon Kings. No doubt he had an elder brother Theobald, but, according to elective principles, not yet altogether passed away, a younger brother might be preferred before an elder. Stephen was well known in England as a leading Prince of the Blood, and he had large estates there. Whether he had any personal hold on the country, or even any following, may be doubted.[1] But he must have been well aware of the unpopularity of the Angevin match, and of the obstacles that it would put in the way of Matilda's recognition.

Prompt Action of Stephen.

Sailing from Witsand he was repelled at Dover, while Canterbury closed its gates against him.[2] But these places were in the hands of 'men' of the Earl of Gloucester.[3] Undeterred by this check Stephen pushed on to London, where he met with a flattering reception. The leading citizens, alarmed at the prospect of an interregnum—no other candidate coming forward—and thinking that "if 'twere well done, 'twere well done quickly," accepted his candidature, and promised their support. This it would seem was done on the strength of a private compact, such as Exeter had endeavoured to make with the Conqueror in 1068. Stephen swore to maintain peace and order to the best of his ability, and also, doubtless, to respect all the civic customs and franchises to the fullest extent.[4] As an earnest of performance Stephen immediately attacked and broke up a formidable band of brigands that had been infesting the neighbourhood, killing and imprisoning some, and either hanging or gibbeting their chief.[5]

Reception in London.

But however exalted an idea the Londoners might form of their own position and rights, they could not pretend to carry England; and so Stephen hastened on to Winchester, in order to make sure of the one man on whom his hopes rested,[6] his brother Henry of Winchester, described as a man of wise counsel and persuasive speech.[7] Both had sworn allegiance to Matilda; both were under deep obligations to their uncle; but at this critical moment the Bishop did not disappoint his brother. He went out to meet him with the leading citizens of Winchester, brought him in

The Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury.

[1] Even his Biographer, while dwelling on his amiable character, and his martial qualities, does not claim this; *Gesta Stephani*, 5. Malmesbury, *H.N.* s. 460, and the course of events give a distinct negative. [2] Gervase, *Decem S.* 1340. [3] Orderic, 917.

[4] *Gesta*, 5, 6; see also Mr. J. Horace Round's *Geoffrey of Mandeville*, 3, 247 (Longmans, 1892). [5] *Gesta*, 6.

[6] So expressly both Malmesbury and the *Gesta*, the spokesmen of the two parties.

[7] "Prudentia mirabilis . . . eloquentia ineffabilis"; *Gesta*.

triumph into the city, and prevailed upon William of Pont de L'Arche, the Keeper of the Royal treasure, to surrender the all-important hoard. We next hear of the appearance on the scene of Bishop Roger of Salisbury and Archbishop William of Corbeil. Bishop Roger apparently thought himself relieved of his oath by the fact that Henry had married his daughter without the promised reference to his Barons,[1] and so made no difficulty. The Archbishop shewed more reluctance, pleading the oath to Matilda, and demanding a formal and constitutional election by the Estates of the Realm. 'The King who was to rule over all should be chosen of all.' To this we are told that Stephen's friends made answer that the oath was null, having been extorted under pressure; that Matilda had been declared heir merely for the sake of establishing friendly relations between Normandy and Anjou; while men, Hugh Bigod one of them, were found bold enough to assert that at the last Henry had recalled his declarations in favour of his daughter.[2] The hateful prospect of Angevin rule, the personal unpopularity of Matilda, a wilful and imperious woman, were considerations that needed no telling. But the real plea by which Henry of Winchester *justified* his conduct to his own conscience, and that by which he certainly won over the Archbishop was this, that if they made Stephen King, under a King promoted by churchmen, the Church would have its own way. Accordingly we are told that before he would consent to hallow Stephen, Archbishop William exacted from him an oath to restore to the Church the 'liberty' she was supposed to have enjoyed under the Conqueror, but of which it was alleged that she had been deprived by Rufus and his brother.

Compact with the Church.

This allegation of course was altogether destitute of truth. The Conqueror, no doubt, had not sold benefices, or impounded their revenues; but the Royal Supremacy had been asserted in the strongest manner by him; while the principles laid down by Henry were based on his father's practice. Thus Anselm, not Henry, was the real innovator.

Stephen, however, took the oath, and Henry of Winchester pledged his personal honour for his brother's observance of the compact.[3] What it imported would not be doubtful. The 'liberty' of the church was a phrase known to all. Stephen would be understood to have promised to

[1] W. Malm. *G. R.* 530.

[2] See *Gesta*, 7–9; Ralph of Diceto, and Gervase, *Scriptt. Decem*, 505, 1340; and especially the *Historia Pontificalis* (Pertz. XX. 543), cited Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 9, where Hugh and two "milites" are named as having made the bold assertion.

[3] "Quod Stephanus avi sui Willelmi in regni moderamine mores servaret, præcipue que in ecclesiastici vigoris disciplina. Quapropter districto sacramento . . . de libertate reddenda ecclesiæ et conservanda episcopus Wintoniensis se mediatorem et vadem apposuit"; W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 460; also W. Newburgh, I. 32, where the fact is intimated, but less clearly.

emancipate the clergy and their possessions from all allegiance to the State. On that impossible condition he became King.

Coronation. On Sunday, 22nd December, just three weeks from the time of Henry's death, the solemn rite was performed at Westminster. Archbishop William of Corbeil of course officiated, and Henry of Winchester and Roger of Sarum assisted. 'But there were no abbots present and very few lay magnates.'[1] There is no reason to suppose that beyond the transaction with the Londoners, and that with the prelates at Winchester, any sort of election took place. But the coronation ritual in itself included a form of election, and the hallowing sanction undoubtedly placed Stephen in the position of a crowned, anointed King, a King *de facto*, if not *de jure*, and so with a *prima facie* claim to wield the powers of the State. If he was not a usurper in the sense of having violently seized the Crown by force of arms; if he had in a manner induced the nation to acquiesce in his accession, it must still have been plain to all that he had no valid title to shew, either by inheritance, or testamentary disposition, or election; while Matilda's title by inheritance, fortified by her father's nomination, and her acceptance by the Baronage, was indisputable. The fact is that the old views as to the elective character of official posts were being displaced by newer views, by which such posts were coming more and more to be regarded as property, subject to the ordinary laws of disposition and descent. For the bequest of a kingdom the precedents might be cited of Cnut, who had divided his Empire; of the Confessor, who was supposed to have declared William his heir; and of William himself, who certainly had left England to Rufus. We cannot believe that, except by persons specially interested in defending his position, Stephen was ever regarded otherwise than as one who had defrauded the Empress of her lawful rights.[2]

Among the circumstances that contributed to raise Stephen to the throne we may again refer to the extent of his private possessions on both sides of the Channel, and his consequent wealth. Abroad he held the rich county of Boulogne in right of his wife, and the county of Mortain in his own right. His English estates included the great Honour of Lancaster, formerly held by Roger of Poitou.

The coronation was followed by the issue of a Charter, addressed to all

[1] "Nullis abbatibus, paucissimis optimatibus"; W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 461. The writer of the *Gesta*, 9, speaks as if none but clergy were present. Malmesbury alone seems to give the right date.

[2] See Rössler, *Mathilde*, 165, where he pronounces Stephen a usurper 'in the strictest sense of the term.' On the whole subject see *Id.* 139–175. Mr. Freeman's view is that it was not till the time of Henry II. that men "began to find out" (!) that Stephen had defrauded Matilda; *N. C.* V. 251, 252. He insists that the breach of his oath was the offence urged against Stephen by Matilda's partizans. But the breach of the oath involved the question of the succession; and the breach of the oath was the point insisted upon because it was a home-thrust, one that could not be avoided or parried.

the King's subjects, 'French and English,' the distinction between them not having faded away as entirely as some writers would have us to believe. Stephen did not trouble himself to specify the reforms that he was prepared to inaugurate; nor did he indicate how far his performance of his promises would exceed the performance of his predecessor. Pledging himself simply "by reference" to his uncle's Charter, he briefly granted the liberties and good laws granted by Henry; and also the good laws and customs of the time of King Eadward, a stock formula.[1]

A Charter.

The Christmas festivities in London passed off without incident, a certain number of adherents coming in, of course to be liberally rewarded.[2]

On the only occasion, as yet, on which Stephen appeared before us as a ruler, namely in his dealings with the men of Domfront in 1117, he did not shew to advantage. But we are not in full possession of the facts of that case. When we see more of him we find much to deserve popularity. Of athletic make and habits, jocular and accessible to all classes, he was brave, generous, and forgiving, even to a fault. William of Malmesbury, a hostile partizan, while admitting all this, hints that he was more ready to promise than strict to fulfil. But duplicity was altogether foreign to his nature. On the other hand he was rash, improvident, and wanting in steadfastness of purpose; unfit to take the lead either in politics or war.[3] But he had a buoyant self-confidence that carried him through everything. When his followers began to fall from him he would say, 'Why did they elect me? By God's birth they shall never call me dethroned King.'[4] He attempted a task that he could not perform either with credit to himself, or advantage to others. He gained a nominal sovereignty,[5] at the expense of nineteen years of anarchy and distress for England.

Character of Stephen.

Greatly superior to him in intelligence and the higher moral qualities was his devoted wife, Matilda of Boulogne, the finest character of the period.

The Christmas festivities over, the court circle moved from Westminster

[1] *Statutes of Realm, Charters*, 4; *Select Charters*, 113. [2] H. Hunt.; *Gesta*, 9.

[3] "Vir impiger, sed minus prudens; armis strenuus, immodici animi ad quælibet ardua inchoanda; lenis et exorabilis hostibus, affabilis omnibus; cujus cum dulcedinem in promissis suspiceres, veritatem tamen dictorum, et promissorum efficaciam desiderares. . . . Facilitate morum et communione jocandi, considendi, convescendi, etiam cum infimis, amorem tantum demeritus quantum vix mente aliquis concipere queat"; W. Malm. *H. N.* ss. 461, 463. "Tantæ mansuetudinis et benignitatis ut etiam inimici ejus ad ipsum conversi præter spem suam in illo misericordiam invenirent. . . . Animo constans, vultu hilaris"; R. Hexham, *Chron. Stephen.* (Rolls Series, No. 82, III. 145). "Vir magnæ strenuitatis et audaciæ"; H. Hunt, p. 326.

[4] "Per nascentiam Dei nunquam rex dejectus appellabor"; W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 466.

[5] "Nudo regis nomine insignis"; W. Newb. I. 91.

to Reading for the obsequies of the late King. When Stephen's coronation was duly reported in Normandy, the embalmed remains were shipped from Rouen to London. Stephen received them with all respect, and escorted them to their appointed resting-place. On January 4th, 1136, they were laid in Henry's own great foundation, Reading Abbey, of which unfortunately so little now remains.[1]

Burial of Henry I.

A charter sealed at Reading, doubtless at this time, in favour of Milo of Gloucester, gives the meagre list of the new King's ostensible supporters. The grantee himself had been Sheriff of Staffordshire and Gloucestershire, and an Itinerant Justice for the same counties in the late reign. In right of his wife Sibylle, heiress of Bernard of Neufmarché, he was lord of the Honour of Brecknock, and he was also Constable of Gloucester Castle under Earl Robert.[2] His subsequent conduct throws doubt on the honesty of his intentions. But the King, accepting his allegiance, confirms him in all his honours. He was probably the chief of those said to have come in at Christmas time. The witnesses to the charter are the three Prelates, William of Canterbury, Henry of Winchester, and Roger of Sarum; with the ready Hugh Bigod, William of Pont de L'Arche, of whom we heard at Winchester, Robert of Clare, son of Richard, Enguerrand of Sai, Lord of Clun, and Payen fitz John, also a Welch March-Lord.[3]

The King's Supporters.

But opposition was fast declaring itself, and detached storms were threatening Stephen from opposite quarters at once. In the first week of December (1135), that is to say as soon as he had heard of the late King's death, Geoffrey had sent Matilda into Normandy. She was admitted to Exmes, Argentan, and Domfront by the viscount, one Guigan Algason, a man of moderate position promoted by Henry. But the greater Norman barons made no overtures to her. Their inclinations were directed towards Stephen's elder brother, Theobald the Great, Count of Blois, Chartres, and Champagne, a man of much higher character and abilities than Stephen.[4] A Provincial Council was held at Le Neubourg,[5] at which Theobald was present. Their deliberations were cut short by the appearance of a monk commissioned by Stephen to announce his coronation. That settled the

Matilda Invades Normandy.

Count Theobald.

[1] Orderic, 901, 903; H. Hunt; W. Malm, *H. N.* s. 462. At the Reformation Henry's tomb was destroyed, and the remains thrown out. *Monasticon*, IV. 39.

[2] See Foss, *Judges*, I. 123; and Pipe Roll, 31 H. I. Milo's father Walter built Gloucester Castle; while his mother Emma was sister of Hamelin of Balun, one of the barons of the Conquest; Foss, *sup.*

[3] Lansdowne MS. 229, f. 109; given Round, *sup.* 10. Another charter to the same effect, also dated at Reading, gives the further names of Robert of Ferrers, afterwards Earl of Derby; Baldwin of Clare, and a third scion of the same house, Walter of Clare, son of Richard. Walter and Robert would be uncles of Richard of Clare the Lord of Cardigan, whose death we shall shortly record, and Baldwin might be his great-uncle. W. Jum, 312; R. de Monte, A.D. 1136. But Richard also had a brother of the name of Baldwin. [4] See Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, I. 275. [5] Eure.

matter, as what the Norman lords still wanted was one man to rule over England and Normandy. Theobald felt mortified, but, as a sensible man, he acquiesced in their decision, and shortly returned to his own dominions.

Count Geoffrey in Normandy.

Meanwhile Matilda's chances had been extinguished for the time by the impolicy and folly of her husband. Following hard on the steps of his wife he had crossed the border with an army of Angevins and *Manseaux*, and was admitted to Séez and other places through the influence of his ally, William Talevas of Ponthieu. But Geoffrey, behaving not as a peaceful candidate for a vacant coronet, but as a conquering lord among rebels and enemies, indulged his men in such license that the whole country rose against him, and at the end of a few days forced him to retire in confusion. The petty campaign, so damaging to his wife's prospects, must have been over by Christmas, as Theobald, to do the best that he could for his brother and for Normandy, signed a truce with Geoffrey to last from that day to June 6th.[1] The two Counts then retired for a time to their own dominions, Matilda apparently remaining at Argentan, as we hear that in the course of the ensuing summer she gave birth there to her third son William.[2] Unable to make any progress through her own efforts, she made a weak appeal to the Pope against the perjured traitor Stephen, with what results we shall see.

The Welsh.

Neither the Welsh nor the Scots could remain idle under the circumstances. As early as January we hear of a rising in Gower, and a party of 516 men—we know not whether to call them English or Normans—cut off to a man.[3] Further and greater reverses will be noticed shortly. King David, as in honour bound, promptly drew the sword on behalf of his niece's rights.

The Scots.

At the first report of Stephen's proceedings he called out an army and crossed the Border. Carlisle, Carham otherwise Wark, Norham, Alnwick, and Newcastle surrendered to him, only Bamborough holding out. For once, however, we hear of no ravages. Unlike Geoffrey, David endeavoured to win men to the cause that he supported, and contented himself with taking hostages and oaths of allegiance to Matilda.[4]

Stephen in the North.

At the report of these affairs Stephen hastened from Reading to the North, reaching Durham on February 5th, in time to save the place from falling into the hands of the Scottish King, who drew back to Newcastle, where he remained a fortnight. Negotiations were opened, and David was induced by liberal concessions to recognise Stephen and make peace. Stephen conferred on David's son Henry the earldom of Huntingdon, previously held by his father, with Doncaster and Carlisle in addition, Carlisle carrying with it the Cumbrian district won back by Rufus. But David had

A Treaty.

[1] Orderic, 902, 903. [2] August, R. de Monte.
[3] Flor. Cont.; *Gesta*, 11. [4] R. Hexham, 145; Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 287.

to restore the other English strongholds that he had won. Stephen also intimated that if he should appoint an Earl of Northumberland—the post had been vacant since the rebellion of Mowbray in 1095—he would consider the claims of young Henry as grandson of Waltheof. On these terms Henry accompanied Stephen to York, and there did homage.[1] Again the exact scope of the recognition is not given, but in itself it might fairly be taken as rendered simply for the English estates. Stephen, who was making every concession, could hardly stand out for the obnoxious suzerainty. But we are told that David himself was only excused from doing homage on the ground of the oath that he had taken to Matilda.[2]

The Scottish Earl followed Stephen to London to assist at the coronation of Queen Matilda, his own first cousin.[3] At table he was placed on the King's right hand, a distinction that gave great umbrage to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who withdrew from court. The Earl of Chester[4] also and others took the matter up, and used such offensive language towards young Henry that his father did not allow him to come again to the English court for some time.[5] We are told that these coronation festivities were marked by a splendour of expenditure, and a display of plate and jewels quite unprecedented.[6] Stephen was free with his money, and he had not yet had time to dissipate Henry's treasure. Soldiers of fortune naturally flocked to his court.[7] But beyond all that, extant charters issued on this occasion show that, whatever their ultimate intentions, the Baronage of England, for the time, had accepted Stephen. The Episcopate was there almost to a man, with the Archbishop of Rouen and other prelates from Normandy; while four Earls (Surrey, Chester, Meulan, and Warwick), Reginald the son of the late King, and the bearers of all the best known names in England represented the laity.[8] But the multiplication of posts of honour betrays the King's weakness. We have three Constables, three Chamberlains, three or four Stewards (*Dapiferi*)—a superabundance sure to lead to contention and jealousy.[9]

Coronation of Queen Matilda.

Acceptance of Stephen.

[1] Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 287; R. Hexham, 145, 146. [2] H. Hunt.

[3] Stephen's wife was daughter of Eustace III. of Boulogne by Mary, daughter of Malcolm Canmore and Margaret. Thus she was niece to King David, and also to Matilda the Queen of Henry I.; W. Malm. *H.N.* ss. 497, 498.

[4] Ralph II., surnamed "de Gernons," son of Ralph I. and Countess Lucy. Ralph I. died before 1130; Pipe Roll, 31 H.I. p. 110.

[5] Sym. *Cont.*; and R. Hexham, *sup.* [6] H. Hunt. [7] See W. Malm. *H.N.* s. 463.

[8] The lists include such names as Albemarle, Senlis, De Vere, Aubigny, Malet, Beauchamp, Ferrers, Lacy, Espec, fitz John, Peverel, Talbot, Mandeville, Arundel, etc. The charters to which these names are appended were, one a grant to the See of Winchester; the other the appointment of Robert of Lewes to be Bishop of Bath; Round, *Mandeville*, 18.

[9] See the signatures to the above charters, and to two other charters given by Mr. Round, *sup.* 262; comparing those to the later Oxford Charter, also given *Select Charters*, 115. Meulan's presence in England at Easter is specially noticed by Orderic, 903.

But Stephen had also received the gracious confirmation of Pope Innocent II., a man on friendly relations with the Bishop of Winchester. Matilda's appeal against her rival had turned out very unfortunately. To represent her cause she had sent Ulger Bishop of Angers, and Gilbert Foliot, then a simple monk at Cluny, but afterwards Abbot of Gloucester, and Bishop successively of Hereford and London, a man of whom we shall hear much hereafter. Peter the Abbot of Cluny also went to Rome apparently in Matilda's interest. Stephen had hastened to accredit an embassy to defend his conduct, his agents being Roger of Clinton, Bishop of Chester Coventry and Lichfield,[1] Arnulf Archdeacon of Séez, and one Lovel (*Lupellus*) described as chaplain (*clericus*) to William of Corbeil. A Council was convened by the Pope to consider the rival claims.[2] Stephen was charged with usurpation and breach of his oath. Against this were pleaded the old excuses that the oath had been extorted under pressure; and that Henry at the last had changed his mind as to the succession. But we also now hear of a fresh and more subtle plea. The oath to Matilda had been rendered to her as Heir to the Throne (*sicut heredi*). But she was no lawful heir; she was illegitimate, being the offspring of a marriage with a nun. The oath to her therefore fell to the ground, being based on a nullity. In reply it was or should have been urged that the marriage had been performed by Anselm, the most scrupulous of men; and that Matilda herself had been hallowed as Empress by Pascal, a distinction that would never have been conferred on the unlawful issue of a forbidden union. But Matilda's advocates apparently were too much taken aback by a line of argument thus sprung upon them to know what to say. The discussion became a wrangle, and the Pope, who had made up his mind, dismissed the Council, reserving judgment.[3] He was a personal

The Empress and Innocent II.

Proceedings at Rome.

Stephen offered him the hand of a baby daughter, two years old. The count had to go home to defend himself and his brother of Leicester from the attacks of Roger of Tosny and Conches. Roger son of the Bishop of Salisbury appears as Chancellor.

[1] Appointed in 1129; *Reg. Sacr.*

[2] For the date of this Council see Mr. Round, *Mandeville*, 250. Mr. Freeman refers it to the year 1152 (*N.C.* V. 325); and Miss Norgate to the year 1148 (*Angevin Kings*, I. 370). But the narrative of the proceedings given by Gilbert Foliot in his letter to Brian fitz Count (*Epp. Foliot*, J. A. Giles, No. 79) was written when Celestine II. was Pope, *i.e.* between Sept. 1143, and March 1144; while the fact that another of those present was chaplain to William of Corbeil, who died in 1136, throws the Council back to that year. It seems impossible therefore not to connect the confirmation of Stephen's title, unquestionably given in 1136, with the proceedings at Rome described by Foliot and the *Historia Pontificalis*.

[3] See the account given by Foliot, *Epp. Foliot*, No. 79 (J. A. Giles); comparing that in the *Historia Pontificalis*; Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.* XX. 543. This composition, a fragmentary chronicle of affairs 1148–1152, attributed to John of Salisbury, introduces its account of the trial at Rome in connexion with an application to Rome made by Stephen in 1151 to have his son Eustace crowned King in anticipation: the writer seems

friend of the Bishop of Winchester, as already mentioned; and as a good churchman had adopted his view that Stephen was the candidate from whom the Church had most to expect.[1] Accordingly without further ado he addressed a letter to Stephen 'King of the English,' confirming him in all honours vouchsafed to his predecessor by the Holy See.[2] Innocent grounds his decision on appeals made to him by the English Episcopate, by the King of the French, and Count Theobald; on assurances that Stephen had been elected by the 'unanimous assent' of nobility and people; and lastly on his own 'sure hope' of the King as one who on the day of his coronation had promised reverence and obedience to St. Peter.[3] The last passage is the important one. Whether the Archbishop had exacted any special pledges from Stephen at his coronation, or whether the Pope was mixing up the the original pledge given at Winchester with the coronation oath we cannot say.[4] The latter is perhaps the more likely view. The reader will notice that the French King also approved of Stephen. The promotion of his vassal of Anjou and Maine to be also lord of Normandy and England would be a serious matter for him. But Stephen, as King of England by a doubtful title, with a still more slender hold on Normandy, would not be likely to give much trouble. So far matters were running smoothly for Stephen; so much so that Robert of Gloucester felt driven to come over to England to organize a party on his sister's behalf. But this would involve some dissimulation on his part, as it would be useless, if practicable, to come over as an avowed opponent of the King. Stephen's title would have to be recognised if the Earl was to be allowed to come over in peace, and retain his estates, and have opportunities for intriguing. We are told that Robert had great scruples of conscience about the matter; but that, finally, regard for Matilda's interests overpowered all other considerations.[5] Soon after Easter, much about the time that the Pope's

Stephen Confirmed by the Pope.

Robert of Gloucester comes over,

to give the fact that Stephen had been recognised by one Pope, as the reason why his son could not be recognised by another Pope. (1)

[1] Dr. Rössler, *Mathilde*, 139, points out, as undoubtedly proved to be the case, that the special interests of the Papal *Curia* would be furthered by the recognition of Stephen.

[2] "In eadem honoris et familiaritatis prærogativa qua prædecessor tuus . . . a nobis coronabatur."

[3] R. Hexham, 147, 148. The letter is expressly given as belonging to the year 1136, and must have been received in England in April, before the issue of the Oxford Charter, which evidently refers to it.

[4] Henry of Huntingdon too refers to the "*pacta*" made with 'God, the people, and the Church' on the day of the coronation; p. 258. But his account of these matters is confused and inaccurate.

[5] "Erat igitur anxius prudentissimus comes, ut illos (sc. those who had taken the oath to Stephen) delicti coargueret, et ad saniorem sententiam præsenti colloquio revocaret; nam viribus obviare . . . nulla dabatur facultas: cui nimirum nec in Angliam venire liberum erat, nisi quasi defectionis eorum particeps, mentis suæ arcanum ad tempus dissimularet"; W. Malm. *H.N.* p. 541.

letter must have been received, he crossed the Channel; came to court; was received by Stephen with all honour, and did homage—as so many others had done. This much is undisputed, but of the terms on which the Earl's allegiance was rendered we have two accounts. William of Malmesbury, Robert's follower, represents his patron's fealty as rendered conditionally, namely on condition of the King's maintaining him in all his honours, and observing certain compacts entered into between them.[1] Stephen's Biographer gives the more likely account, that the Earl having made some preliminary demands—presumably as to the retention of his honours and estates—and these having been granted, did homage in the usual course.[2] With his submission, we are told, almost all England had been brought over to the King's obedience.[3] Stephen, in the simplicity of his heart, may have been of the same opinion. Henry I. dealing with a magnate under similar circumstances would have picked a quarrel with him at the earliest opportunity, and had him tried and condemned in his *Curia Regis*.

And does Homage.

Question of the Terms.

But if the laity were loyal and contented, the clergy with the Papal letter in their hands, having as it were fulfilled their part of the compact, felt entitled to call on the King for more definite pledges as to his attitude towards the Church. A Grand Council was convened at Oxford,[4] where again the attendance of Magnates, spiritual and temporal, was large. Among others the Earl of Gloucester was present. A second Charter was issued, which must have been drawn up by the clergy, as it might be described as a *concordat* with the Church, a one-sided *concordat*, in which the King surrendered everything that the clergy were pleased to demand. The concessions to the laity were vague and trivial. The exordium in itself is significant when compared with the exordium to the Charter of Henry I. Henry styled himself 'Son of King

Another Charter.

[1] "Itaque homagium regi fecit sub conditione quadam, scilicet, quamdiu ille dignitatem suam integre custodiret, et sibi pacta servaret"; *H.N. sup.* See also p. 545, where Stephen is taxed with having broken his word; but the conditional character above ascribed to the homage does not come out so clearly there.

[2] "Hic itaque cum regiis mandatis et scriptis sæpius ad se venire commonitus tandem affuisset, gratiose et excellenter susceptus, quæcunque postulavit, exhibito regi hominio, fuit ad votum assecutus"; *Gesta*, 10. The writer evidently thought the homage rendered in all good faith. But he shakes our confidence in his record by adding that Robert had been urged to lay claim to the Crown, but that he had refused to oppose the rights of the late King's nephew, Stephen.

[3] *Gesta, sup.*

[4] See John of Hexham (the Continuator of Symeon), who thought the Council summoned in compliance with the Pope's letter; Sym. *H. R.* p. 288; *Gesta*, 17, 18, where the Oxford Charter (wrongly given as issued in London) is treated as a mere arrangement with the clergy; and William of Malmesbury, *H. N.* s. 464, who says that the Bishops having sworn a conditional allegiance to Stephen, that is to say, 'so long as he should preserve the liberty of the Church' (quamdiu ille libertatem ecclesiæ . . . conservaret), he in return swore the Charter.

William, by the grace of God King in succession to his brother William.'[1] Stephen, omitting all reference to his descent, styles himself, 'By the grace of God elected King of England by the assent of clergy and people, consecrated by William, Archbishop of Canterbury and Legate of the Church of Rome, and confirmed by Innocent, Pontiff of the See of Rome.' The King then by a stroke of the pen emancipates the Church, "*Sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo.*" These words, interpreted as they would be by clergymen, would carry anything. The Charter, however, proceeds to specify concessions which perhaps might be regarded as limiting and defining the first words. Stephen condemns Simony in every shape. He makes over to the bishops all jurisdiction over ecclesiastics, their persons and property, including the distribution of their effects after death. This last grant doubtless had reference to one of the malpractices of Henry, who used to lay violent hands on the property of defunct clergy. The King then confirms to the churches all 'dignities' granted to them by their 'privileges,' (*i.e.* by their book-charters), and all customs held of old. He makes over to them absolutely and without appeal (*sine reclamatione*) all estates held by them on the day of the death of his grandfather King William; and all benefactions made to them since that time. With respect to holdings enjoyed by them before the death of King William, but not at that time, he reserves a discretion. The property of a vacant benefice to be under the charge of the clergy and good men of the same. As for concessions to the people in general, he promises to maintain peace and justice to the best of his ability—a mere repetition of his coronation oath—and to put down all unjust exactions and "*miskenningas*"[2] introduced by the sheriffs and others, and to maintain all good old laws and customs in the matters of 'murders' and other legal proceedings. Of any modification of the feudal incidents that weighed so heavily on the baronage we have not a word. The only special concession to the landowners is in the matter of the Forests. The King disclaims all such as were afforested by Henry I., retaining only those of the times of the two Williams.[3] The great feudatories apparently did not trouble themselves to extort concessions from Stephen. We may suppose that they looked forward to practical independance, each man in his own castle. The summary of the Charter current among the people was that the King had granted the free-

[1] *Select Charters*, 96.

[2] Rendered in Latin *mislocutio, variatio loquelæ*; being apparently fines for leave to alter or amend pleadings and proceedings in law suits. See the London Charter of Henry I. s. 8; the *Leges Henrici Primi*, c. 22; and the glossary in Schmid. An insistance on strict formalities in legal proceedings might easily become an instrument of petty oppression.

[3] W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 464; R. Hexham, p. 148; *Select Charters*, 114; and *Statutes of Realm*, from a copy preserved at Exeter. As for the date of this Charter, it must be placed after Easter (22nd March), as Earl Robert attests it, but before the end of April, when Hugh Bigod revolted; H. Hunt.

dom of canonical election; had abolished the forests of Henry I.; and remitted Danegeld. 'But he kept none of these things.'[1] Canonical election is not specified in the Charter. It would certainly be claimed as essential to the 'liberty' of the Church. But Stephen had already recognised it. In a Charter issued at Easter appointing Robert of Lewes to be Bishop of Bath the appointment is expressly based on canonical election. "*Canonica prius electione precedente*"[2]

England as a whole kept fairly quiet during the year, but sporadic outbreaks kept the King on the move most of the time. At Rogation-tide,[3] a few days after the break-up of the Oxford Council, a report was spread that Stephen was dead. The ready Hugh Bigod at once occupied Norwich Castle, and Stephen had to march an army to the spot to compel him to give it up. This affair having been settled about the 10th May,[4] the King was called off to North Devon to suppress what might on the face of things appear to be the mere lawlessness of a robber baron, but which in all probability was connected with a political movement of a serious character. Robert of Bampton, on the borders of Somerset,[5] a man of considerable property and high connexions, having established a little garrison in his castle had been oppressing the neighbourhood in Continental style. He was summoned before the King's Court, condemned to forfeiture, and ordered to give up his castle. But on his way to Bampton under escort to give effect to this decree, he managed to escape, and declared himself in revolt. Stephen came down on him, and forced him and his crew to abjure the realm.[6] No sooner was Robert of Bampton disposed of than reports of an alarming nature were received from Exeter. The whole of Devon was being stirred to revolt. Baldwin of Réviers, or Redvers as the name became in English, was taking the lead, and had seized Exeter Castle. His father Richard, a native of the Côtentin, had been throughout his life one of the most faithful followers of Henry I.[7] The son followed his father's politics. As he was not Sheriff of Devon, or Constable of Exeter Castle his inten-

Risings in Norfolk and North Devon.

[1] H. Hunt. p. 258.

[2] Round, *Mandeville*, 18, 21. This is one of the Charters from which the list of witnesses above given is taken. In the new Rymer, I. 16, it appears, without date, after the year 1153. [3] April, 26-29. [4] H. Hunt.; *Ann. Waverley*.

[5] "De Batthentona," *Gesta*; "Bakentun, Battentun"; the various MSS. of H. Hunt. Mr. Howlett would identify the place with Bathampton in Wilts. But Lappenberg identifies the man with "Robertus de Baentona" who appears as a Devon landowner in the Pipe Roll, 31 H. I. 153, 154, and as a late Essex landowner in a Charter of 1141, given by Round, *Mandeville*, 140, who identifies "Baentona" with Bampton N. Devon. This identification is supported by the fact, that from the *Gesta* it appears that the place was within a day's march, or rather a nights' ride of Exeter. That would apply to Bampton, but certainly not to Bathampton.

[6] May; *Gesta*, 18-20; H. Hunt. Robert retired to Scotland, the headquarters of Matilda's friends. [7] See Ord. 689, 783, etc. Richard died in 1107; *Id.* 833.

tions in taking possession of the fortress could not be doubtful.[1] The men of Exeter, not caring to be forced into rebellion, appealed for help to Stephen, who promptly sent forward a detachment of two hundred horse, who, riding all night, entered Exeter just in time to save the city from being sacked and burned by Baldwin out of spite. He retired to the castle, situate in the North East corner of the city. The fortress is accurately described as perched on a lofty mount, in fact a knoll of red volcanic rock, banked up with earth at top, and known locally as Rougemont. The primitive earthworks had been girt by the Normans with retaining walls of solid masonry, supported by flanking towers and a gate-house.[2] We also hear of a drawbridge and an outer barbican.[3] The King coming up the castle was invested and besieged in regular form. Baldwin himself, however, had retired in time, leaving the defence to be conducted by his wife and sons, a practice not uncommon in those times. Night and day, we are told, the garrison was harassed with assaults. Showers of missiles, arrows, fiery darts, stones from slings were poured upon them. All the engineering devices of the time were called into play.[4] Wooden structures were pushed forward, some to command the battlements, some to cover mining operations. Unfortunately the castle was built upon a rock. The King's men, however, managed to carry the barbican and destroy the drawbridge, but for nearly three months the strength of the walls defied their assaults. At last, however, the garrison found themselves reduced to extremities from want of water, their two wells running dry. Negotiations for a capitulation were opened, the besieged trusting to support from secret sympathisers known to be in Stephen's camp. But Stephen at first, by his brother's advice, refused even to see the envoys. The Bishop's observant eye had detected signs of physical exhaustion in the men. Nor would Stephen even listen to the appeal of Baldwin's wife when she came, barefooted and dishevelled, to plead for mercy for her followers. The secret sympathisers then had to come forward to put pressure upon the King. One noteworthy argument urged was that the garrison had taken no oaths of allegiance to him; they were only doing their duty by their immediate lord,[5] a consideration admitted by Henry I. in the case of Bellême's men at Arundel in 1102—so

Siege of Exeter Castle.

[1] *Gesta*, 21; Pipe Roll, 31 H. I. 152, 153.

[2] "Castellum . . . editissimo aggere sublatum, muro inexpugnabili obseptum, turribus . . . calce confectis firmatum"; *Gesta*, 22. See Clark, *Military Architecture*, II. 22; and the plan given by Mr. Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 153.

[3] "Promurale"; *Gesta*, *sup.*

[4] One passage seems to suggest a Roman *testudo* (see the cut in Smith's *Antiqq.*), men supporting large shields over them. "Cum armatis aggerem incessu quadrupede conscendentibus"; *Gesta*, 23. Two men approaching a wall under cover of a shield would make a four-legged machine.

[5] "Illos non in regiam majestatem jurasse, nec nisi in fidelitatem domini sui arma movisse"; *Gesta*, 27.

little hold on men's minds had the Conqueror's new rule obtained as yet. But, unlike Henry at Bridgenorth, Stephen had no loyal English army to back him up. 'He was surrounded by mercenaries and baronial contingents. Finding himself as it were alone he yielded at discretion; the rebel garrison were allowed to march out, not only with life and limb, but actually with all their goods, and free leave to join any lord they pleased[1]—a 'wretched precedent'[2] as the Archdeacon of Huntingdon felt bound to remark—and so it proved to be. We may say that the Exeter Convention rang the knell of Stephen's administration.

A Weak Convention.

During the siege Plympton and Totnes, places held by friends of Baldwin, had been surrendered to the King, and Baldwin's Devonshire estates well harried.[3] But Baldwin himself had not lost heart. The Isle of Wight was almost wholly his; and he had there a castle, well-manned and victualled, whose name is not given, but presumably Carisbrook. On that basis he proposed to establish a piratical empire to rule the Channel. But Stephen gave the would-be Carausius no time to mature his ambitious scheme. Committing Exeter and Devonshire to the care of his brother he pressed on to Southampton and called for shipping. Baldwin then condescended to ask for pardon, but failing to obtain it, retired from England with his wife and sons, to find a friendly shelter at the Court of Anjou.[4]

Baldwin driven from England.

Highly elated with his victory over Baldwin of Redvers, the King went off to hunt at Brampton near Huntingdon, as if there was nothing to call for his presence elsewhere. We are also told that he took the opportunity of holding a Forest Assize, an act regarded as involving a breach of the one definite pledge given to the laity in the Oxford Charter—another bad omen for the future. We must suppose that by these proceedings Stephen resumed forests that he had promised to disclaim.[5]

But meanwhile the most serious events were happening in the newly-annexed parts of South Wales, and there again Stephen betrayed a distinct want of determination and sound policy. A series of disasters were suffered by the Norman Plantation Lords, as we might call them. We have already noticed the defeat in Gower on the first day of the year.[6] The natives then began to raise their heads in all directions. Stephen sent some of his mercenaries to restore order, a task for which they were probably but ill-fitted. We are assured that they distinguished themselves by sundry exploits,[7] but that having lost some men they got tired of the work, and in the end beat an inglorious retreat.[8]

Events in Wales.

Native Risings.

[1] June–August; *Gesta*, 21–28.

[2] "Pessimo consilio usus"; H. Hunt. 'So others took to holding their castle against him'; Chron. [3] *Gesta*, 23, 24; and notes Howlett.

[4] *Gesta*, 28, 29; Flor. *Cont.*; H. Hunt.; R. Hexham, 146. [5] H. Hunt.

[6] Flor. *Cont.*; *Gesta*, 11. [7] "Multis egregie perpetratis"; *Gesta*, 11. [8] *Id.*

One leading baron whose name does not appear among the witnesses to Stephen's charters of the spring was 'the noble and loveable'[1] lord of Cardigan, Richard of Clare, son of Gilbert to whom Ceredigion had been committed in 1111. To keep the country in subjection Gilbert had built the castles of Aberystwith and Aberteivy, otherwise Cardigan.[2] Richard's absence from Court in 1136 is accounted for by the fact that he had made some weighty demands (*magna quædam postulasset*) of the King; that his demands had not been complied with, and that thereupon he had retired to Wales, as was supposed, meditating revolt.[3] But the fates were against him. Journeying through Gwent by way of Abergavenny he was escorted as far as the river Grwyney or Gronwy, the frontier of Brecheiniog, by Brian of Wallingford,[4] the governor of Gwent. Crossing the river on the way to Crickhowel, with an insufficient escort, and preceded by a fiddler, as if to give warning of his coming, he had to enter a wooded pass. There he fell into an ambush laid for him by Morgan of Caerleon, son of Owain, and was killed, the only man of the party to lose his life.[5] The reader will notice that even in Gwent, the oldest conquest of the English in Southern Wales, there was still a local chieftain who could venture to take up arms against them.

Richard of Clare Killed.

At the report of the fall of 'the greatest magnate in Wales,'[6] the natives flew to arms. Gruffudd ap Cynan, who still ruled Gwynedd, sent his sons Owain and Cadwalader, 'two brave lions, two blessed ones . . . the ornament of all the Britons'—to invade Ceredigion. Men from Powys co-operated. Many strongholds were stormed and burnt, including Aberystwith, "Dinerth," "Caerwedros," and the castles of Walter of Bec and Richard de la Mere. Nothing having been done by Stephen to strengthen the position of the Anglo-Norman settlers, a second invasion of Ceredigion on a larger scale was undertaken towards October. This ended in a signal victory for the Welsh, as the 'lions' of Gwynedd had the support of Gruffudd of South Wales (son of Rhys) as well as that of chieftains from Powys and Brecheiniog. We are told that the 'French' had rallied all their forces from the Severn to the Teivy, including the Flemings from Ros. Stephen Constable of Cardigan[7] and William and Maurice[8] the sons of Gerald of

Invasion of Ceredigion.

[1] "Nobilis atque amabilis"; Flor. *Cont.*; "Vir sincera generositate insignis;" *Gesta*, 12.

[2] Brut. p. 105. Gilbert of Clare died in 1117. *Ann. Camb.* [3] *Gesta, sup.*

[4] Otherwise Brian fitz Count, being the son of Allan Fergant, Count of Brittany; Chron. A.D. 1127.

[5] 15th April, Flor. *Cont.*; *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut.* (A.D. 1035); and esp. Girald. Camb. VI. 47, 48.

[6] "Summum Walensium primatem succubuisse"; *Gesta*, 12.

[7] Second husband of the lady Nest. [8] See Girald. Camb. I. x.

Windsor are named among the leaders. The final action must have been fought to the North of the river Teivy, and apparently in the streets of Cardigan, as we are told that the Normans and Flemings having been routed, some fell by the sword, others perished in the flames, while others again were drowned in the river, the bridge having broken down under them in their retreat. Numbers of men and women were carried off as slaves.[1] The widow of the fallen Richard, Alice, sister of the Earl of Chester, was shut up in a castle that still held out, and there she was beleaguered till Stephen sent Milo, the Sheriff of Gloucestershire, to release her.[2]

Defeat of the 'French' at Cardigan.

At reports of disturbances of very minor importance, Henry I., in the last year of his life, was prepared to cross the Channel to assert his position in Wales. Stephen was not stirred even to cross the Severn in person to rescue his lieges from destruction. He contented himself with sending, at intervals of time, petty expeditions, that ended in ignominious failure. Baldwin brother of the late Richard of Clare, was provided with the means for raising a force of some five hundred men, with which he marched as far as Brecknock. There he halted, finding the roads broken up and beset with foes. When his money was spent he retraced his inglorious steps. Again Stephen commissioned one Robert son of Harold to retrieve matters in Wales. This man was the lord of Ewias, the grandson of Ralph Earl of Hereford, "the son of Drogo of Mantes and of Godgifu the daughter of King Æthelred."[3] Robert went so far as to establish a castle, which he thought impregnable. But no sooner was his back turned than the Welsh gathered in their thousands, and stormed and destroyed his work.[4]

Feeble Action of the King.

Stephen was then induced to listen to the base suggestion that it would be a pity to waste any more money on Welsh expeditions. The Welsh should be left to their own devices. When their numbers had been thinned by internecine feuds, with famine and pestilence to follow, a more favourable opportunity for intervention would arise.[5] The first to suffer from this cold-blooded policy were the honest Flemish settlers in Ros, a great thorn in the side of the Welsh. Next year (1137) we hear that Gruffud ap Rhys of South Wales, as the grand achievement of his life 'conquered Ros,' inflicting great slaughter on the Flemings. In attempting to succour them Payen or Payne fitz John, a leading Marcher, Henry's Justice in Eyre for the counties of Gloucester and Staffordshire, lost his life;[6] while Owain and Cadwalader, invading Ceredigion for the third time, burned the Castle of Ystrad Meurug.[7] Advancing into Caermarthenshire they likewise destroyed Llanstephen at the

The Settlers in Wales left to their Fate.

[1] Oct. 4–10; Flor. *Cont.*; *Ann. Camb.*; *Brut.*; *Gesta*, 12. [2] *Gesta, sup.*
[3] Freeman, *N.C.* V. 272. [4] *Gesta*, 13, 14. [5] *Gesta*, 14.
[6] 10th July, *Gesta*, 16, and note Howlett, citing MS. Cott. Caligula, A. VI. 230 b.; *Ann. Camb.*; Flor. *Cont.* [7] 5 miles North of Tregaron, Cardiganshire.

mouth of the Towy, and Caermarthen itself.[1] To finish for the time with Welsh affairs, we may notice that the two Gruffudds—Gruffudd son of Cynan, Prince of North Wales, and Gruffudd son of Rhys, titular Prince of South Wales—both died within the year. The Gruffudd of Gwynedd was succeeded by his sons Owain and Cadwalader; while the honours of the southern Gruffudd descended to his son Anarawd.[2]

In England the year 1136 may be said to have ended with the death of Archbishop William of Corbeil, who passed away on the 20th or 21st November, in the fourteenth year of his troubled Primacy.[3]

Death of William of Corbeil.

At the time of his appointment his *status* as a mere Canon Regular and not a monk was objected to. Stephen's biographer describes him as a man of dove-like manners, but greedy of money;[4] while his conduct in crowning Stephen was much criticised. To these circumstances, rather than to his personal character, we may attribute the name given to him of William "de Turbine," wittily translated "William of Turmoil."[5] The Bishop of Exeter also, William of Warelwast, the successful diplomatist, died within the year.[6] The question of the King's intentions with regard to canonical election would thus be brought to a point. But no appointment was made for two years, at a time when the King must have been most anxious to secure adherents.

Question of his Successor.

Henry of Winchester was naturally a candidate for the Primacy. It would seem that all parties were disposed to acquiesce in his promotion, but with the newly-developed disposition to lean for political support on the Papacy, it was found that a bishop could not be lawfully translated without Papal authority. Henry at once sent to Italy to obtain this sanction, and by way of facilitating communications, himself went over to Normandy.[7]

[1] *Brut.* (A.D. 1136). [2] *Ann. Camb.*; and *Brut. sup.*
[3] 21st November; *Angl. Sacra*, I. 56; *Reg. Sacram*; 20th November; Flor. *Cont.*
[4] *Gesta*, 7. [5] Hook, *Archbishops*, II. 307.
[6] R. de Monte; *Reg. Sacr.* [7] Dec. Ord.

CHAPTER XXIII

STEPHEN (*continued*)

A.D. 1136–1138

Affairs in Normandy—Visit of Stephen to the Duchy—Siege of Bedford—Scottish Invasion—Battle of the Standard—Declaration of War by the Earl of Gloucester—Operations in the South and West of England.

WHAT with private wars and a disputed succession, Normandy during the year 1136, without government or recognised head, was a prey to every disorder. We hear of nothing but warfare and destruction. Eustace of Breteuil having died in February, his son William had to assert his birthright with fire and sword.[1] Roger II. of Tosny and Conches was at war with the two Beaumonts, Waleran of Meulan and Robert of Leicester, as already intimated. About the beginning of May Roger seized Vaudreuil, a Royal castle. At the end of three days Waleran, with the assistance of the men of Rouen, recovered the place; he then went on to burn Acquigny,[2] while Roger retaliated by wasting three manors belonging to Waleran.[3] In Whitsun week (May 10–17) partizans in the service of Richer of Laigle, a man apparently then in alliance with the Beaumonts, sacked and burned the village of Ouche, the actual monastery of St. Evroult fortunately escaping.[4] About the same time we hear that Gilbert of Clare (brother of Richard who fell in Wales in April) was attacking Exmes and other places belonging to Matilda. William Talevas, however, beat him off.[5] In June the Beaumonts, unable to get the better of their enemy Roger, secured the services of Count Theobald for a sum of 200 marks of silver. With his help they burned Bougi-sur-Risle, including the church of St. Mary Magdalen, crowded with men and women; but Pont-Saint-Pierre defied all their efforts for a month.[6]

Private Wars in Normandy.

So far the troubles of Normandy had, apparently, been confined to the districts represented by the modern department of Eure. In September a fresh ravaging foray—it deserved no better name—undertaken by Geoffrey of Anjou, carried havoc into the department of Orne. The Count had with him sundry notable

Inroad by the Count of Anjou.

[1] Orderic, 903. William's difficulties may have arisen from the fact that he sided with Roger of Tosny against Waleran of Meulan, Stephen's representative in Normandy; *Id.* 907. [2] Both in Eure, and near Louviers. [3] Ord. 903. [4] *Id.* 904. [5] *Id.* 905. [6] Eure, near Les Audelys; Ord. 905.

allies from the South, chief of whom was William X., Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine, destined to be the last of his House. Carrouges was taken after a three days' siege. The people of Écouché with heroic determination fired their own town, and then fled, leaving nothing but smoke and ashes behind them. Asnebec, being the possession of a friend, was respected. The next point made for was Montreuil-au-Houlme (near Briouze), the home of the Basset family. But the well-expended wealth of Richard Basset, Henry's trusted Justice and Sheriff,[1] had fortified the place with so strong a Keep that after two assaults the invaders moved forwards. On the 29th September they drew near to Lisieux.[2] Waleran had placed the town in the hands of a Breton garrison, under Allan of Dinan, an old servant of the late King, the Count for himself preferring to act at large. At the approach of the enemy the Bretons as a military precaution fired and destroyed the town. Baulked of their prey the disappointed Angevins fell back on Le Sap,[3] a place held by Walter, another scion of the House of Clare, and brother to the late Richard. Manfully the townsmen went out to face the enemy, but in the struggle the town was fired and destroyed, church and all. The defence then collapsed, and the castle was stormed (1st Oct.). But there the campaign came to a sudden end. In the assault on the castle Geoffrey was severely wounded in the right foot by a crossbow bolt (*pilo*). In the afternoon Matilda joined him with reinforcements. She had been confined in August, but was eager for action. But Geoffrey the Handsome[4] had lost heart. His undisciplined followers were suffering from disorders brought on by irregular living, his foot gave him pain, and he was probably cowed by the determined hostility of the Normans. On the morrow he beat a retreat so hastily that the Normans were not apprised in time to harass his rear. The Count, who had entered Normandy proudly seated on his mettled charger, recrossed the Sarthe, a pallid, groaning cripple on a litter. Thirteen days his inroad had lasted (20th Sept.–3rd Oct.). But in that short time we are told that he had done enough to earn the undying hatred of the people that he wished to rule. Nothing had been sacred to his men; at one time nine parish priests waited on him in a body to complain of the violation of their churches. Orders were issued prohibiting such outrages for the future, but the Count had not the power to give effect to his own commands.[5]

The same day (Oct. 3rd) which saw Normandy rid of the Angevin host also saw her relieved of the War of the Houses of Conches and Beaumont. During the operations of the Angevins against Lisieux and Le Sap, Roger had been harrying the district of Evreux to make a diver-

[1] On the Pipe Roll, 31 H. I., Richard Basset, conjointly with Alberic of Vere, accounts for the revenues of eleven counties. See also Foss, *Judges*. [2] Calvados.
[3] Orne, near the border of Calvados. [4] Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, I. 261.
[5] Orderic, 905, 906.

sion in their favour, and draw off the Count of Meulan. On the day in question, returning homewards laden with church plunder, he fell into the hands of his enemy, and was carried off a captive to Evreux, and so for a few months the weary land of Normandy had rest.[1]

But the time of peace was not destined to be lasting. The people of Normandy had sighed for Stephen's appearance in the hope that with him good times like those of King Henry might come again. But Stephen tarried in England. Not till the spring of 1137 did he make a move to secure his hold on his noble Norman Duchy. At last in the third week of March he crossed the Channel, landing at La Hogue. Alexander Bishop of Lincoln and a train of lay magnates attended him.[2] But not Robert of Gloucester. Not that he stayed at home. But we are particularly told that he went over independently, and a little later,[3] obviously to leave his hands free to work for the Empress. If the peasantry welcomed their Duke, the Norman lords, who had given no encouragement to Matilda, did not show themselves hearty in their reception of her rival. He had offended his barons by reserving all his confidence for the captain of his mercenaries, William of Ypres, a man who had gained a bad name in his own country in connexion with the murder of Count Charles of Flanders in 1127.[4] One Norman, Rabel the Chamberlain, went into revolt, holding Lillebonne and other places in Caux[5] against Stephen; while Geoffrey of Anjou, at the report of the King's coming, prepared for a fresh demonstration on behalf of his wife.[6] Thus Stephen brought with him, not peace, but a renewal of troubles.

Stephen Crosses the Channel.

Stephen, however, in the course of May secured an interview with King Louis le Gros, who had been favourable to him from the first, obtained investiture of the Duchy, and did homage through his son Eustace, just as Henry had done homage through his son William. Rabel the Chamberlain was then brought to his duty. But on the other hand Geoffrey had again crossed the Sarthe. After ravaging the unfortunate *Hiémois* (district of Exmes) he pressed on past Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives to Argences, intending to attack Caen. But the men of the town had been

Does Homage for Normandy.

Count Geoffrey Again.

[1] Ord. 907, 908, 909. For valuable notes on topography and dates see Le Prevost, V. 58–83. The lands of William Talevas and Roger of Tosny were laid under interdict for their misdeeds in these operations; *Ib.*

[2] Orderic, 909; Flor. *Cont.*; H. Hunt. [3] W. Malm, *H.N.* s. 466.

[4] See above, 308. William was apparently a son of William Viscount of Ypres, a natural son of Count Robert the Frisian. He had been one of the candidates for the vacant county, but had come to terms with William of Normandy. "After being the torment of his own country for nearly ten years, he was compelled to fly, and took service with Stephen"; Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, I. 285, and authorities there cited; Orderic, 884; Le Prevost, V. 84; Freeman, *N. C.* V. 206.

[5] Seine Inf. Rabel was one of the men who, with Stephen himself, prudently avoided embarking on the Blanche Nef in 1120; Orderic, 868. [6] Ord. 909.

apprised of his intentions; and William of Ypres and the Norman barons were there ready to receive him, at a place near Argences, on the road from that place to Caen. William would have given battle, but jealousy and treason paralysed his action. From one source we learn that the Earl of Gloucester and others were suspected of an understanding with the enemy;[1] from another quarter we hear of a treacherous attempt made by William of Ypres to seize the Earl.[2] Altogether the Normans refused to co-operate with the Flemish captain, and so he marched off to join Stephen beyond the Seine. But Geoffrey's march had been arrested. From the ford of Beranger[3] on some stream near Argences he fell back to Argentan. The native jealousy of the Flemings broke out again with greater virulence next month (June). Stephen having mustered an army at Lisieux for an attack on Geoffrey at Argentan, or wherever else he might be found, sanguinary feuds between the two sections of the force broke out on the march. The barons, who had been opposed to the expedition from the first, went off in disgust, each man taking his own contingent with him. Among the deserters were Hugh III. of Gournay and young William of Warenne,[4] son of the Earl of Surrey. Stephen was greatly incensed, but, finding that his feudatories were not to be trusted, he gave up all thoughts of further operations, and signed a two years' truce with Geoffrey (July).[5]

Dissentions in Camp.

A Truce.

If Stephen was not successful in his management of his barons it was not from hard or stingy treatment. In fact lavish expenditure seemed his only policy.[6] Roger of Tosny, who had given so much trouble, was set free, but not unconditionally. The support of Rotrou of Mortagne was purchased by the cession of the town of Moulins-la-Marche; and that of his nephew, Richer of Laigle, by the cession of Bonmoulins, both frontier places.[7] Pressing overtures were made to the Earl of Gloucester to induce him to come back to Court. He came for a time, under solemn pledges, conveyed by the Archbishop of Rouen, that the King 'would never do it again,'[8] But their relations from that time were tainted with mutual distrust.

Stephen and His Barons.

The year, in France, witnessed the accession of a new King, and the celebration of a marriage of great historic importance. William X., Duke

[1] Ord. *sup.*

[2] W. Malm. *sup.* No note of time is given, but the incident seems to fit in here.

[3] "De vado Berengarii"; Ord. 909. Le Prevost and Stapleton place the Gué Béranger on the Semillon, between Bellengreville and Vimont, a little to the West of Argences. Others place it on the Muance.

[4] "Guillelmum juvenem de Guarenna."

[5] Ord. 909, 910; R. de Monte. The latter represents Stephen as purchasing the truce by a subsidy of 2,000 marks a year.

[6] See preceding note. Again, according to de Monte, Stephen made a most uncalled for grant of another 2,000 marks a year to his brother, who had asserted no rights.

[7] Orne, Ord. 909. [8] "Se nunquam ulterius tanto sceleri affuturum," Malm. *sup.*

of Aquitaine, died on the 9th April (Good Friday), in the Church of St. James of Compostella, whither he had gone on pilgrimage to atone for acts of sacrilege committed by him in the inroad into Normandy of the previous year. He had bequeathed his dominions, 'which extended, with little interruption, from the banks of the Adour to those of the Loire,' to young Louis of France, with the hand of his eldest daughter ELEANOR OF AQUITAINE. Louis was promptly sent to Bordeaux, where he was married in July. On the 1st August his father passed away, and he ascended the throne of France as Louis VII., distinguished as *Le Jeune*. He might perhaps be eighteen years old at the time.[1] But he had already been hallowed, in anticipation, at Rheims, by Pope Innocent II.[2]

Death of Louis VI.

Stephen remained in Normandy during the autumn, in comparative quiet, though petty risings and systematic brigandage in the districts of Evreux, the Côtentin, and the Vexin still called for active intervention.[3] Late in December bad news recalled the King to England. The year there, apart from the Welsh attacks on Ceredigion, Ros, and Caermarthen, had, on the whole, passed quietly. But a Scottish invasion had been narrowly escaped. Soon after Easter (11th April), Stephen having just gone to Normandy, King David raised an army demanding the promised Earldom of Northumberland for his son, and threatening invasion. The Northern barons mustered at Newcastle to resist him. But the energetic Thurstan of York, now a very old man, by a great effort made his way to Marchmont, otherwise Roxburgh, had an interview with the Scottish King, and induced him to sign a truce till Stephen's return.[4]

Archbishop Thurstan and the Scots.

To most men's minds Stephen's reign so far had not been a period of comfort or tranquillity. But by all accounts it was, in comparison with that which was to follow, the best time that he as King of England was destined to enjoy. His unfitness for the arduous post into which he had thrust himself is shown by the fact that after two years' rule his hold on his dominions had not been strengthened, but enfeebled. His weakness had been gauged, and both Matilda's partisans and the barons in general were beginning to take advantage of it.[5] Leaving Normandy in charge of

[1] Orderic, 911; Sismondi, *France*, V. 236–241, citing Suger, *Vita Lud. Grossi.*

[2] 25th October, 1131; Ord. 895; Le Prevost, V. 27.

[3] Ord. 911.

[4] Sym. *H. R.* Cont.; R. Hexham.

[5] See the words of the Peterborough Chronicle (given under 1137), 'When they saw that he a mild man was, and soft, and good . . . then were they all forsworn,' etc. By Orderic the movement is represented as a plot to massacre all the Normans (911, 912), as if the chief actors were not Normans. Malmesbury states the case clearly "A rege hi prædia, hi castella, postremo quæcunque semel collibuisset petere non verebantur"; *H. N.* s. 467.

William of Roumare, and Roger Viscount of the Côtentin, Stephen came back to England, bringing Waleran of Meulan and most of the magnates with him,[1] but not the Earl of Gloucester. He again kept aloof.[2] Christmas was kept at Dunstable. But the festive week was hardly over when the King had to march to the siege of Bedford Castle.

The King Returns to England.

In direct opposition to the policy of Henry I., who kept as much as possible of the kingdom under his own direct control, Stephen was beginning to make friends by creating earldoms, thereby parting with all the emoluments and influence appertaining to those offices. The 'third penny of the pleas' of a county assigned to an earl would presumably in most if not all cases thenceforward pass to him; much local patronage would also be his, while in some cases, not improbably, the creation of the new dignity would involve the alienation of lands or rents that otherwise the King might have kept for himself.[3] Thus Stephen was preparing to create an Earldom of Bedford in favour of Hugh of Beaumont, brother of the Earls Waleran of Meulan and Robert of Leicester, he being surnamed 'the Poor' in contrast to his wealthy brothers. Waleran had been Stephen's mainstay in Normandy, and the promotion of his brother was a most natural step. For his endowment Hugh was to receive the hand of the daughter and heiress of one Simon of Beauchamp.[4] This man had been Constable of Bedford, by virtue of a grant of the barony originally conferred by Rufus on one Payen of Beauchamp.[5] But the place was actually in the hands of the lady's cousin, Milo, son of her uncle Robert of Beauchamp, who claimed the Constableship as heir male to Simon.[6] He refused to part with his office in favour of the new Earl, professing a readiness to discharge in his own person all duties connected with the post. The Christmas festivities over,[7] Stephen, we are told, against the advice of his brother, marched an army to Bedford. Five weeks the siege of the castle lasted, the place being finally surrenderd to the Bishop of Winchester.[8]

An Earl of Bedford.

Siege of Bedford.

But ere that consummation had been reached the King had been called away to resist an invasion in the North. Scottish envoys had waited on him on his return to press the demand for the earldom of Northumberland. As a matter of course it was refused.[9] War followed at once.

[1] Ord. 911. [2] W. Malm. s. 466.

[3] See Malmesbury, *sup.* On the subject of Stephen's earls and their supposed endowments, see Round, *Mandeville*, 267; and for the third penny of the pleas of the courts, *Id.* 287. Mr. Round would greatly restrict the number of earls who received the 'third penny,' but I suspect that it was drawn more generally than he is disposed to admit. See the facts set out p. 295. The 'third penny' of the borough dues (tertius denarius burgi) was another thing. This also might or might not be granted to the earl.

[4] Beaucamp, Seine Inf., near Saint-Romain. [5] So Le Prevost; Ord. V. 104, note.

[6] See Round, *Mandeville*, 171. [7] So the *Gesta*, and Flor. *Cont.*, clearly.

[8] January, 1138, *Gesta*, 30–32; Ord. 905, 906, 915.

[9] Sym. *H. R. Cont.*, and R. Hexham.

On the 10th January the van of an invading army led by David's nephew William, son of his half-brother Duncan, the old hostage, who had ruled Scotland for six months in 1094, crossed the Tweed, and laid siege to Wark.[1] King David and his son Henry followed with the main force. Its composition deserves notice. We are told that it included Normans, Germans (Flemings?), and Englishmen; men from Northumberland, Cumbria, Teviotdale, and Lothian; with Galloway Picts, and Scotsmen proper. Some were exiles, bent on revenge; others Border riders, unbidden volunteers, merely looking for plunder, and amenable to no control.[2] The excesses of such men must not be charged wholly to the Scots.

Scottish Inroad.

The preponderance of the Lowland elements in the Scottish army, a fact to which we shall often have to call attention, is here clearly brought out. "Cumbria" of course meant the old kingdom of Strathclyde.

After a fortnight at Wark the force moved on to the line of the Tyne, harrying, burning, and slaying. On the 25th January the van was at Warden, at the junction of the North and South Tynes, three miles from Hexham. By the 2nd February David had reached Corbridge, while parties were pushed on as far as Tynemouth, where, however, the monks were allowed to ransom themselves for twenty-seven marks. Others, again, must have crossed the Tyne, as we hear of a cruel massacre of fugitives at Tanfield, some miles to the South of that river. According to the English accounts the raiders indulged in barbarities too shocking to tell. But it seems clear that they rifled churches, slew the men, and carried off the women in gangs as slaves. It must be stated, however, that the Scottish King, his son, and his nephew are expressly absolved of complicity in these horrors. William took Hexham Priory under his protection from the first, and David and Henry gave the Canons a charter of 'perpetual peace,' that stood them in good stead for many a day. David sent his share of the captives back to Hexham, to be restored in due time to their homes.

Cruel Outrages.

But Stephen was hastening Northwards with a powerful army. Early in February he reached the Tyne, whereupon King David fell back on Wark, and, crossing the Tweed, retired to some wild country in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh, hoping that the English would follow, and so be inveigled into some trap where they might be taken at a disadvantage. He had intelligences in the English camp, and looked for support from treachery. But Stephen wisely preferred to push a counter-raid into the Southern parts of Lothian, modern Berwickshire. His movements however were hampered by the disaffection

Stephen in the North.

[1] Styled the Castle of Carham ("Carrum") by Richard of Hexham, being in the parish of Carham (cnf. Blyth-Tickhill).

[2] "Nefandus exercitus"; R. Hexham, 152. Among the exiles Robert of Bampton is named, *Gesta*, 35.

of his followers. The Lenten season[1] was made an excuse for abandoning hostilities, and so Stephen turned Southwards; but in his indignation he deprived Eustace fitz John,[2] a man of whom he had suspicions, of the custody of Bamborough Castle.[3] Eustace under Henry I. had been Justice in Eyre for Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland, and the Bishopric of Durham; as he was also Constable of Alnwick Castle he must have been a man of very considerable influence. Having been greatly trusted and promoted by Henry, common gratitude would attach him to the cause of the Empress. We may also point out that when David made his first demonstration in 1136 the Northern gentry had shewn a disposition to accept Matilda, and had taken oaths to her. For them Matilda's rule would mean peaceable relations with Scotland.

It will be convenient to follow up the course of events in the North, the affairs of the South being quite unconnected, except as part and parcel of an extensive concerted movement on behalf of Matilda.[4]

Second Scottish Invasion.

After an interval of two months David drew the sword again. Crossing the Tweed, apparently on the 15th April,[5] he moved down the East coast which had not been ravaged in the previous inroad. Advancing to Newcastle, and a little further, he wasted the greater part of the patrimony of St. Cuthberht between Durham and the sea. A disturbance then broke out in his camp, the unruly Picts, presumably Galloway Picts, threatening violence to the King. In consequence of this alarm David, in some trepidation, returned to the Border, where he laid siege to Norham Castle, the outwork of the lands of St. Cuthberht, due to Ralph Flambard. But the Picts and others under the lead of William mac Duncan pushed a daring inroad into Yorkshire, making their way as far South as the Craven district, where they ravaged some outlying possessions of Furness Abbey.[6] We also hear of a small pitched battle at Clitheroe, in which four squadrons of English were utterly overthrown.[7]

[1] 16 February was Ash Wednesday.

[2] See Foss, *Judges*, I. 115; R. Hexham, 158. Eustace was brother to Payen fitz John, the Marcher killed by the Welsh in 1137.

[3] R. Hexham, 151-155; abridged and modified, Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 289-291; *Gesta*, 35.

[4] According to the *Gesta* Matilda had made a special appeal to David for active support against Stephen, p. 34. We cannot doubt their mutual understanding.

[5] "Peracta Paschali solemnitate, mox in proxima ebdomada feria VI.;" R. Hexham, 155. Easter Day falling on the 3rd April this would seem to mean Friday 15, but perhaps it may mean Friday 8th April.

[6] R. Hexham, 156. We here get the original form of the name Furness, "Futherness," still preserved in the name of the castle at the point of the peninsula, "Peel of Futher;" Canon Raine, cited Howlett, R. Hexham, *sup.*

[7] Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 291. A later addition to the MS. gives the date of this action as Friday, 10th June. If so the raid must have been an independent one, through Cumberland. Norham yielded about the 8th May. There were only six men-at-arms (milites) in it; R. Hexham.

During the foray all the old horrors were perpetrated; churches burnt, men slaughtered in the sight of their families; women, many of them of good condition, dragged away into slavery, like animals, with ropes round their necks. The Scottish return journey at any rate, if not the march out also, must have been made by the Western route, through Cumberland —Scottish territory—as we hear that some of the invaders, moved by better feelings, left their female captives at St. Mary's Carlisle to be set at liberty.[1]

Third Invasion.

Encouraged by the success of this bold foray, and also probably by reports of what was happening in the South of England, David about the 22nd July mustered a larger army than either of the previous ones for an inroad into Yorkshire. North of the Tees there would be little left to harry. The force, which was evidently a very large one, comprised contingents from all parts of David's dominions, as well as some from lands that were not his, such as Orkney and the Isles, at that time still dependencies of Norway.[2] As he crossed the Tweed he left two of his 'thegns' to keep up the siege of Wark.[3] A notable ally then joined him in the person of Eustace fitz John, who, throwing off all disguise, proposed to join in the invasion of Yorkshire in the name of Matilda. Bamborough had been put into trusty hands, and so held out against the Scots; but Eustace was still lord of Alnwick, Malton, and Knaresborough, and these he proposed to hand over to the Scots. After passing the Tyne David halted on the Wear for the 'Picts, Cumbrians, and men of Carlisle' to join him.[4] The Picts were the men of Galloway, the 'men of Carlisle' those of the newly restored district of Carlisle, and the Cumbrians the contingents from all the rest of the old kingdom of Strathclyde.

Advance to the Wear.

Reports of David's advance of course had flown before him. The reader must have been struck with the state of helpless apathy into which the warlike population of the Northern counties seemed to have fallen. Not an attempt at organised resistance to these repeated invasions had been made; and the only recorded attempt at resistance of any kind was the unfortunate action at Clitheroe. Now at last we hear of a meeting of local Witan (*sapientes*) at York to concert measures of defence. Among them were big black Walter Espec of Kirkham, the founder of Rievaulx;[5] Roger of Montbray, *anglice* Mowbray, the future founder of Byland,[6] but described as being still a

The Yorkshire Barons.

[1] R. Hexham, 157.

[2] *Id.*, 158; Ælred of Rievaux, *De Standardo*, 181 (Rolls Series, No. 82, vol. III.).

[3] "Duobus tegnionibus, id est baronibus"; R. Hexham, *sup.* Note the survival in North Britain of the Old English title. The Hexham writer thought that it needed translation, so much had things English fallen into abeyance in England.

[4] R. Hexham, 158, 159.

[5] For his portrait see Ælred, sup. 183.

[6] Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 289. Roger was son of Nigel of Aubigny, on whom Henry I.

mere boy[1]; Robert of Bruce, and his son Adam; Ilbert of Lacy, Richard of Courcy,[2] William of Percy, Robert of Stuteville,[3] William Fossard; with two foreign captains, William Count of Aûmale, and Walter of Ghent.[4] But mutual suspicion and the dread of treachery would now, as before, have paralyzed their action but for the patriotism of Archbishop Thurstan, who preached a holy war. He promised absolution; he promised the co-operation of the popular fyrd under the parish priests. The appearance of Bernard of Balliol with a troop of horse sent by Stephen—he himself was too deeply engaged to come in person—turned the scale. All went home to call out their men, returning speedily to York. A three days' fast, with penance and almsgiving, followed by the promised absolution, prepared them for their task. Old and feeble as he was the Archbishop would have gone forth to the battle in a litter. With some difficulty he was was persuaded to depute the spiritual command to his suffragan, Ralph Nowel, Bishop of Orkney, originally a Yorkshire priest, who happened to be at York. Their numbers were further swelled by the arrival of reinforcements from Notts under William Peverel, and from Derbyshire under Robert of Ferrers. But even so their numbers were greatly inferior to those of the host they had to encounter.

Archbishop Thurstan.

All things being ready the army advanced to Thirsk,[5] David not having as yet got beyond the limits of the See of Durham. As a last effort for a peaceable settlement Bruce and Balliol[6] an interesting conjunction—were sent forwards to hold parley with the King. They were authorised to promise the Earldom of Northumberland for David's son if he would abandon the hostilities. Both the envoys were men of double allegiance. Bruce held the great fief of Annandale in Scotland,[7] and had spent much of his life at the Scottish court; while Balliol had on some previous occasion fallen into David's hands and been made to swear allegiance to him. Their overtures were rejected with contempt, whereupon both renounced their ties with Scotland. Their return to Thirsk was followed by the news that David had crossed the Tees, and was running riot in Yorkshire. A hasty advance of some fifteen miles was then made to Cowton Moor,[8] three beyond Northallerton, where a good site for making a stand

Fruitless Offers.

Advance on Both Sides.

had conferred most of the estates of Earl Robert, who forfeited in 1095. W. Jumièges, 296. The son dropped the Aubigny, and went back to the old style from the place in the dept. of Manche, in the Canton of Percy.

[1] "Adhuc puerulum;" Ælred. [2] Courci-sur-Dives, Calvados.

[3] Estouteville-sur-Mer, Seine Inf. [4] R. Hexham, 159.

[5] R. Hexham, 158–162; Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 292, 293; Skene, *Celtic Scotld.* I. 465.

[6] The name Bruce (Brus) is supposed to be derived from Brix, Manche, near Valognes, Lapp. Thorpe, 383, notes. Balliol (Baiol) comes from Bailleul: of the many places of the name in the North of France, Mr. Round has identified it with that in the Dept. of Somme, near Hallencourt. [7] See the grant, National MSS. of Scotland, No. 19, cited Skene. [8] "Cutenemor," *Chr. Picts and Scots*, 212.

was found. The march is said to have been made in a mist,[1] we might almost say by night, as the place was reached very early in the morning, in fact before 6 o'clock[2] (Tuesday, 22nd August). Hardly had they encamped before the approach of the Scots was announced. Order of battle was immediately taken, all dismounting, except a few who were sent to the rear in charge of the horses. In the front rank were placed the pick of the men-at-arms, being apparently the trained soldiers from the *Boulonnais*, Ponthieu, Normandy, and Flanders, brought by William of Aumâle and Walter of Ghent. Intermingled with them as a sort of rear rank were the archers. Behind and in support of them were massed the baronial contingents all round their sacred rallying point, the celebrated Standard from which the battle takes its name. This was a four-wheeled waggon supporting a mast ("the *carroccio* of Italian history")[3] crowned by a silver pix containing the Eucharist, and displaying the triple banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrith of Ripon. The little eminence on which it stood is still known as Standard Hill.[4] All round the barons, on flank and rear, were grouped the parish levies. In honour of the great struggle that ensued the Abbot of Rievaulx thought it proper to compose speeches for his heroes, Walter Espec, and Robert of Bruce. Of Espec's speech the only thing worth noting is its absolutely Norman tone. The English are not so much as mentioned; their co-operation was not worth taking into account in calculating the chances of the day. England is only referred to as a glorious Norman conquest, like Apulia or Maine. The speech evinces no more fellow-feeling for an Englishman than it does for an Apulian or a *Mansel*.[5] The very same remark may be made of the words that the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, not to be outdone, puts into the mouth of the Bishop of Orkney.[6] Bruce's speech is interesting as showing how completely in the opinion of the Abbot, a well-informed contemporary, the throne of David, like that of his brother Eadgar, rested on an Anglo-Norman basis. Bruce is made to ask the King how he could expect to hold his own among the Scots if he broke with his English and Norman supporters.[7] Bruce has to name the English in connexion with Scotland because there they were not an unimportant set. The truth appears to be that in Scotland an Englishman could call himself such without losing caste. In England he had to become a Norman, like Abbot Ælred himself, whose proper name, Æthelred, proves his native extraction. William of Malmesbury might be cited as another case in point; a man of English birth, purely Norman in feeling.

Formation of the English.

The Standard.

[1] Flor. *Cont.* [2] "Summo mane." Operations began "hora prima," *i.e.* 6 a.m.
[3] C. Pearson, *Hist. England*, I. 470. [4] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*; R. Hexham, 163; Ælred, 182. [5] Ælred, 285, etc. [6] H. Hunt. 262.
[7] Ælred, 192. The speech, given as delivered on the field of battle, should have been given as delivered in the conference on the Tees; but Ælred makes no mention of that at all.

The marshalling of the Scottish host nearly led to a split in their heterogeneous ranks. The King's military advisers, very properly, proposed to meet the English formation by a corresponding arrangement, placing the best of their mail-clad men-at-arms, with the archers, in the forefront. But the Galloway Picts, the sons of the old *Atecotti*, on what grounds we know not, claimed the post of honour as theirs of right. In vain the rashness of this step was pointed out. Malise of Strathearn, representing the Northern Celts, backed them up, boasting that he would go as far with bare breast as any 'Frenchman' clad in steel.[1] David, afraid of a tumult, gave way. The Galloway men went to the front. The King's son with the men-at-arms and archers, supported by the 'Cumbrians' and men of Teviotdale, took the second line, where of course the archers would be useless. The men of Lothian and Lennox,[2] with those from the Isles, formed the third line; while David held the 'Scots,' *i.e.* the Highlanders, and the men of the newly annexed district of Moray, in reserve as a fourth line, with a personal bodyguard of English and Normans for himself. His banner, apparently copied from that of Wessex, displayed the effigy of a Dragon. As on the other side, so with the Scots, all fought on foot.[3]

Formation of the Scots.

With a wild Celtic rush and loud shouts of '*Albanach!*' '*Albanach!*'[4] the Galloway men charged the wall of closely locked shields. The wall was driven backwards somewhat, but the wall was not broken. Then the long slender ill-tipped spears of the Celts[5] gave way, and they had to take to their swords as against the short stout lances of their adversaries. Meanwhile the archers, sheltered behind the men-at-arms, were decimating their ranks. Their two captains, by name Wulgric and Donald, having fallen, they broke and fled.[6] The English then assuming the offensive charged the next line in front of them, which, as matters then stood, was that of the men of Lothian. They gave way at once. David would have gone into action with his reserves, but his attendants refused to face the risk. Forcing him to mount his horse they carried him off with the rest of the flying host to make for Carlisle. As for the second line of the Scots, young Henry, scorning to be idle, had taken his division outwards, as by a flank march, and then charging the wing opposed to him, presumably consisting of some of the parish levies, drove them right back, past the central position by the Standard, till he came in contact with the picketted horses a quarter of a mile[7] to the English rear. Having carried all before him so far, he now found himself isolated and cut off from his friends. Having done what he

The Action.

Defeat of the Scots.

[1] Ælred, 189, 190; Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 294. "Nudi et pene inermes . . . adversus cuneos loricatos."

[2] "Lavernani" = Levenach or Lennox, nearly corresponding to the modern Dumbartonshire.

[3] Ælred, 191, 197.

[4] "Albani! Albani!" H. Hunt.

[5] See Espec's speech, Ælred, 186.

[6] Ælred, 191, 195, 196.

[7] "Duo stadia."

could, he drew off the field, to make his way independently to Carlisle, where he rejoined his father two days later.

All was over by nine o'clock in the morning. Little pursuit was attempted by the victors. In the anxious and critical state of domestic affairs, when all law was in abeyance, every man was anxious to get back to his own home. There was not, therefore, any great slaughter on the battlefield. Apparently one man-at-arms fell on either side.[1] But great numbers of straggling fugitives were cut off in the retreat, and much booty left on the spot, insomuch that the place was re-christened "Baggamor" (Bag-moor).[2]

No Pursuit.

As the reward of their services William of Aumâle received the Earldom of York, and Robert of Ferrers that of Derby.[3] Peverel received no promotion. He was, at the time, a supporter of the Empress.[4] But Scottish inroads, undertaken in her interest, must have given very bad odour to her cause.

Stephen had been allowed to spend his Easter week in peace. On the Octave (April 10th) he held an ecclesiastical Council or Synod at Northampton, under the presidency of Archbishop Thurstan, when the clergy were allowed to elect one Robert of Chichester to be Bishop of Exeter. Two vacant abbeys were also filled up.[5] A Royal progress to Gloucester followed. The King, probably anticipating Earl Robert's defection, wished to strengthen his position in the West, where troubles might be looked for. His reception at Gloucester was most satisfactory, the clergy coming out to meet him in procession; while Milo, the Constable, also was in dutiful attendance (May 10th). But the flames of rebellion had already broken out. Hereford had been seized by Geoffrey Talabot,[6] *Anglice* Talbot, on behalf of the Empress; while Weobly Castle, in the same county, was also under him. After three pleasant days at Gloucester, Stephen marched to Hereford. There he was detained a full month. At the end of that time the garrison yielded. Stephen, with his usual good nature, let them go free. But the unfortunate city, as usual, suffered terribly. During the siege the part below the bridge of the Wye was burnt; while

Stephen in the West.

Geoffrey Talbot.

[1] "De singulis partibus singuli milites corruerunt." One de Lacy was the English loss; H. Hunt.

[2] Ælred, 192, 196–199; R. Hexham, 164, 165; Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 294, 295. Cf. Flor. *Cont.* and H. Hunt. 263, 264, whose accounts in all essentials tally with those of the Northern writers. Huntingdon notices slings or javelins projected by thongs as used by the Scots, "amentata missilia." For lines on the battle by one Serlo, a Rievaulx monk, deriding the bare-legged (kilted) men of Galloway see Twysden's ed. of Ælred (*Decem S.* 331). Serlo also taxes them with eating raw meat.

[3] Sym. *sup.*; R. Hexham, 165. [4] Ord. 917. Not so afterwards.

[5] Winchcomb, and St. Mary's York; Flor. *Cont.*

[6] Talabot = a billet or block of wood hung round a dog's neck to prevent him hunting. Littré.

on the very day of the King's departure (June 15th), Talbot, who had kept at large, fired the suburb on the South side of the river.[1]

Stephen's triumph must have been considerably marred by the receipt of a formal declaration of war from Robert of Gloucester, which came in at this juncture.[2] The Earl's plans having been matured he now thought it time to throw off the mask. The reader will remember that the Battle of the Standard had not yet been fought, and that the Scottish inroads were still in full swing. Robert had remained abroad, in Normandy, and the hostile message was sent from thence. His envoys were instructed to base his renunciation of homage on two grounds: one, the unjust usurpation of the Crown by Stephen, a plea that would have been urged with better grace at an earlier period; the other, Stephen's breach of his promises to the Earl.[3] What this referred to we cannot say. If it referred to the King's treacherous attempt on Robert in Normandy of the previous year, that had been condoned. William of Malmesbury adds, as if it had been part of Robert's message to the King, that he reproached himself bitterly for ever having rendered to another the homage due to his sister. The writer goes on to say that in this case of conscience the Earl had consulted divers holy men, including the Pope, and that the Supreme Pontiff himself, in accord with the others, had advised him that the oath taken in his father's presence was the one to be kept.[4] It is not at all likely that Innocent II., who had declared for Stephen as against Matilda, should have encouraged the Earl to act for Matilda against Stephen. But Robert may have consulted the Anti-Pope Anacletus, who had only died in January, or his successor, Victor II.[5]

Robert of Gloucester Renounces his Allegiance.

Having delivered this message the envoys retired to Bristol, the headquarters of the party, to which desperate characters of all sorts were fast flocking. The King, however, went up to London, we must suppose to recruit his forces for the coming struggle.[6] Of course all Robert's estates were ordered to be confiscated.[7]

[1] Flor. *Cont.*; H. Hunt.; Orderic, 917.

[2] See W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 467, where the defiance is said to have been sent from Normandy soon after Whitsunday (May 22nd); comparing the defective passage in the *Gesta*, 36; and that in the *Continuation* of Florence, 108, from all of which it is clear that the message was received by Stephen just before leaving Hereford for London.

[3] "Amicitiam et fidem interdixit, homagio etiam abdicato . . . quia et rex illicite ad regnum aspiraverat, et omnem fidem sibi juratam neglexerat."

[4] "Ut sacramento quod præsente patre fecerat, obediens esset;" *H. N.* s. 467.

[5] Malmesbury, *sup.*, promises to give further on a more exact reference to the alleged Papal 'decree.' ("Cujus decreti paginam posteriori libello indicere curabo.") He never did so, but he puts an allusion to this Papal injunction into the mouth of Earl Robert himself, under the year 1141; *H. N.* s. 513.

[6] *Gesta*, and Flor. *Cont. sup.* The text of the latter at II. 107 interpolates a passage belonging to the year 1139, namely the arrest of the Bishops. The interpolation must be as old as the time of Gervase, as it is copied in by him; *Scriptt. Decem.* c. 1345.

[7] W. Malm. *sup.* p. 546.

Robert's call to arms met with a prompt response in the South and West. Dover was held for him by Walkelin Maminot, Wareham by Robert of Lincoln. In Somerset he had William of Mohun at Dunster, Ralph Lovel at Castle Cary, William fitz John at Harptree. Bristol was commanded by one of his own sons, with Geoffrey Talbot to assist him. Dudley was in the hands of Ralph Paganel. Shrewsbury in those of William fitz Alan, who was married to Robert's niece (*neptis*). In the same county William Peverel had the control of Ellesmere and Whittington,[1] without mentioning his chief stronghold Nottingham.

Matilda's Supporters.

To meet this storm the Earldom of Pembroke was conferred on another connexion of the Beaumonts, the King's chief supporters, namely Gilbert of Clare, younger brother of Richard, recently killed in Wales. This Gilbert was married to Elizabeth of Beaumont, sister to Earls Waleran and Robert, and at one time mistress to the late King.[2] The Queen was sent to attack Dover, while the King himself marched against Bristol. A fleet came over from Boulogne to blockade Dover harbour,[3] but the place held out for a considerable time. On his way to Bristol the King would pass through Bath, a royal city. An incident characteristic of the times had recently occurred there. Geoffrey Talbot had led a party from Bristol for a night attempt on Bath, distant some fourteen miles. While reconnoitring the walls, he was pounced upon by the watch, and carried into the city a prisoner. His friends in Bristol hit on a bold plan for setting him free. Coming up to the walls of Bath they begged the Bishop, Robert by name, to come out and hold a parley, giving solemn pledges of good faith. The Bishop, rather simply, went out, and was at once seized as a hostage for Geoffrey's safety. Nay, more, he was told that his life would answer for it if Talbot was not liberated at once. The terrified Bishop gave way, and Geoffrey and his friends returned to Bristol in triumph. The King was furious, but he could hardly punish the Bishop.[4] On reaching Bristol Stephen became aware of the magnitude of the task before him. He had to attack a populous city, crowded with military men, covered by two rivers, the Frome and the Avon, the latter a navigable river, ensuring the supply of necessaries. Then the narrow neck of the irregular peninsula within which the city was enclosed was cut off by the castle, with outworks of a most formidable character, and a ditch that joined the waters of the two rivers, thus reducing the peninsula to an island.[5] Various plans of attack were laid before Stephen, some, we are told, in good faith, some not. One grand suggestion was to submerge the city, by damming the waters of the

Operations.

Dover.

A Bishop seized as a Hostage.

Bristol too Strong to be Attacked.

[1] Ord. 917; H. Hunt.; Flor. *Cont.*; Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, I. 295.
[2] Ord. *sup.*; Doyle. [3] Ord. *sup.* [4] *Gesta*, 37, 40; Flor.
[5] See the plans, Seyer, *Memoirs of Bristol*, I. 374; and II. 43.

Avon below its junction with the Frome. To which of the two categories this ambitious scheme should be referred we cannot say. Stephen allowed himself to be persuaded that it would be better policy to attack the enemy's petty holds in detail, rather than expend his efforts on the great fastness.[1] He turned Southwards to reduce Castle Cary and Harptree, which in one way or another soon came to terms, Stephen being easy to deal with in the matter of capitulations.[2] Wheeling Northwards again he marched to Dudley, devastating all Earl Robert's possessions on the way. But Ralph Paganel apparently held firm,[3] and so the King pushed on to attack William fitz Alan at Shrewsbury.[4] But William, following a rather mean course, of which we have had instances already, had retired from Shrewsbury at the approach of danger, taking with him his wife, and committing the burden of the defence to an uncle, Ernulf of Hesdin. As was usual in such cases, the deputy was sworn not to surrender without leave. Ernulf shewed himself only too faithful to his trust. He rejected with scorn successive overtures from the King, till Stephen, losing patience, stormed the castle, and then, determined for once to make an example, hung the captain with ninety-three of his men. We are told that this wholesome severity had an excellent effect, numerous submissions coming in. Among them probably were those of Dudley and Wareham, while not long afterwards Walkelin Maminot was persuaded by Robert of Ferrers, the new Earl of Derby, to admit Queen Matilda to Dover Castle.

Stephen turns Aside.

Dudley.

Shrewsbury.

Wareham and Dover Reduced.

By an interesting coincidence Shrewsbury was won in the same week that witnessed the great victory on Cowton Moor (August 22–27).[5] The year therefore had not turned out so badly for Stephen personally. But for England it marks the inception of that atrocious system of brigandage and abduction of persons for ransom, so forcibly depicted by the Peterborough Chronicler. 'When the swynks understood that he (Stephen), a mild man was, and soft and good, and no *justise* (execution?)[6] ne did, then . . . were they all forsworn. They had done him homage and sworn him oaths, but they held no troth. Every rich man made him castles and held them against him (Stephen). They filled the land with castles. They swynked (*sweated*) the poor men of the land with castle-work, and when the castles were built they filled them with devils. They took those that they thought had any good

State of England.

[1] *Gesta*, 40–42; Flor. *Cont.* [2] *Gesta*, 42–44; Flor. *Cont.*; Ord. 917.

[3] Flor. Henry of Huntingdon places Ralph Paganel at Ludlow, but the Continuator of Florence seems right in giving him Dudley; Norgate, *sup.* I. 295.

[4] He held the place for the Queen Dowager Adelaide, to whom Henry had given it; Norgate, *sup.* 298. [5] Flor. *Cont.*; Ord. 917, 918.

[6] Cnf. the Scotch term "to justify." The 'justice' for which Henry I. was so much extolled was quite as much severity of punishment as impartial dealing, more so in fact.

(*property*), both men and women, and did them into prison after gold and silver, and pined (*tortured*) them untellable pinings. They hung me them by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke; they hung me them by their thumbs, and some by the head. They did me knotted strings round their heads, and writhed them till they went into their brains. They did them into quarters where were adders, and snakes, and puddicks . . . I ne can ne may tell all the pines that they did to wretched men on this land . . . and ever it was worse and worse. . . . Every while they laid gelds on the towns, and called it *tenseri* (*blackmail*,[1] *protection money*), and if the wretched men had no more to give they reived and burnt the town, etc.'[2] Here the writer, indirectly but unmistakably connects these proceedings with Stephen's opponents, the partisans of the Empress. The writer of the *Gesta*, while fully corroborating his account, tells us that the outrages began as at this time, and from Bristol as a centre, which city soon became a perfect 'stepmother' to all England.[3] The Continuator of Florence, speaking in equally strong terms, names Philip Gai, a natural son of Earl Robert,[4] as the man who had the credit of having led his countrymen to perpetrate on English soil practices till then unknown there, however familiar to the land of Normandy.[5] Of course it is admitted that as evil examples are quickly followed, men not connected with Matilda's party soon indulged in similar license. At last, under Stephen, as under Shamgar the son of Anath, "the highways were unoccupied." Men feared to be seized, gagged, and carried off.[6] It is not by way of apology for the conduct of Matilda's men that we would point out, that as a party of landless outlaws,[7] they must have been in great straits for the sinews of war.

[1] The word again occurs *Hist. Ramsey*, 334. See also Round, *Mandeville*, 414. It is equivalent to the later *pâtis* and English appatisement. It is right, however, to point out that this part of the Peterborough Chronicle was not written up till after the end of the reign, and that the picture here given was probably drawn from the doings of Geoffrey of Mandeville in East Anglia in 1143–1144. So Mr. Round suggests.

[2] Chron. E.; A.D. 1137.

[3] "Ad totius angliæ novercam, Bristoam;" p. 40. So too the Continuator of Florence, 117–118, but under the year 1139. For further confirmation of the system of abduction and torture for ransom, see W. Malm. *H.N.* s. 483, where he gives it in connexion with the year 1140. The nefarious practice could not become general all at once.

[4] *Gesta*, 114. [5] P. 109.

[6] *Gesta, sup.* So, too, W. Malm, *H.N.* p. 561. Bishops and monks were afraid to travel.

[7] "Quorum erat major exheredatorum numeras." W. Malm. *H.N.* p. 570.

CHAPTER XXIV

STEPHEN (*continued*)

A.D. 1138–1139

Affairs in Normandy—A Papal Mission to England—Appointment of an Archbishop of Canterbury—Peace with Scotland—Arrest of Three Bishops—Landing of the Empress Matilda—The War

IN Normandy the course of events since the close of 1137 had been distinctly unfavourable to Stephen, and certainly disastrous to the Duchy. First we hear of the Côtentin as being thrown into confusion by the operations of Reginald of Dunstanville, the late King's son, and Baldwin of Redvers.[1] The Viscount Roger, the governor left in charge by Stephen, was waylaid by them and killed; and the whole district became a prey to anarchy. Then some of Matilda's partisans renewed their attacks on the Beaumont estates. Earl Waleran and William of Ypres came over to make head against these men, with whom Roger of Tosny was apparently acting. When the Earl of Gloucester renounced his allegiance to Stephen, Geoffrey of Anjou rejected the truce, and, entering Normandy, was admitted by the Earl to Caen, Bayeux, and other places (June). But in the ensuing month Waleran and William of Ypres raised a force, at the approach of which the Count thought it prudent to retire. But the neighbourhood of Caen had been utterly wasted.[2] In September Roger of Tosny mustered a considerable force, with his brother-in-law the Count of Hainault as an ally. They attacked and burned the town of Breteuil, the castle holding out. But in the course of the year Count Waleran at last came to terms with his enemy, and brought Roger over to England, where he was received with open arms by Stephen.[3]

Confusion in Normandy.

Angevin Inroads.

On the 1st October Geoffrey was again in the field, laying siege to Falaise. But the constable Richard of Lacy kept him out. On the 19th of the month he withdrew, to reappear again in ten days' time, when he pushed an inroad down to the coast. About the 1st of November he reached Touques, at the mouth of the Seine.

Burning of Touques.

[1] Baldwin, however, not long afterwards fell into the hands of Ingelram of Sai (Orne), one of Stephen's men.

[2] Orderic, 915, 916. [3] Ord. 918; and Le Prevost, V. 115.

The town had been evacuated by the inhabitants. The Angevins were preparing to make themselves comfortable for the night, when the place was fired over their heads from end to end. They took refuge in the churchyard, and next morning hastened back to their base of operations at Argentan. The neighbouring town of Exmes, however, had become theirs.[1]

During the year England had been visited by a Papal Legate, Alberic Bishop of Ostia. In January Innocent II. had been relieved by death of his Semitic competitor, Peter, otherwise Anacletus.[2] His authority, therefore, could no longer be disputed. No Legate had been seen in England since John of Crema took his departure in 1125. Since that time the Papacy had compromised matters by giving Legatine authority to the Archbishops of Canterbury. Under the circumstances of the hour, with the archbishopric vacant, no effectual opposition to a Legatine visitation could be expected. Alberic himself, an old Cluniac monk, is well spoken of both for learning and character, as well as for speech and manners, and he was on the whole well received.[3] To give weight to his proceedings, he brought with him the Abbot of Molesmes. Stephen being engaged in warfare, he began by a general visitation of the bishoprics and abbeys. In due course he reached Durham, where he ordered William Cumin, the Chancellor of King David, who had been taken prisoner after the battle of the Standard, to be set free. From Durham he made his way 'through a wilderness' (*per solitudinem*)[4] to Hexham, and from thence again to Carlisle, which he reached on the 26th September. His commission extended to Scotland as well as England, and David and his Court were there to receive him. Ecclesiastical business was first taken in hand. Bishop Æthelwulf of Carlisle had not yet been put into possession of his See;[5] and John, Bishop of Glasgow, had to be threatened with deposition for having abandoned his Episcopal duties for the retirement of the Abbey of Tiron in France. These matters having been settled, the question of relations with England was taken up. Alberic pressed for peace, but David would only promise an abstention from hostilities till the 11th November, and not even that as against Wark, which was still being besieged.[6] The Legate then addressed himself to the Scottish and

A Papal Legate in England.

The Legate and the Scots.

[1] Ord. 918, 919; R. de Monte. [2] Orderic, 915; H. Nicolas.

[3] So certainly in the North; R. Hexham, 167–169; Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 297, 298; Gervase, reflecting Canterbury feeling, speaks of opposition to his reception, 1344. The Southern writers certainly are very silent as to the Legate's visitation.

[4] R. Hexham. See also Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 298, who tells us that Northumberland was an absolute desert. All the inhabitants had retired to castles, hiding-places, or monasteries. [5] So Haddan and Stubbs, *Conc.* II. 30.

[6] The garrison surrendered on terms on the 11th November, by the permission of their lord, Walter Espec. They had salted and eaten their last horse. David gave them twenty-four horses to take them home. R. Hexh.

Pictish Magnates, pleading for humanity in the conduct of war; demanding respect for churches and non-combatants; and extorting a promise that all female captives should be set free. On the 29th September he returned Southwards.[1]

The visitation-tour over, an ecclesiastical Council or Synod was summoned to meet in Westminster Abbey on the third Sunday in Advent (11th December). It will be remembered that when Cardinal John held a Synod in 1125 he was allowed to preside, but not to issue the citations. On the present occasion it is clear that the Legate did both.[2] During the sittings much current business was transacted. One abbot was deposed, and two appointed. Finally, on the 13th December, seventeen Canons for the reformation of the Church were promulgated. The majority deal with evils already condemned by earlier assemblies, such as simony, clerical marriage, succession to livings by hereditary descent, pursuit of secular callings and occupations, wearing of costly furs by abbesses and nuns, and so forth. On the other hand, we have Canons evidently dictated by the circumstances of the hour. A special anathema is denounced on all persons killing, imprisoning, or laying violent hands on any clerk, monk, nun, or other ecclesiastical person; while those invading the goods or lands of churches are to be excommunicated, unless they make amends on canonical citation.[3] Then again the clergy are reminded that they must not risk polluting themselves by 'effusion of blood'; they must not arm and go forth to battle like laymen.[4] The fifth Canon seems to reopen the terrible question of the Investitures, so happily settled. It actually forbids any clergyman to receive a church or other ecclesiastical benefice at the hands of a layman.[5] All the fruits of Henry's successful diplomacy were thus to be thrown away. At the same time, it must be admitted that to the minds of churchmen Stephen's grant of the liberty of the Church would imply as much.

Synod at Westminster.

But in some respects the appointment to the Primacy might be thought the most important piece of business that the Legate had to transact. The candidature of Bishop Henry of Winchester, announced at the death

[1] R. Hexham, 169–171; Sym. *Cont. sup.*

[2] See the citation to Canterbury, Gervase, 1346.

[3] C.C. 10, 11.

[4] "Arma sustollere et ad bella procedere." C. 13. The prohibition is given in the words of Pope Nicholas II. 1059–1061.

[5] "Nullus omnino de manu laici ecclesiam seu quæcumque ecclesiastica beneficia accipiat;" R. Hexham, 173; Gervase, 1346; Flor. *Cont.*; Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 299. The Synod of 1125 (Canon 4) prohibited any cleric or monk from taking a benefice from a layman without consent of his bishop, but that was quite another thing. See Flor. *Cont.* and Sym. *H.R. Cont., in anno.* In his citation, however, to the Canterbury Chapter on the present occasion, the Legate admits that the King might, on sufficient grounds, object to a prelate elected by the clergy; Gervase, c. 1347. This admission is utterly misrepresented by Dr. Hook; *Archbishops*, II. 328.

of the late Archbishop, had made no progress, and that for the simple reason that both the King and Queen were strongly opposed to it.[1] We must suppose that, in accordance with a well-known principle of human nature, the King was jealous of the man to whom he owed his throne. But Henry of Blois was not a man to be easily put down; and it is clear that the appointment of a rival was not effected without difficulty.[2] Finally, however, the Abbey of Bec was called upon for the third time to provide an Archbishop for the See of Canterbury. On the 24th December the Prior and monks of Canterbury met in London in the presence of King, Legate, and full Court; and then and there, obviously in pursuance of a preconcerted arrangement, elected Theobald, Abbot of Bec. Theobald was in England at the time, having doubtless been brought over by the King with a view to his appointment. He was of course of purely Norman birth and education, but well connected and a man of high character.[3] It may be worth while noticing that the proceedings at his appointment conformed to the provisions of the Concordat of 1122; inasmuch as he was 'elected' by the clergy in the presence of the King.

Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the 8th January, 1139, Theobald was consecrated at Canterbury by the Legate, and not many days later left England with him for Rome. For the purposes of the Papacy the mission had proved a decided success. A goodly company of bishops and abbots journeyed with Theobald and the Legate, all summoned to attend the Lateran Council, which eventually met on the 4th April. The Archbishop, of course, had also his Pallium to receive.[4]

In London Bishop Alberic had renewed his praiseworthy efforts for a pacification with Scotland. But he had found King Stephen as obdurate as King David. The matter however was taken up by one who could bring the continuous dropping of domestic pressure to bear on the question.[5] Queen Matilda, a woman of high character, had not forgotten that on her mother's side she was a Scotswoman,[6] and she had a strong feeling for her Scottish relations. Overpowering the mistaken instances of the Northern Barons who thirsted for retaliation, she obtained leave to negotiate peace on the basis of the grant of the desired Earldom of Northumberland to her cousin Henry. She went to Durham, and there on the 9th April a treaty was settled by her and Henry in the presence of magnates from both countries. The Earldom was conferred on

Queen Matilda Negotiates Peace.

Henry of Scotland Earl of Northumberland.

[1] So Gervase, 1348.

[2] *Id.* and R. Hexh. 175; "Tandem . . . causa finem habuit."

[3] Gervase, *sup.*; H. Hunt.; R. de Monte, A.D. 1136, 1138.

[4] Gervase, 1348, 1349; R. Hexham, 176; Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 306; Flor. *Cont.*

[5] "Feminea calliditate atque protervitate."

[6] Matilda of course was daughter of Mary, sister of King David, and wife of Eustace III. of Boulogne.

the Scottish prince, with the exception of Bamborough and Newcastle, these remaining in Stephen's hands. But he undertook to give Henry in exchange other places 'of equal value' (monetary) in the South. The lands of St. Cuthberht and those of St. Andrew's Hexham were also to be exempt from the Earl's authority; and he was bound down to respect the 'laws and customs' of Northumberland, as established by Henry I.;[1] Barons holding of the Earldom were left at liberty to do homage to Henry if they pleased, saving their allegiance to Stephen. But to secure the allegiance of David and his son,[2] five hostages, sons of leading Scottish chieftains, representing all the traditional elements, were to be given up.[3]

Here the word *fidelitas*, if used as it commonly is in the technical sense of *fealty*, would in itself imply vassalage on the part of the Scottish Crown.

Presumable Homage of Scotland.

But without insisting on that single expression an impartial view of all the circumstances leads to the conviction that such must have been the case. David might well agree to a continuance of the nominal suzerainty that had clearly obtained under Henry I. in return for the substantial under-kingdom that he now received. He had all the best of it. After being well beaten at Cowton Moor he gets all that he could have asked for had he been victorious.

Henry went on with the Queen to Nottingham, where the treaty was ratified by Stephen, and the young Scot doubtless did homage. In fact he remained in England through the summer, and as a further bond of friendship received the hand of a Norman lady of rank, Ada or Adeline of Warenne, daughter of William II. and sister of William III., Earls of Surrey. On the mother's side she was half-sister to the three Beaumont Earls, Meulan, Leicester, and Bedford.[4]

From Nottingham the King must have gone to Worcester, where we hear of him on the 30th April as being received with all distinction by clergy and people. From Worcester he marched to Ludlow to besiege the castle. The place had fallen into hand at the death of Payen fitz John (1137), when Stephen gave it to one Joce or Joceas, apparently a Breton, who had already turned against him.[5]

Stephen on the Welsh March.

Siege of Ludlow.

Strongly perched upon the rocky promontory that from a height of one hundred feet looks down upon the junction of the Corve and Teme,[6] the castle presented a formidable ob-

[1] These would probably mean the regulations as to rent, services, and proceedings, established while the Earldom was in hand.

[2] "In firmamentum fidei." "Ut de fidelitate eorum securior esset."

[3] R. Hexham, 176–178; Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 199, 300. The men whose sons were demanded were Gospatrick, Earl of Dunbar (qy Gospatrick II. or Gospatrick III.?), an Anglo-Scot; Fergus, Earl or Prince of Galloway, a Pict; Hugh of Morville, a Cumberland Baron; "Maccus" presumably an Island potentate, as we had one such of the name already; and "Mel," doubtless a Celt and Highlander.

[4] *Id.*; Ord. 918. See *G. E. C. Peerage*, "Leicester."

[5] Norgate, *sup.* I. 301, citing Eyton, *Antiqq. Shrop.* V. 244, 247.

[6] For a plan and full description of Ludlow Castle see Clark, *Mil. Arch.* II. 273.

stacle; in fact much too formidable an obstacle for a man of Stephen's unstable purpose. He contented himself with establishing two counter-forts, and then went off to attend to some business in London.[1] But during the time that he was at Ludlow he distinguished himself by an act of personal gallantry. In some skirmishing action young Henry of Scotland, by a device in use among the foot-soldiers of the period, was hooked with a long-handled weapon, unhorsed, and on the point of being carried off, if the King had not hastened to the rescue.[2] From London, we are told, Stephen returned to Ludlow to find that the contending parties had been showing their mettle by indulging in hand-play like that that we hear of between the servants of David and the servants of Ish-bosheth the son of Saul, by the pool of Gibeon, when "they caught every one his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellow's side."[3] Stephen, indignant at the consequent loss of life, forbad the repetition of such duels.[4] But the siege of Ludlow came to nothing.

From Ludlow Stephen went to attend a Grand Council that had been summoned to meet at Oxford on the 24th June.[5] So far he had seemed to be holding his ground very fairly. By his treaty with the Scots he had secured his Northern frontier. Earl Robert's call to arms had not elicited any general response, and most of the places that did respond had been reduced or won over.[6] Bristol no doubt was still held by the enemy, a most important basis of operations, of which he ought to have been deprived; while Ludlow and Malton were also held in Matilda's interest. But the atrocities perpetrated by the 'Angevins,' as they were called, had outraged the moral sense of the nation. Public feeling was evidently with Stephen. Suddenly by his own incredible folly he turned the scale against himself, alienating popular sympathy, and making enemies of the class on which he had chiefly to depend.

Council at Oxford.

We have seen that to the leaders of the Church he owed his crown. One of these men, his own brother, he had already estranged by withholding from him the coveted archbishopric. The Pope had endeavoured to console Bishop Henry by appointing him Legate to counterbalance the authority of the Primate.[7] But his irritation against the King had not passed away. Of even greater influence in the country were the famous Bishop Roger of Salisbury, his son Roger, surnamed "Le Poer," and his nephews, Nigel Bishop

The Bishop of Salisbury and his Relations.

[1] Flor. *Cont.* [2] H. Hunt.

[3] 2 Samuel ii. 16. Compare the celebrated Battle of the Thirty at Ploermel in Brittany, *circa* 1352, in which Sir William Calverly and Sir Robert Knolles fought.

[4] "Quidam militum condixere apud Ludelawe vires probare, etc."; Flor. *Cont.*

[5] Flor. *Cont.*; W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 469.

[6] Besides the places already named as won by Stephen we have "Slede," "Esledas," or "Ludas," belonging to Gloucester, and recovered by Gilbert of Clare; H. Hunt. 261, 265; Ord. 917. Leeds in Kent, appears to be the place.

[7] 1st March, 1139; W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 471.

of Ely, and Alexander Bishop of Lincoln. For thirty years the administration of the country had been in the hands of the family, and, with endless opportunities for amassing riches, their wealth had become enormous. Under Henry I. Bishop Roger had been for a time Chancellor (1101–1103). That office he resigned when he became Bishop. Subsequently however he was appointed Treasurer.[1] That post would not only give him control of all fiscal business, Revenue prosecutions, and the like, but also make him chief judge in all private suits brought before the Court of Exchequer.[2] It is perhaps in that aspect that he is spoken of as 'Justiciar' for all England,[3] but more likely the term is vaguely used with reference to his later position as Prime Minister. For, after a time, the Exchequer had been placed under his nephew Nigel,[4] doubtless to relieve Roger of the heavy routine work of the office, he having become the King's chief adviser and indispensable man; second to the King alone, when the King was at home, and when he was abroad quite supreme.[5] His position was that of a Count Palatine or *Maire de Palais*, ordering the Household, regulating the expenditure, and generally directing everything.[6] Under Stephen he had held no definite office,[7] but the King, at first at any rate, had treated him with great distinction; he had made his son Roger Chancellor, and kept on his nephew Nigel as Treasurer; he had given him the town of Malmesbury. 'By God's birth' he was reported to have said, 'I would give him half England if he asked it—till the time passed.'[8] It was perhaps not to be wondered at that Stephen should regard with suspicion a man who had spent his whole life in intimate intercourse with the late King. But great caution should have been exercised in dealing with him. Certainly, if he could have been kept faithful, the King would have had in him and his relations servants more to be trusted than any lay barons could be. With a baron his own independence of Royal control would ever be a primary object. But the Bishops, falling in with the evil ways of the times, had been expending their riches in building and strengthening castles. Without a castle no man was safe, and apparently the more castles he had the better.[9] In addition to his own diocesan strongholds at Sherborne and Devizes, Bishop Roger had ob-

The Administration in their Hands.

Their Castles.

[1] *Dialogus de Scacc.*; *Select Charters*, 186. [2] See Foss, *Judges*, I. 94.

[3] So at least H. Hunt., an inaccurate writer, p. 245. "Agebat causas"; W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 481. [4] *Dialogus, sup.* 191.

[5] "Secundus a rege"; H. Hunt. *sup.* "Secundus post regem"; *Gesta*, 45. "Sine socio et teste quando . . . [rex] morabatur Normanniæ"; W. Malm.

[6] "Ipse moderabatur expensas, ipse servabat gazas"; W. Malm. "Curiæ palatinæ regnique negociis cunctis specialius propositus"; *Gesta, sup.*; Orderic, 904, 919.

[7] So his own statement; Malm. *sup.* s. 474.

[8] "Donec tempus pertranseat"; W. Malm., s. 481.

[9] See the list of castles attributed to the Bp. of Winchester and others; *Ann. Winton.* A.D. 1138.

tained from the late King a grant of the formidable earthworks of Old Sarum, which he strengthened with a wall; he had also begun a castle at Malmesbury. Alexander of Lincoln had, as he said 'for the safety and honour of his Bishopric,' fortified Newark and Sleaford.[1]

How far Bishop Roger had been intriguing with Matilda cannot be stated.[2] But he had many enemies, and we are told that the Beaumonts in particular, jealous of their clerical rivals in wealth and influence, laboured to poison Stephen's mind against them. 'What business had bishops with such castles? Such retinues could not be maintained except for some sinister purpose. As a matter of precaution they should be deprived of their castles, and restricted to their ecclesiastical functions.' We are told that the King long refused to listen. The rumours of the expected landing of Matilda and Earl Robert may at the last have determined his action. To quarrel with these Bishops was in itself an act of sufficient madness;[3] but Stephen went about it in a way to put himself thoroughly in the wrong.[4]

Bishop Roger went to the Council at Oxford with a heavy heart. William of Malmesbury heard him say so openly. He must have had an inkling of impending trouble. When he reached the place a quarrel about lodgings, apparently not altogether accidental, broke out. His men were attacked at dinner-time by the followers of the Breton Earl of Richmond,[5] Allan III. Swords were drawn, and in the scuffle several men were wounded, one man killed, and a nephew of the Earl all but killed. The King, treating the Bishops as the aggressors, had them arrested next day, and brought before him on a charge of breaking his peace,[6] inasmuch as the disturbance had taken place within the prescribed limits of his quarters. He demanded the keys of their castles. They were ready to meet the charge of breach of peace, but refused the keys of their castles. Thereupon Bishop Roger, his son the Chancellor, and Alexander of Lincoln were committed to custody. The Bishop of Ely, not having yet reached Oxford, fled to Devizes, which was held by Maud of Ramsbury, Bishop Roger's mistress, and made ready

Arrest of the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln.

[1] W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 468. "Ad tutamen ut dicebat et dignitatem episcopii."

[2] Orderic treats him as guilty, 919. The writer of the *Gesta* asserts that he was pledged to 'King Henry's sons,' 46. Malmesbury and Huntingdon represent him as the victim of unjust suspicion.

[3] "In hoc nimirum stultissimo immo et insano devictus consilio"; *Gesta*.

[4] *Gesta*, 45–47; W. Malm. ss. 468, 481. The *Gesta* specially name "comes Mellonensis" as one of Roger's detractors. Ord. 919, names both him and his brother and Allan of Brittany. Malmesbury merely refers to "potentes laici."

[5] So W. Malm. s. 469. The *Gesta* implicate the Earl of Meulan, and Orderic implicates his brother also. All three writers treat them as the aggressors.

[6] The Bishop of Salisbury was arrested in the King's chamber; "in camera curiæ;" W. Malm. ss. 471, 481. "In castro Oxenfordiæ;" *Ann. Osney*. The Bishop of Lincoln was arrested in his own lodgings; the Chancellor was put into fetters, the Bishops not. Malm. *sup.*

to stand a siege. The two Rogers, father and son, were then sent down to Wiltshire under the charge of William of Ypres to compel the delivery of their strongholds. Devizes, we are told, was as formidable a fortress as any in Europe. Roger the son, who must have been in Orders of some sort, was threatened with hanging if the place were not surrendered. But his aged father the Bishop had to abstain from food for three days before his hot-headed nephew of Ely would give in. Devizes having been surrendered, Sherborne, Sarum, and Malmesbury made no difficulty.[1] Alexander of Lincoln in turn was treated with equal indignity. He was led in bonds to the gates of Newark, and placed on a fasting diet, to be daily reduced till the garrison yielded. With great reluctance the men submitted, and Sleaford had to follow their example.[2]

Their Castles and Treasures seized.

With the castles the accumulated wealth of the Bishops passed into the King's hands, a very seasonable supply, as Henry's treasures were about exhausted.[3]

The violence and illegality of the King's proceedings need not be pointed out. The indignation of the clergy knew no bounds.[4] This, forsooth, was the 'liberty' that Stephen was pledged to grant; and the Synod, held just six months before, had denounced any one who should lay hands on the person or property of an ecclesiastic! These views found utterance through the mouth of the newly appointed Legate, Henry of Winchester, who in public and private boldly denounced his brother's conduct, insisting on restitution.[5] If the Bishops had committed any fault they were amenable not to the King, but to Canonical authority, and to that alone. At length he extorted leave to convene an ecclesiastical Synod, his first act as Legate. But he insisted that the King should be present.

Feelings of the Clergy.

On the 29th August[6] the Synod met at Winchester. Archbishop Theobald, the Bishop of Salisbury, and most of the other Bishops were present. The Legate opened the proceedings with a speech delivered in Latin in honour of his 'lettered' audience.[7] He declared it a 'lamentable scandal'[8] that the King should have been led away so as to lay hands on his own 'men,' bishops withal, and

Synod at Winchester.

[1] W. Malm. s. 469; *Gesta*, 48-50; Ord. 919, 920; H. Hunt. 265; Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 301.

[2] So H. Hunt. 266. A charter in the Record Office, cited by Mr. Howlett, *Gesta*, 49, shows that the Bishop of Lincoln was in custody at this time. *Duchy Lanc.* No. 15.

[3] H. Hunt. and *Gesta*, *sup.*

[4] See H. Hunt. "Res infamia notabilis;" Sym. *sup.* etc.

[5] "Ejus (sc. Regis) aures de liberatione et restitutione appellans;" W. Malm. s. 470.

[6] W. Malm. *sup.*; cnf. Sym. *H. R. Cont.* p. 301, "Circa mensem Septembrem." The *Waverley Annals* give August; but Malmesbury's date may safely be accepted.

[7] "Sermo Latialiter, ad litteratos." [8] "Scelus miserabile."

under the peace of his own very court. He asked for advice as to what should be done, implying that he was prepared to go the length of excommunicating the King, as he said he would risk anything rather than allow the Episcopal Order to be treated with such indignity.[1] Messages were then exchanged with the King, sitting apart in the usual manner. He was pressed either to explain his conduct, or to submit to Canonical judgment, being reminded that he owed his kingdom not to the swords of laymen,[2] but to the Church. Stephen condescended to justify his action, putting forward as his advocate Alberic or Aubrey de Vere, a royal Chamberlain[3] and a jurist, who had recently been to Rome as his representative. De Vere maintained that the Bishop of Lincoln had instigated the disturbance at Oxford out of an old grudge against Earl Allan and Hervé of Lions, a foreigner then at court; that the King was satisfied that Bishop Roger was intriguing with his enemies; in fact it was matter of common report (*omnibus in ore esse*) that he and his nephews would join the Empress as soon as she landed. He argued that the surrender of the castles had been the voluntary act of the Bishops, to compound for their offence. Lastly, laying hold on the precedent of Odo of Bayeux, he said that Roger of Salisbury had been arrested, not *qua* bishop, but *qua* King's servant and in his pay. Roger at once met this by protesting that he had held no office under Stephen, and had drawn no pay from him.[4]

The King's Defence.

At the King's request the Synod was adjourned for two days to await the coming of his friend the Archbishop of Rouen. When he appeared he made a much better case of it than Alberic. Boldly assuming the offensive he asked if the Bishops could show any warrant from the Canons for holding castles. If not, how could they appeal to Canon Law? But even granting that they could justify their holding of castles, might not the King as the chief Conservator of the Peace, call on any magnate at a critical juncture to surrender his castles for the public safety? De Vere chimed in that the King had heard rumours of their intended appeal to Rome. If any man left the kingdom without leave he might not find it easy to return, adding rather weakly that the King himself intended to appeal against the Bishops.[5]

There the Synod ended.[6] With the King unrepentant, with swords gleaming in the background, it was plainly impossible to venture on an

[1] W. Malm. *sup.* s. 471. [2] "Non manu militum," etc.

[3] Appointed by Henry I. in 1133. He was apparently son of Alberic I. who appears in *Domesday* as holding the manor of Kensington; a man to be distinguished from Alberic for a short time Earl of Northumberland. See *G. E. C. Peerage*, "Oxford," Addenda. [4] W. Malm. *sup.* 472, 473, 474. [5] *Id.* 475, 476.

[6] The decrees of the Synod for the surrender of all episcopal castles to the King, alleged by the *Continuator of Florence*, II. 116, and the *Gesta*, 50, seem mere expansions of the speech of the Archbishop of Rouen. John of Hexham, the *Continuator of Symeon*, *H. R.* 301, thought that the decrees condemned all infringement of clerical rights.

excommunication. The Synod came to no conclusion. As a last effort the Legate and Archbishop waited on the King in his chamber, and falling at his feet implored him not to come to an utter rupture with the Church. Stephen put them off with some vague promises which came to nothing.[1] According to the writer of the *Gesta*, he went through a form of doing penance. But the clergy were not to be appeased so easily. On the 1st September the Synod broke up. On the last of the month Matilda and Earl Robert landed at Arundel.[2]

But in the interval Stephen had not been allowed to rest in peace. First we hear of a ride to the coast of North Somerset, where William of Mohun[3] was in revolt at Dunster, and ravaging the country with the barbarity specially associated with his party. Stephen marched against him, but finding himself confronted by a formidable stronghold, with access to the sea on one side,[4] contented himself with establishing a counter-work, which was given in charge to Henry of Tracy,[5] the lord of Barnstaple, the King's chief supporter in those parts, and he by good management succeeded in keeping Mohun in check.[6]

Operations in Somerset and Wilts.

Then Stephen had to hurry to the Wiltshire coast, where his old enemy Baldwin of Redvers had landed at Wareham. Only the year before the place was said to have yielded to Stephen. It must therefore have promptly rebelled again, and in fact we shall find it the regular harbour of the Angevin party. Baldwin is described as bringing a respectable force with him; but instead of attempting to meet the King in the field, his first step was to retire within the walls of Corfe Castle to be besieged there. Stephen came, and seemed to be settling down in earnest to the work of reduction, when he was persuaded to go off to see that the coasts and harbours were being properly kept against Matilda's landing, which was reported to be imminent.[7] As already mentioned, the Empress did land on the 30th September, and at Arundel, the residence of the Queen Dowager Adelaide and her second husband William of Aubigny. For the conquest of England Matilda brought with her the modest force of 140 men-at-arms.[8]

Landing of the Empress.

England, naturally, was greatly stirred by the news, one party being cheered, and the other proportionately depressed. Stephen who was always prompt, if not persistent in his efforts, hastened to Arundel, to be

[1] Malm. *sup.* 477; H. Hunt. Malmesbury's report is clearly that of one who was present.

[2] W. Malm. s. 478. The other writers differ as to the date of Matilda's landing, but on this point, which to a certain extent depends on the date of the Synod, the authority of Malmesbury seems paramount. The *Waverley Annals* support his date.

[3] Moyon, Manche, near Tessy-sur-Vire.

[4] See the plan of this primitive "burh," Clark, *Milit. Arch.* II. 24.

[5] Calvados? There are two places of the name there.

[6] *Gesta*, 51, 52.

[7] *Gesta*, 53, 54.

[8] So W. Malm. was creditably informed; s. 478.

informed that Earl Robert had slipped away by night with a handful of men to make his way to the headquarters of the party at Bristol. Of course the King dashed after him in hot pursuit, and, of course, finding that he could not overtake him, came back to Arundel. What ensued was most extraordinary. Adelaide had always professed herself friendly to Matilda's cause, and, we are told, had actually invited her to Arundel. Now she began to tremble for the consequences of her hospitality. She apologised to Stephen for having entertained the Empress, and showed a disposition to give her up. Stephen, with a disregard for political considerations that astonished his own age,[1] refused to take an unfair advantage of a noble dame. Not only did he allow Matilda to depart in peace, but he actually gave her a safe conduct to Bristol, and sent her thither under the charge of his brother the Legate and the Earl of Meulan.[2] Of course the requirements of the most chivalrous gallantry would have been satisfied by simply sending the Empress politely back to Normandy. She had taken a long time of getting ready for this expedition, and might never have ventured on a second one. By thus wantonly throwing open the door for an extension of the war Stephen showed a disregard of the primary duties of a King worthy only of a child.[3] The action of the Legate in taking Matilda under his wing excited comment. It was reported that he had advised her release, and that, again, on the amazing ground that it was desirable to allow her to concentrate her forces, as it would be easier to crush them when concentrated than to beat them in detail. But poor Stephen was ever pressed with bad advice, which he never failed to follow. The facts suggest that he was surrounded by partisans who did not want him to succeed. On the other hand Earl Robert had his troubles to face. His difficulty was how to deal with magnates who, while professing sympathy for his cause, declined to join with him openly.[4]

Stephen lets Her Pass on.

Matilda stayed a month or so at Bristol, exercising royal functions, and receiving homages. Among the first to join her were Brian of Wallingford, otherwise Brian fitz Count, and Milo of Gloucester. Both had taken the oaths to Stephen, as also had done William of Aubigny, and all three had been honoured with complimentary offices at Court.[5] Milo had been with the King at the siege of Shrewsbury, and had kept on terms with him as late as February in the current year, when Stephen at his request had approved of Gilbert Foliot as Abbot of Gloucester.[6] It is painful to hear that Matilda's presence at

The Empress at Bristol.

[1] See Ord. 920; *Gesta*, 56; "Ex indiscreta animi simplicitate;' Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 302. Malmesbury as the supporter of the Empress thought that Stephen could not have acted otherwise than he did. [2] *Gesta*, and W. Malm. *sup.*; Flor. *Cont.*

[3] See the just strictures of Rössler, *Mathilde*, 248, etc. [4] W. Malm. s. 483.

[5] See the signatures to Stephen's early charters; Round, *sup.* 262.

[6] See the charter MS. Cott. Nero C. III. f. 177, cited Round, 285; Flor. *Cont.* II. 114, 117; W. Malm. s. 478.

Bristol led to no cessation of the brigand doings of her adherents, and that her removal to Gloucester on the 15th October brought like horrors into the surrounding districts.[1] From this time onwards Milo became Matilda's most active supporter.

Stephen's next move was to attack Wallingford Castle, Brian's stronghold, which was thoroughly prepared for a siege. Again he was persuaded to mask the place with counterworks, and then go off on some other enterprise. To Trowbridge, in Wilts, he went, the place being held by Humphrey of Bohun,[2] another traitor. In his military operations Stephen showed no more stedfastness of purpose than does a baited *toro* in a Spanish arena. His system was always to fly at the last enemy reported in the field, to turn from him again as soon as a fresh flag was waved in his face. The siege of Trowbridge came to nothing, but on his way thither the King managed to destroy a petty fort at Cerney, near Cirencester, recently established by Milo. Advancing from thence to Malmesbury, Stephen found the latter place in the hands of one Robert fitz Hubert, a Flemish captain, who, only a fortnight before (October 7), had seized the castle by a nocturnal surprise. This man, a relative of William of Ypres, and so probably connected with the Counts of Flanders, bore a very bad character for cruelty and treachery. Nominally he was in the service of Matilda, but after a few days' siege he was induced to surrender his prize. Meanwhile, however, Milo by a rapid movement had fallen on Stephen's counter-forts at Wallingford and destroyed them.[3]

Sieges.

On the Welsh March Matilda seemed to be making some progress. The city of Hereford was won without a struggle, a royal garrison, however, in the castle holding out.[4] A vigorous siege followed, in which Geoffrey Talbot and Milo caused great scandal by desecrating the churchyard, stabling their horses in the Minster, and bombarding the castle from the Minster tower.[5] On the 7th November a force from Gloucester attacked Worcester, and sacked and burned part of the city, but failing to establish a position there, retired with their captives and booty.[6] Neither side could ever score a complete success. Worcester city belonged to or was under the rule of Earl Waleran of Meulan.[7] To avenge the personal insult, as

Hereford and Worcester.

[1] Flor. *C.* II. 117, 118. He makes Matilda stay two months at Bristol, but he supposed her to have landed in July; *Gesta*, 57, 59. For a grant of the castle of St. Briaavel and the Forest of Dean made by Matilda at Gloucester to Milo, see Round, 56.

[2] According to Mr. Planché, cited *G. E. C. Peerage*, "Hereford," the Bohun family came from the Côtentin, where the name still lives in St. André-de-Bohon, and St. Georges-de-Bohon (Manche, near Carentan).

[3] *Gesta*, 58–61; W. Malm. s. 479; Flor. *Cont.* 125 (A.D. 1140). [4] W. Malm. s. 480.

[5] See the Additions to Flor. *Cont.* 121, and *Gesta*, 68 (given as under 1140). Talbot had been expelled from Hereford by Stephen in 1138; Ord. 917; above, 371.

[6] Flor. *Cont.* 118–120.

[7] He must be the man designated by the Continuator of Florence as "comes civitatis,"

he regarded the attack on Worcester, he attacked and captured Sudeley, held by one John fitz Harold, who had gone over to the Empress.[1] The reader will say here, at any rate, for once we have an Englishman in a position of some importance. Not a bit of it. John's father Harold was Harold of Ewias; English on his mother's side, no doubt, but on the father's side son of the timid Frenchman, Ralph, Earl of Hereford under the Confessor.

Early in December the King, who from Trowbridge had taken a run up to London to recruit his means,[2] came *viâ* Oxford to Worcester. He stayed there a few days, and during the time gave the Honour of Gloucester, Milo's fief, to the Sheriff of Worcester, Walter of Beauchamp. From Worcester he made an advance to Little Hereford, near Tenbury and Leominster, hoping to extend his influence in those parts, but with moderate success. Returning to Worcester he appointed, or rather confirmed a Bishop, one Maurice, presented to him as having been canonically elected by clergy and people to the See of Bangor. From Worcester Stephen went back to Oxford, and from thence again to Salisbury for his Christmas Feast.[3]

The King Comes Down.

The King had special reasons for going to Salisbury. On the 11th December the great Bishop Roger had died there of a broken heart. Stephen doubtless sought to lay hands on such treasures as he might have managed to retain. In fact, we are told that some money and plate laid upon the altar for protection, and intended as a fund for rebuilding the church, were seized almost before he had ceased to breathe.[4] In the days of Henry's adversity under Rufus, Roger had gained his confidence by his thrifty management of his household expenditure[5]: throughout he had been to him a most trusty and valuable servant, but always in the province of worldly affairs. The greatest builder of his time, his architectural talents were confined to the very secular work of piling up castles and fortifications. No church claims him as its founder, though the revenues of Malmesbury and Amesbury were in his hands, besides those of Sarum. But the scanty remains of his work at Sherborne and Devizes are said to show a lightness and richness of work in advance of any earlier Norman-Romanesque to be found in England.[6]

Death of Bishop Roger of Salisbury.

and "comes Wigornensis"; 120, 124. According to Mr. Doyle he received a grant of the Lordship of Worcester, but only in 1144; *Official Baronage*, "Worcester."

[1] Flor. *Cont.* II. 120. [2] *Gesta*, 60.

[3] Flor. *Cont.* 118–122; W. Malm. s. 480. The latter here inserts a raid past Bristol to Dunster, which seems quite out of place. [4] On this point cnf. Flor. *Cont.* 122.

[5] See the sketch of his life in Malmesbury, *H. N.* s. 481; also *Gesta*, 61. W. Newburgh, I. 36, asserts that he first attracted Henry's notice at Caen by the expedition with which he got through the service. [6] Freeman, *N. C.* V. 638, 639.

CHAPTER XXV

STEPHEN (*continued*)

A.D. 1140–1141

The War—A Fruitless Conference—Vacancy in the Archbishopric of York—Rising of the Earls of Chester and Lincoln—Battle of Lincoln—Stephen a Prisoner—Recognition of the Empress by the Clergy—Breach with the Legate—Siege and Counter-siege at Winchester—Capture of Gloucester and Release of Stephen.

THE year 1140 presents the same dismal picture of raids and counter-raids, sieges, imperfect successes, and desultory operations as the previous twelvemonth. But the disposition to break away from Stephen was spreading down the Eastern side of the Kingdom, the Midlands remaining quiet. The prices of necessaries were rising; the currency was being utterly debased[1]; while the attendances at Court on the great crown-wearing Feasts were sinking into insignificance.[2]

Bishop Nigel of Ely in Revolt.

Since his rupture with Stephen, Bishop Nigel of Ely had been following the example of his relations by fortifying the seat of his diocese. We hear of a stone Keep begun by him, with a stockaded landing place on the water, and an out-post at Aldreth, the key to the Isle.[3] As it became clear that the Bishop was organizing a revolt in East Anglia, the King, who, after keeping Christmas at Salisbury, had moved to Reading,[4] sent an army against him. As his men seemed to be making no progress Stephen came down in person. The difficulty was that the only direct access to the Isle across the Old Ouse was commanded by the fort at Aldreth, some seven miles to the South-West. This stronghold must have been built on piles, as we are told that it stood in the water. Stephen evaded this difficulty by throwing a bridge of boats across the Ouse. A swampy marsh had then to be crossed, but a practicable way was pointed out by a Ramsey monk, Daniel by name, who was afterwards rewarded with the Abbacy of Ramsey.[5] The men of the Isle offered no resistance, but Bishop Nigel was not caught. He had escaped the night before the Royal troops entered, to join the Empress at Gloucester. His goods were plundered and his estates taken into hand.

Attack on Ely.

The Bishop Expelled.

[1] W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 483. But see below on the currency of the reign.

[2] H. Hunt. in anno; W. Malm. s. 486.

[3] See *Hist. Ely*, *Anglia Sacra*, I. 620. For Aldreth see above, 91, and Errata thereto.

[4] Flor. *Cont.* [5] For this man see *Hist. Ramsey*, 325–330. He was quickly ousted on appeal to Rome.

But the monks, who had opposed his proceedings, received a charter.[1]

A Rising in Cornwall.

From East Anglia the King was called away to the remote parts of Cornwall, to suppress a rising there. The government of the district had been committed by him to a local magistrate, one William fitz Richard, described as a man of very high connexions (*stemmatis illustrissimi*), who presumably held the office of sheriff. Changing sides he now brought over Reginald of Dunstanville, natural son of the late king, and married him to his daughter. Reginald had taken the oaths Stephen,[2] but he now stood by Matilda, and she, to give him legal control of the district, created him Earl of Cornwall.[3] But Reginald behaved with great violence, endeavouring to reduce everything by force, and not even respecting Church property. Bishop Robert of Exeter[4] met him with an excommunication. The newly married Countess was so affected that she lost her reason. Stephen had no difficulty in getting the better of Reginald and his father-in-law, reducing them to a solitary stronghold, whose name is not given. Evacuating Cornwall, Stephen left Allan of Richmond in charge of the county.[5]

The avoidance of pitched encounters on either side in this miserable struggle must strike the modern reader. But it was a common feature of mediæval warfare. Now, however, we are told that Earl Robert learning of the King's plunge into Cornwall conceived the bold idea of

Gloucester shuns Battle.

cutting off his retreat, and for that purpose made an advance to meet him with all the forces that he could muster. But his ardour began to cool when he heard of Stephen's successes; and when he was informed that he had rallied the Devonshire Barons to his standard, and was hastening forward to give battle, he wheeled about and retired to Bristol.[6]

Following hard on his flying tracks the King appears to have pressed on to Worcester, his head-quarters in the Severn Valley. Again we hear

Doings in the Severn Valley.

of an advance to Little Hereford; while the Earl of Meulan, taking advantage of Stephen's presence, fell upon Tewkesbury, burning Gloucester's palace there, and ravaging all his lands to within a mile of Gloucester. Early in the year (31st January) Milo had been able to burn Winchcomb, but not to recover Sudeley.[7] From this we may gather that, apart from detached holdings, Matilda's domain did not extend beyond Tewkesbury to the North; Bristol to the South; and the Cotswolds to the East, with an undefined frontier towards Wales.

From Worcester Stephen again went to Oxford;[8] and from thence apparently to London, where we find him on the 26th March.[9]

[1] See *Hist. Ely*, *Angl. Sacr.* I. 620; *Gesta*, 61–63; Flor. *Cont.* For the Aldreth causeway see Mr. C. C. Babington's map of Ancient Cambridgeshire; *Camb. Antiq. Soc.* 1883. [2] He attested Stephen's grant to Winchester; Round, *sup.* 263.
[3] W. Malm. s. 483. [4] Appointed by Stephen in 1138. [5] *Gesta*, 63, 64.
[6] Feb.–March? *Id.* 64, 65. [7] Flor. *Cont.* II. 123, 124. [8] *Id.* 124. [9] *Ann. Waverley.*

But the incident of the spring which excited most interest was the fate of the Flemish adventurer, Robert fitz Hubert, a desperado, who, according to the writers on both sides, 'feared neither God nor man.' On the 26th March,[1] he seized the mighty stronghold of Devizes, by an attack delivered at night, just as in the previous year he had seized Malmesbury. On the present occasion corruption must have had a hand in the matter, as we hear that he effected his entrance by means of ladders, made of ropes of hide, let down from the battlements. A few of the garrison shut themselves up in the Keep, but not being victualled for a siege, had to surrender. The Earl of Gloucester, naturally assuming that the Fleming was acting in his interest, but not caring to put too much trust in a man of his character, sent his son with a suitable force to relieve him of the command of Devizes. But fitz Hubert declined to be relieved. He had been acting on his own account, hoping in the general confusion to snatch something for himself; and perhaps even to establish a petty principality on the South coast, based on Flemish swords. The Earl's son found the gates of Devizes closed against him, and was sent back to his father with messages of contempt. But the ambitious Fleming with a view to getting hold of the neighbouring castle of Marlborough, that belonged to the Empress, ventured to engage in a game of duplicity with the Constable, John the Marshal,[2] a man quite fitted to cope with him.[3] Robert proposed to the Marshal a private treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with friendly intercourse, and by way of a beginning offered a personal visit to Marlborough. John, who saw through the scheme, accepted the offer, and then seized his visitor the moment he entered Marlborough. To secure the surrender of Devizes, Gloucester took fitz Hubert from the Marshal's hands, and sent him to Devizes, to be hung there before the walls, if his men would not yield. But his men turning against their master refused to yield, and so Robert with two of his nephews were hung, to the great joy and relief of all the South country.[4] The motives of the garrison became apparent when not long afterwards they sold the castle to King Stephen for a goodly sum of money.[5]

Robert fitz Hubert, a Fleming.

Seizes Devizes.

Attempt on Marlborough.

His End.

Concurrently with the seizure of Devizes (26th March) we hear, for a

[1] W. Malm. s. 485.

[2] Son of Gilbert the Marshal, and ancestor of the Marshals, Earls of Pembroke.

[3] W. Malm. s. 285; *Gesta*, 65, 66. The Continuator of Florence, p. 126, has it that the Marshal held Marlborough for the King; but this is clearly contradicted by the others; and the writer himself, under the previous year, records an attack on Marlborough made by Stephen in July; p. 117.

[4] *Gesta*, 67; W. Malm. *sup*; Flor. *Cont.* 126, 127; I have ventured to simplify the rather tangled story told by the latter.

[5] *Gesta*, 67, 68.

change, of a Council held in London.[1] The filling up of the vacant See of Salisbury was the chief piece of business in hand. The Legate proposed Henry of Sully, his own nephew and the King's.[2] But the all-influential Earl of Meulan named Philip of Harcourt, the King's Chancellor, who had succeeded Roger of Salisbury. Stephen assented, but the Legate in high dudgeon left court. Philip was sent to Rome, where his appointment was quashed, and the See remained vacant for several years.[3]

A Council in London.

Stephen certainly was not happy in his dealings with the Church. His Whitsun Feast (26th May) was held in the Tower, evidently thought a dismal place for such a gathering. Only one bishop, he of Séez, was in attendance. All the others kept aloof.[4] The Legate, however, not long afterwards made a praiseworthy effort to rescue the country from its miseries. At his instance conferences were held near Bath, a royal city. Earl Robert appeared for the Empress; the Queen, the Legate, and Archbishop Theobald represented the King. Unfortunately no question of compromise was mooted; only that of the abstract right to the kingdom. Matilda proposed a reference to the Pope, which was steadfastly resisted by Stephen. Doubtless he held that the Pope having already decided in his favour, he could not allow the question to be reopened. The conference came to nothing.[5] Still hoping against hope, the Legate went over to France in September, and discussed possible bases for a settlement with King Louis, Count Theobald, and the clergy. Theobald of course was his brother as well as King Stephen's, while Louis, always friendly to Stephen, had just contracted a bond of alliance with him by betrothing his sister Constance to Stephen's son Eustace.[6] Late in November Henry returned to England with certain proposals. What they were we are not told; we only hear that the Empress and Earl Robert were prepared to accept them, but that Stephen met them with persistent evasion. Finally the Legate, like many others, resolved to possess his soul in patience, and abide the course of events.[7]

Fruitless Conference near Bath.

The Bishop of Winchester in France.

England was thus thrown back on raids and sieges, and the sacking of towns, work of pure destruction. After Whitsuntide (26th May), the King had been called from London to East Anglia, to check the proceedings of the Constable Hugh Bigod, which were giving alarm. Stephen took Bungay Castle from him,[8] and then returned Southwards for the conferences at

[1] So the *Ann. Waverley.* The Continuator of Florence places it at Winchester, Stephen having been previously at Oxford.

[2] Presumably son of their brother William of Blois, who married the heiress of Sully; Le Prevost, V. 123.

[3] *Ann. Waverley*; Ord. 920; Flor. *Cont.* II. 124. Henry of Sully was consoled with the Abbey of Fécamp.

[4] W. Malm. s. 486. [5] *Ib.* [6] Flor. *Cont.* p. 123. Gervase, c. 1350.

[7] *Ib.* [8] *Ann. Waverley.*

Bath. Somewhat later (August), we hear of a demonstration by the Earl of Gloucester against Bath, leading to a skirmish, which only merits notice from having involved the death of the turbulent Geoffrey Talbot, who, mortally wounded there, passed away on the 22nd August.[1] Meanwhile the King had again found himself obliged to march against Bigod. We are told that an agreement of some sort was effected between them.[2] As shortly afterwards we find Hugh fighting at the King's side as Earl of Norfolk,[3] we must suppose that Stephen had secured his allegiance by the grant of that dignity. Lastly we have the Earl of Gloucester making a bold ride with men, partly supplied by the Earl of Warwick,[4] to sack the town of Nottingham. The attack was made at the instigation of Ralph Paganel, presumably an enemy of William Peverel, to whom the place belonged, But Peverel, who, in 1138 was reckoned a friend of the Empress, had doubtless changed sides by 1139, when Stephen visited Nottingham. At all events from this time onwards we shall find him faithful to the King. No siege was laid to the castle, but the defenceless town was pillaged from end to end and finally burnt down. The responsibility for the firing was disputed, but the conflagration involved churches crowded with fugitives. Well-to-do captives were carried off.[5] This huge crime rudely traverses the assertion of the the Earl's panegyrist, William of Malmesbury, that he was careful never to do anything that could bring discredit on his cause.[6]

Roger Bigod Created Earl of Norfolk.

Gloucester Sacks the Town of Nottingham.

Before going on to events that link themselves with the year 1141, we must pause to notice the death of a great churchman, Archbishop Thurstan of York, who ended his days on the 5th or 6th February (1140).[7] Hitherto he has come under our notice first as the sturdy upholder of the rights of his Province as against the pretensions of Canterbury; and later as the patriotic defender of England from Scottish invasions. But the real work of his life was diocesan. A native of Bayeux, a Norman born and bred, he devoted himself to the reorganisation of the Northumbrian Church, which had not yet recovered from the ravages of 1069 and 1070. He endowed Hexham, he founded Fountains,[8] he patronised the Cistercians, the great civilising agency of the time. It

Death of Archbishop Thurstan.

His Work in the North.

[1] "Miles strenuus sed dolosus, nunc enim cum rege nunc cum comite, omnia agens in dolo." Flor. *Cont.* II. 127, 128. He was buried at Gloucester.

[2] *Ann. Waverley*; *Ann. Cambriæ.*

[3] H. Hunt. p. 270; (February, 1141) Round, *Mandeville*, 271.

[4] Roger of Beaumont, the second Earl. He attests Matilda's charter of 25th July, 1141; *Fœdera*, I. 14.

[5] Sept. Flor. *Cont.* 128.

[6] "Modeste se agere," etc.; *H. N.* p. 561; also 570, 571.

[7] 5th February, Flor. *Cont.*; 6th February, Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* 305.

[8] Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* 285; Ælred, *De Standardo*, 184; W. Newburgh, I. 49.

could not be an accidental coincidence that during his primacy the See of Carlisle was founded, and that of Whithern revived.[1]

The appointment of a successor to Thurstan led to a prolonged struggle between the Secular and the Regular parties in the Church. The York Chapter, at the suggestion of the Legate, elected his nephew Henry of Sully, Abbot of Fécamp.[2] But the Pope refused to accept him, unless he resigned Fécamp, and that it seems he was unwilling to do. A fresh meeting of the Chapter, held in January, 1141, resulted in the election of their treasurer, by name William, son of one Herbert formerly treasurer to Henry I.,[3] an easy-going courtier of somewhat indolent habits, but pleasant, popular manners; a man whose sweet temper and blameless life eventually gained him a place on the Calendar of the Saints. The Earl of York supported him in Stephen's name, and the King duly confirmed the election.[4] But the Cistercians protested, alleging that he had promised Stephen money, and that the election had been influenced by the King—as doubtless it had. All parties were summoned to Rome. The matter had not been finally settled when Innocent died, in September, 1143.[5]

St. William of York.

A Struggle for the Archbishopric.

So far the operations of the war have been singularly destitute of interest. We now approach a period of more important developments. The months from December, 1140, to November, 1141, were destined to witness a series of startling revolutions, and became the turning point of the reign. Chief of the wavering magnates whom both parties were anxious to secure was Ralph II., surnamed "Gernons" (*Moustaches*), Earl of the County Palatine of Chester, a petty kingdom in which the Earl was supreme.[6] Ralph might be thirty years old—having succeeded about 1129. He was connected with the Earl of Gloucester, having been married to his daughter Matilda in the previous reign.[7] As against Stephen he had a cherished grievance. His father Ralph I. (surnamed *Meschin*), when admitted to the earldom in succession to his cousin Richard, who perished in the White Ship (1120), had been obliged by Henry I. to surrender Carlisle and other fiefs in Cumberland that he had previously held; also lands in Lincolnshire held in right of his wife Lucy.[8] All this might be legitimate matter for arrangement between the King and his subject, but both the Ralphs, father and son, had grumbled at it; and Stephen by the cession of Cumberland to the Scots had put it out of his

Ralph II. Earl of Chester,

His Mother the Countess Lucy,

[1] See Symeon, *sup.* 303–305; Bishop Stubbs, Hoveden, IV. xxxiv. Not many days before his death Thurstan took Cluniac vows at Pontefract.

[2] Orderic, Le Prevost, V. 123; above, 393, note.

[3] So Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 317; T. Stubbs (*Scriptt. Decem*, c. 1721), calls William son of one Count Herbert by Emma, the King's sister. No such persons seem to have been identified.

[4] At Lincoln during the siege, of which below.

[5] Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 306, 307, 311. [6] See above, p. 96. [7] W. Malm. *H. N.* s. 487.

[8] Above, 292, 300, and Skene, *C. S.* I. 456, citing Natl. MSS. of Scotland, No. 19.

power to comply with the Earl's demands. The reader will remember Ralph's violent behaviour to young Henry of Scotland at Easter 1136. In the present year we are told that he would have waylaid Henry on his return from a visit to Stephen, if the latter had not, at the Queen's request, given him his personal escort, and so sent him safely home.[1] Lucy the mother of Ralph II., as already mentioned, was the daughter of Thorold or Turold, at one time Sheriff of Lincolnshire. She had been married first to Yvo Taillebois, by whom she had no child; then to Roger of Roumare, by whom she had William of Roumare; and thirdly to Ralph Meschin. William of Roumare, as above stated, had gone to war with Henry I. for his mother's estates, and had recovered great part of them, including apparently Bolingbroke, and the Constableship of the castle of Lincoln, which office however he had to share with the descendants of Colsweyn, an old English landowner.[2] So it may have been as a matter of legal right, but in fact the castle, or at any rate the Keep, appears to have been held by Stephen.

And his Half-brother William of Roumare.

The exact circumstances attending the rupture of the Earl of Chester and his half-brother with Stephen are involved in doubt, through the defective state of the solitary MS. to which we owe most of our information for this period.[3] From other sources we hear that the Earl seized the Keep of Lincoln Castle by a stratagem, taking it out of the King's hands.[4] Ralph, at any rate, had no title to this stronghold, but he evidently had a footing in Lincoln, doubtless in connexion with the estates held there by his predecessor, Hugh of Avranches.[5] The *Gesta* tell us that in consequence of some misdoings by the Earl of Chester and his half-brother, the King, late in the year had gone down to Lincoln; that he had accepted their explanations; had conferred favours on them in the hope of securing their allegiance, and then gone back to London for Christmas, leaving them established in Lincoln Castle.[6] In agreement with this we have the fact that about this time the Earldom of Lincoln was given to William of Roumare.[7] But shortly afterwards, about Christmas, alarming reports reached the King from the Bishop and men of Lincoln. The brothers were making unwarrantable demands of the people,[8] doubtless by requisitions for victualling and arming the castle.

Ralph and William Fortify Lincoln Castle.

Stephen, with his usual promptitude, posted off to Lincoln with all his

[1] Sym. *H. R. Cont.*, 306.

[2] See above, 292,300, and Mr. Kirk, *New Genealogist*, V. 169–171. For Colsweyn see *Domesday*, 356 b, 357 b.

[3] See the *Gesta*, 69, where two folios are wanting. The MS. is defective in other places also.

[4] Orderic, 921; Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 306; H. Hunt. A.D. 1141; W. Newburgh, I. 39.

[5] See Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 215, citing *Domesday*.

[6] *Gesta*, 69; W. Malm. s. 487. [7] Round, *Mandeville*, 271.

[8] "Civibus et affinibus dira injungere;" *Gesta, sup.*

Court, without even waiting for the end of the Christmas week. Thus he arrived so unexpectedly that the malcontents had barely time to retire to the castle. Earl Ralph, following what we might call the usual practice of the time, slipped away to Cheshire to raise his men, leaving his wife and brother to stand the siege.[1] He communicated with Gloucester, tendering his allegiance to Matilda, and begging for succour to the distressed garrison at Lincoln.[2]

Stephen Besieges them.

Robert was not particularly well disposed towards his son-in-law, who had done nothing for him, but he could not afford to throw away such an opportunity. He gathered together all the men of the party; while Ralph called out his Cheshire retainers, and also enlisted a strong body of Welsh auxiliaries. From this time onwards we shall commonly find the Principality lending friendly help in times of civil disturbance in England. Acting in careful concert the two Earls joined forces, perhaps at Claybrook in Leicestershire, where the Foss Way leading North-Eastward to Lincoln, crosses the Watling Street, by which Ralph would come from Chester.[3] By this route they would evade the necessity of having to cross the Trent. On the morning of the 2nd February, 1141, Candlemas Day, being also as it happened Sexagesima Sunday, they drew near to Lincoln.

Gloucester to the Rescue.

The city occupies a proud position on the crest and slope of a commanding height, in fact a promontory, that at its Southern end rises abruptly from the plains below, while to the North, outside the walls, it broadens out into an open plateau. The castle enclosure stands on the brink of the high ground, in the South-West corner of the old Roman camp, the Minster occupying the South-East corner. The city extended Southwards, along the principal street, down the slopes to the river Witham, and apparently across it for some little distance towards Newark.[4] But before Gloucester could assail the height surmounted by the castle that he came to succour, certain watery obstacles had to be crossed. The river Witham, rising in the extreme South of Lincolnshire, flows Northwards to the foot of the Lincoln heights. There it enters a pool known as Brayford. But the pool also receives the waters of the Foss Dike, an artificial river or canal, of Roman origin, recently repaired by Henry I.,[5] by which part

Lincoln, its Site and Fortifications.

The River Witham.

[1] *Gesta*, and W. Malm., *sup.* The latter, ignoring all the King's grounds of complaint, taxes him with treachery for attacking the Earl without having previously 'defied' him (*diffidiare*), *i.e.* renounced the feudal bond existing between them.

[2] Orderic; W. Malm. *sup.* [3] So Miss Norgate suggests, *Angevin Kings*, I. 316.

[4] The simple, round-arched towers of the Churches of St. Benedict, St. Mary le Wigford, and St. Peter at Gowts, and the fine Norman building adjacent to the latter, known locally as John of Gaunt's Stables (*qy.* William of Roumare's Stables?), all to the South of the Witham, suggest the existence of a considerable suburb, as old as the time of Stephen. The lower part of the tower of St. Benedict's might be Saxon.

[5] A.D. 1221; Symeon, *H. R.* 260.

of the Trent is taken off at Torksey, and brought back South-Eastwards to Lincoln, to join the Witham, which then, issuing from Brayford turns South-Eastwards, to flow on, a navigable river, down to Boston. Thus Lincoln enjoyed access by water both to the Humber and the Wash; hence its commerce and its wealth. We see then that Gloucester would have to cross either the Witham, or the Brayford pool, or the Foss Dike. In fact the road by which he was advancing crosses the Witham twice, once at Bracebridge, in its natural state, two and a half miles from Lincoln, and again as swollen by the Dike just outside the city. It is plain that he could not attempt to cross the Witham by the "High Bridge," in front of the gate of the city (the "Stone Bow"); nor through the short reach (160 yards), extending between the Bridge and Brayford Head,[1] just under the city wall. Still less could he think of plunging into the Brayford itself.[2] William of Malmesbury tells us that the Earl found himself separated from the enemy by a river, which by a very natural confusion he calls the Trent; the river, he says, was swollen by rain, but the Earl, not to be daunted, boldly plunged in and swam his men across.[3] The writer of the *Gesta* speaks of a ford, and says that the King sent down a strong body of men to command the passage,[4] but that the enemy apparently by some strategic move, got possession of the ford, and scattered them.[5] Henry of Huntingdon, who as the writer living nearest the spot, must have had the best opportunities of picking up information, does not speak either of a ford or of a river, but says that the Earl of Chester (who was acquainted with the locality), boldly led the army through an almost impassable swamp.[6] Local tradition, generally to be trusted in these matters, places the site of the battle that ensued on the level ground to the North of the city,[7] the only side from which it was at all assailable.

The Foss Dike.

Gloucester Crosses the Water.

Question of the Locality.

Putting all these circumstances together, we suggest that Gloucester, keeping at a safe distance from Lincoln and its suburbs, left the road at Bracebridge, before crossing the Witham, and that thence leading his men

[1] I say this because Miss Norgate seems to suggest that Gloucester crossed between the bridge and the Brayford, under the walls of the city; *Angevin Kings*, I. 317, 345.

[2] See Map.

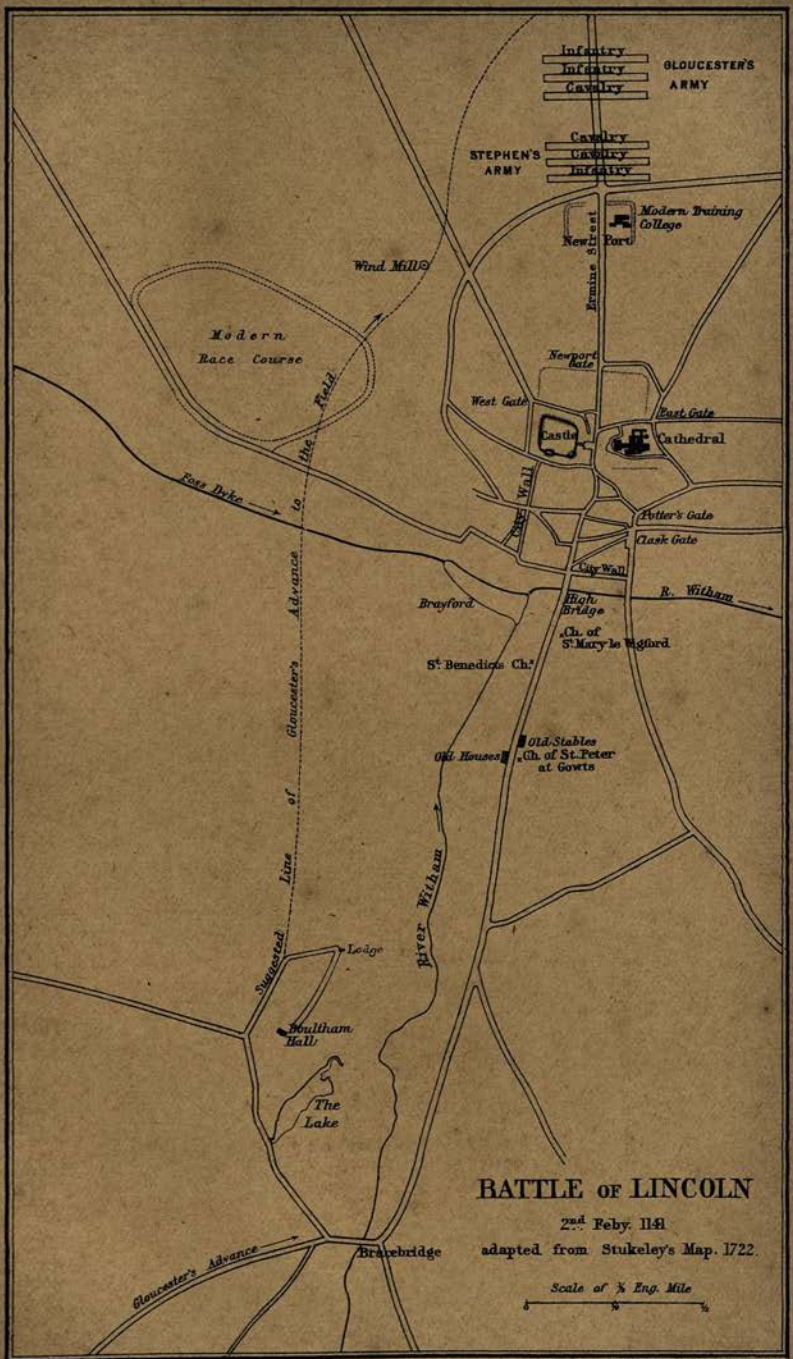
[3] "Ut nullatenus vado transitum præberet . . . cum omnibus suis nando transgressus est;" p. 571.

[4] "In exitu vadi eis ad obsistendum."

[5] "Illi e converso directis prudenter aciebus, cum violentia in ipsos irruentes vadum occupaverunt." The passage is confused, it seems to imply that Gloucester scattered the men first, and then crossed; but that is contradicted by the previous words "exitus vadi."

[6] "Cum consul audacissimus paludem pœne intransibilem vix transisset"; p. 268.

[7] Miss Norgate, disregarding local tradition, thinks the battle to have been fought on a "tract of comparatively high and dry ground on the South-West side of the hill," and close under it. I could see no fair battle-field there. Gloucester could not have attacked an army in such a position. The advantage of ground on the side of Stephen would have been overwhelming.



BATTLE OF LINCOLN

2nd Feby. 1141

adapted from Stukeley's Map. 1722.

Scale of ¼ Eng. Mile

0 ¼ ½

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W. & A.K. Johnston Edinburgh & London

by the road past Boultham Hall, and so on through the swampy meadows on the left of the Witham (they were half covered with water when we saw them in winter), forded the Foss Dike at some point above its entrance into the Brayford pool.[1] Having crossed the level ground of the modern racecourse, he would find a little ravine to the East of the windmill, leading by an easy gradient to the traditional battle-field on the Ermine Street to the North of Lincoln.

Stephen had been hearing Mass. But his attendants were disconcerted by an evil omen. The ceremonial taper of wax in the King's hand was broken and went out. It was also reported that the pyx on the altar, with the consecrated wafer in it, had fallen down.[2] Counsels were divided as to the course to be taken as against the enemy. The prudent thing would have been to remain on the defensive, securely posted on the heights of Lincoln. Some pleaded for one day's delay out of regard for the Feast. But the King insisted on immediate action, and not only so, but with the sublime disregard of prudential considerations that he had shewn at Arundel, took his men outside the walls, presumably through the New Port,[3] to engage the enemy on even terms.

Battle of Lincoln.

On either side we hear of a triple formation.[4] Stephen himself took post on foot in the rear division, consisting entirely of dismounted men-at-arms, these being taken apparently from the ranks of the minor barons, under-tenants, citizens, and the like, the only trustworthy men on his side. Six Earls with their contingents made up the two leading divisions, fighting on horseback. We are told that they made but a poor show, and a sorry figure they certainly cut in the action. Five of the six Earls, namely, Allan of Richmond,[5] Waleran of Meulan, the newly created Hugh of Norfolk, William of Warenne Earl of Surrey, and Simon of St. Liz Earl of Northampton, all went to the front, as the first line; while William of Aumale Earl of York, and William of Ypres led the second line.[6]

The Dispositions.

On Gloucester's side the young Earl of Chester demanded the honour of the front rank for the Cheshire men; but the Earl prudently gave the post of danger to the Disinherited men, the flower of his force.[7] These were the men outlawed for adherence to the Empress, men of birth and position, trained to arms, but in desperate circumstances, with everything

1. The Dike at present averages 6 ft. to 7ft. in depth, but it might not have been dredged out to that depth in 1141. 2 *Gesta*, 70; Orderic, 922; H. Hunt. 271.

3 Stephen might have sallied out by the West Gate and the road to Burton, but the Ermine Street seems the more likely way.

4 "Tres cohortes"; Ord. 921; also H. Hunt. 268, 271.

5 For this title see Sym. *R. Cont.* 301, 306, 307, etc.

6 "Sex comites," Malm. p. 571; H. Hunt. 269, 270, 273.

7 "Acies exheredatorum"; H. Hunt.; "Exheredatis," Orderic. Malmesbury, p. 570, speaking of Gloucester's party as a whole, says, "Quorum erat major exheredatorum numerus," as doubtless it was.

to gain and nothing to lose. For a pitched battle, or a short campaign no more formidable men could be found. Their leader is not named, but it must have been the gallant Milo of Gloucester, the real military leader of the party, who was present. The Cheshire men and their Welsh allies, the latter being led by a Cadwalader and a Mareddud,[1] took the second line; while Earl Robert brought up the reserves. How far his men fought on foot, and how far on horseback, does not clearly appear, but the front line must have been mounted. Orderic says that the King was the stronger in cavalry, Gloucester in infantry, and in numbers generally.[2] The Archdeacon of Huntingdon has handed down to us speeches put into the mouths of the leaders on either side. That some addresses, however, were delivered would appear from the fact that we are told that the King, having a weak voice,[3] put forward Baldwin of Clare[4] to speak for him. In their addresses each side claims justice and truth for itself, and showers abuse on the leaders of the other side. The only point worthy of notice is that the opprobrium cast in the teeth of Earl Robert—if it was not a mere calumny—was that of being a man of words, a big talker, but weak and timid in action.[5]

Defeat of the Royalists.

The actual struggle proved a hollow affair. The royalist Earls would fain have begun with knightly 'Jousts' in the approved fashion[6]—single-handed encounters, not involving much bloodshed, and leading to no particular result. But the Disinherited ones meant fighting, and they charged home in such a resolute style, that with the first shock they knocked their adversaries' line to pieces, driving them clean off the field in ignominious flight.

The Earl of Chester then engaged the King's second line, led by Aûmale and William of Ypres. The Welsh gave way, but the Cheshire men retrieved the position, carrying all before them. William of Ypres scampered off like the rest of them, reserving his services for another day. The King's cavalry having been disposed of, Gloucester's whole force gathered round Stephen's dismounted phalanx, attacking them from all sides.[7] A desperate conflict ensued. By all accounts Stephen fought like a lion, first with his sword, and when that failed him, with a Danish battle-axe, thrust into his hand by a Lincoln burgher.[8] Finally he was felled to the ground by a stone hurled by an unknown hand.[9] One William of Cahaigne[10] seized him by the helmet, and held him down; then he submitted, surrendering himself to the Earl of Gloucester.[11]

Stephen taken Prisoner.

[1] Ord. 922. [2] p. 932. So too seemingly H. Hunt. 272.
[3] "Quia rex festiva carebat voce," p. 271.
[4] Brother to Gilbert, recently created Earl of Pembroke.
[5] H. Hunt, 268–273.
[6] "Proludium pugnæ facere quod Justam vocant"; W. Malm. p. 571.
[7] H. Hunt. 273, 274. [8] *Id.*; Symeon, *sup.* 306. [9] W. Malm.
[10] Eure. [11] H. Hunt. and Sym. *sup.*

Among the prisoners taken were Baldwin of Clare, Bernard of Balliol, Roger of Mowbray, William Peverel, Richard of Courcy, Richard fitz Urse, Ingelram of Sai, Ilbert of Lacy.[1] But the Earls had behaved so badly that they were generally taxed with treason. To end the day the city of Lincoln was sacked, and the citizens, or such of them as were caught there, butchered without mercy.

But the greater part, warned in time, had fled for their lives, not a few to be drowned in the Witham by the swamping of overcrowded boats. On the other hand the loss of life on the field was small. Orderic was assured that not more than a hundred men in all had fallen. Of the action we can only remark that the faint-heartedness of Stephen's men might almost be excused for the want of generalship that exposed them to such needless risks.

On the 9th February, just a week after the battle, Earl Robert presented his Royal captive to his sister at Gloucester.[2] Her joy knew no bounds. With the usurping rival in her hands she had nothing now to do but to enter on her lawful inheritance.[3] She soon let the world see how little she appreciated the difficulties of her situation; and how utterly unfit she was to cope with them. Stephen having been sent for safe keeping to Bristol, the Empress, on the 13th February, started on her first progress, advancing to Cirencester.[4] She was making for Winchester, the old historic capital. But her brother, at any rate, had sufficient knowledge of the world to understand the necessity of coming to a definite understanding with the Legate, the Bishop of Winchester. Negotiations were opened with him.[5] Henry was, before all things, a Churchman. As he had made his brother King in the supposed interests of the Church, so now he was prepared to accept Matilda if better terms could be made with her. On Sunday, the 2nd March, a meeting was arranged in the open air, at a place that a charter issued by Matilda enables us to identify as Wherwell, near Andover.[6] Mists and rain cast a gloom over the proceedings. Under these chilly auspices a compact was entered into somewhat on the lines of that by which Stephen had secured the throne, but of a much more humiliating character. He had pledged himself to restore the 'liberty' of the Church, a rash promise, but not necessarily an unconscientious one. Matilda, as the price of her recognition by the Legate[7] and the Church in general was required to swear that

He is sent to Bristol.

The Empress and the Bishop of Winchester.

A Compact for the Crown.

[1] *Id.* and Ord. *sup.* [2] Flor. *Cont.*; W. Malm. s. 490.

[3] "Utpote regnum, . . . sicut sibi videbatur, jam adepta;" Flor. *C.*

[4] *Id.* [5] 16th February; W. Malm. s. 491.

[6] Round, *sup.* 57; citing Add. MS. 22, 934, f. 21 b. The date is given with precision by Malm. The charter refers to the day somewhat vaguely as "Die Dominica intrantis Quadragesimæ." That ought strictly to mean the First Sunday in Lent=17th February. But it may also be taken as meaning a Sunday early in Lent.

[7] "Si eam in dominam reciperet."

she would consult the Legate personally in all matters of importance, and specially that she would leave all appointments to bishopries and abbeys in his hands. This discreditable bargain would infringe on many rights besides those of the Crown. Matilda however gave the pledge, Henry in return yielding her much the same sort of allegiance that Earl Robert was said to have rendered to Stephen, namely, that he would be true to her as long as she kept true to him. On these terms she was brought on the morrow (March 3rd) in solemn procession[1] into Winchester, and taken to the Cathedral,[2] where, apparently, by way of a quasi-hallowing, a blessing was passed upon her The castle, with the trifling amount of treasure still in hand, and the royal crown that was kept there, were delivered up to her, and she of her own authority, without further ado, had herself proclaimed 'Lady and Queen' of England.[3]

The Empress received at Winchester.

Archbishop Theobald was not among those who received Matilda at Winchester. He refused to give in his allegiance to her till by arrangement he had been allowed to see the King at Bristol, and had obtained from him leave to temporise.[4] Then he went to Wilton, where the Empress was, and made his submission.[5]

Archbishop Theobald.

For Easter Matilda went to Oxford,[6] where Robert of Oilly[7] the younger held rule. He was married to Edith, at one time mistress to the late King, to whom she had borne a son, Robert II. Oilly on being summoned to surrender the castle had promptly consented to do so. Other successes had been gained by Matilda's followers in various parts of the country. The Earl of Richmond had fallen into the hands of the Earl of Chester, and had been forced to hand over all his castles. Hugh of Beaumont had been expelled from Bedford Castle, while a popular rising had forced Hervé of Lions, Stephen's son-in-law, to surrender Devizes, and fly the kingdom. William Peverel had to purchase his freedom by yielding Nottingham Castle. Other prisoners taken at Lincoln paid heavy ransoms.[8]

The Empress at Oxford.

Altogether the Empress's prospects were thought to be looking bright. Wherever she went the people flocked to see her and greet her.

And Gaining Ground.

[1] The chief of those who assisted were the Bishops of St. David's, Lincoln, Hereford, Ely, and Bath; and the Abbots of Reading, Abingdon, Malmesbury, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury. Earl Robert, Brian of Wallingford, and Milo of Gloucester joined in Matilda's oath as sureties; W. Malm. [2] W. Malm. s. 491.

[3] Flor. *Cont.* "Dominam et reginam se acclamare præcepit"; *Gesta*, 74.

[4] "Ut in necessitatem temporis transiret"; W. Malm. *sup.* Several others, bishops and laymen, accompanied Theobald to Bristol. [5] *Id.*; Flor. *Cont.*

[6] For a private charter granted by Matilda at Oxford, in March, see *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* XXXI. 379; Round, *Mandeville*, 67. She also named Robert "De Sigillo" to the See of London. He had held office under Henry I.; Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 309. [7] Ouilli-le-Taisson; Calvados, to the W. of Falaise.

[8] *Gesta*, 72, 73; Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 308, 309.

The Legate however felt that constitutional requirements had not been satisfied, and that some further concession to them must be made. Matilda would have to be crowned; and, before she was crowned, some form of election would have to be gone through. With that end in view Henry summoned an ecclesiastical Synod to meet at Winchester on the 7th April.

Synod at Winchester.

William of Malmesbury, who was present, has reported the proceedings. The first day was devoted by the Legate to private conferences with the several orders of clergy, namely, the bishops, abbots, and archdeacons, each order being taken by itself. Their dispositions having been sounded, the Legate on the morrow harangued them in public. He reminded them of the happy peace enjoyed under the late reign; of the oaths taken to Matilda in her father's lifetime; he explained his own conduct in allowing his brother to become King.[1] Matilda, he said, had tarried in Normandy; the public peace urgently required the appointment of a ruler; Stephen had sworn to honour the Church and maintain 'good laws.' But he, the speaker, was ashamed to think how utterly these promises had been falsified. All peace had vanished at once. Then came the arresting of bishops, sale of abbeys, robbing of churches. Finally, the Almighty had declared against Stephen, by delivering him into the hands of his adversaries. He, Henry, had on the previous day ascertained the views of the greater part of the clergy, 'to whom chiefly the election of a King appertained'; and so, being in possession of their mind, without further appeal or call for votes, he proceeded to declare 'the daughter of Henry, the glorious, the incomparable King,' to be the duly-elected 'Lady of England and Normandy.'[2]

Speech of the Legate.

The force of the term 'Lady' (*domina*), and the intention with which Matilda was declared *domina* and not *regina* (*Queen*), have been much discussed. It must be pointed out that her own favourite style was "*Imperatrix, Henrici Regis filia*," with or without the addition of "*Anglorum Domina.*" This is her style in twenty-seven charters that have been verified. In only two does she use the word "*Regina.*"[3] It would seem therefore that though she had had herself proclaimed *Domina et Regina*, still she had a personal preference for the mere style *Domina*. The formula used by the Legate is so similar to the one affected by herself, that we cannot help thinking that it was adopted at her suggestion. As for the grounds of her preference, it may have been connected with her Imperial style. She could not be styled Empress of England; but

1 "Regnare permissus."

2 "In Angliæ Normanniæque dominam eligimus."

3 See the charters printed by Mr. Birch, *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* XXXI. 378, cited Round, *Mandeville*, 63, etc.

she might think it a "come-down" to be declared a mere Queen, and so chose the style *Domina* as consistent with the higher dignity.[1]

The Legate closed his address by stating that he expected to see next day a deputation from the Londoners, who, by reason of the importance of their city, ranked as magnates (*optimates*).[2]

Henry of Blois, certainly, got through his delicate task very cleverly. If his declaration of Matilda's 'election' had not been greeted with any warmth of applause, neither had any dissentient voice been raised.[3] Not so on the 9th April when the Londoners were introduced. They stated bluntly that the instructions received from their *commune*[4] were not to raise any discussion, but simply to pray[5] for the release of their lord the King. This, they said, was also the demand of a number of barons who were acting with them. The Legate, in giving his reasons for declining, not being provided with a second speech, had to repeat his address of the previous day. Then one Christian, chaplain to the devoted Queen, came forward with a paper that the Legate refused to lay before the meeting. Christian, not to be foiled, read out his paper himself. 'The Queen begs the clergy, and specially the Bishop of Winchester, brother to her lord, to restore the same lord to his kingdom, wicked men, his own liege subjects, having thrown him into bonds.' Again the Legate had to travel over his twice repeated speech. On April 10th the Synod was dissolved, the Londoners saying that they would report to their friends and do what they could.[6]

The Londoners Demand the Release of Stephen.

Protest of Queen Matilda.

More than two months were spent by Matilda's partisans in efforts to overcome the reluctance of the Londoners to receive her. Until she was admitted to London she could not well be crowned. Her cause, however, was still supposed to be making progress; the greater part of the kingdom was understood to have accepted her rule and done homage to her.[7] But her personal peregrinations during the time do not appear to have extended beyond Reading and St. Albans.[8] In May she was joined by her uncle King David of Scotland, who came presumably to

[1] Mr. Round, *Mandeville*, 70, etc., argues that *Domina* was an intermediate style used after election, but before coronation. Dr. Rössler, *Mathilde*, 291–294, holds that *Domina* was used to confer a mere regency on Matilda, a regency, either on behalf of Stephen, who had not been deposed, or of her young son, Henry.

[2] W. Malm. ss. 493, 494. The reader will bear in mind that his report is that of an eye-witness.

[3] "Cum omnes vel modeste acclamassent, vel silenter non contradixissent"; *Ib.*

[4] "A communione quam vocant Londoniarum." The word *commune*, obviously of French origin, suggests a municipal league like that of which we heard at Le Mans in 1073.

[5] "Non certamina sed preces offerre." [6] W. Malm. ss. 495, 496.

[7] So W. Malm. p. 578; *Gesta*, 76; Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 309; H. Hunt. 275. The last excepts Kent, held by the Queen and William of Ypres.

[8] Flor. *Cont.*; Matilda signs at both places; Round, *sup.* 82, 84.

assist at her coronation.[1] But meanwhile she was labouring, by arrogant and arbitrary conduct, to undo all that others had done for her, refusing to listen to her advisers, and insisting on deciding everything herself. If she had to refuse a request she did it in the most ungracious way. Her manners were so bad, that when petitioners—even men in the position of her uncle or the Legate—approached her with genuflexions, to prefer some request, she would not rise to acknowledge their courtesies.[2]

Behaviour and Manners of the Empress.

The reader will judge how such behaviour would contrast with the affable ways of the pleasant, well-bred Stephen.

At last, however, the Londoners were induced to receive the Empress. A few days before the 24th of June she made her entry. Coming from St. Albans, as she did, she would follow the Edgeware Road, and so we may take it that the citizens received her at the present Hyde Park Corner, the usual place, leading her on to Westminster.[3]

She is Received in London.

The attestations to a charter passed by Matilda at this time, confirming Geoffrey of Mandeville[4] in the Earldom of Essex, already conferred on him by Stephen,[5] show how restricted the Court circle was. Among the signatories we have the Legate and the four other Bishops who received Matilda at Winchester in March; we have of course Robert of Gloucester, Brian of Wallingford, and Milo of Gloucester. Then come two Earls of Matilda's own creation, namely, Baldwin of Redvers Earl of Devon;[6] and William of Mohun Earl of Somerset or Dorset: with her natural brother, Robert II. The names of seven minor barons follow, mostly West-country men, or men like Walkelin Maminot, or Ralph Pagenel, already known as partisans. The only accession is that of Mandeville himself, who was Constable of the Tower; and the price paid for his support was large. Not only was he confirmed in his Earldom, with all its incidents; but he also received the Constableship of the Tower and the Shrievalty of Essex in fee simple, with lands to the value of £100 a year, mostly taken from Count Theobald, Stephen's brother. The Earl is further authorised to arm the Tower and his private castles, at will; a permission amounting to a grant of the right to wage private war.[7]

Her Party.

[1] David started after the 8th May, and rested at Durham on his way, making efforts to secure the appointment of his Chancellor, William Cumin, as Bishop. The See had fallen vacant on the 6th May, by the death of Geoffrey Rufus. The King continued his journey about the 19th May; Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 309: *H. D. E. Cont.* 143-145.

[2] *Gesta*, 74, 75; H. Hunt.; Symeon, *sup.*

[3] W. Malm. s. 497; Flor. *Cont.* See Round, *sup.* 84. That Matilda came for her coronation appears from the *Gesta* p. 78; "Ad dominam inthronizandam."

[4] Eure or Calvados. [5] June-December, 1140. See the charter, Round, *sup.* 49, 51.

[6] I can find no authority for the earlier Earldom attributed to Baldwin and his father. So too Round, 272.

[7] "Ut inforciet illa ad voluntatem suam." As this applies to the Tower it must surely mean something more than keeping the fortifications in repair.

Lastly, to make Geoffrey's control of Essex more complete, he was appointed standing King's Justice for the county (*capitalis Justicia*), Matilda only stipulating for the right to send down, if necessary, an assessor 'to see justice done,' the man deputed to be always of equal rank with Geoffrey.[1] This stipulation of course was aimed at her father's practice of appointing men of moderate position on whom he could depend.

But if Matilda's following was scanty the press of petitioners for favours was overwhelming. First came renewed applications for the liberation of Stephen, sent in by his indefatigable Queen. Her instances were backed up by influential men, with large proffers of material guarantees, in the shape of castles and hostages, to secure Stephen's abdicating and quitting England.[2] Then the King of Scots wanted the vacant see of Durham for his Chancellor, William Cumin.[3] The Legate, informed of the hostility of the Durham Chapter, protested energetically. Nevertheless, Matilda declared for her uncle's man.[4] She had specially promised to leave Church appointments in Henry's hands, yet at the very first opportunity she violated her pledge. Again the Legate wished Stephen's Earldoms of Mortain and Boulogne to be conferred on young Eustace; at any rate while his father remained in prison. But Matilda was equally deaf to this very reasonable request.[5] On the other hand she demanded a large subsidy of the Londoners. They in return asked for a restoration of the Laws of the Confessor, the old popular cry, of rather vague import, compliance with which would have committed Matilda to very little. Again she refused to listen. Then the hollow bubble burst. On the 24th June the city rose in tumult. Matilda's Court had to fly for their lives. Some went one way, and some another; but she, with her uncle and her brother, rode to Oxford.[6] Queen Matilda and William of Ypres, advancing from Kent, took possession of London;[7] and Mandeville at once went over to them.[8]

She Refuses the Laws of the Confessor, and is Expelled from London.

The Empress had played Stephen's game for him, even better than he had played her game for her.

[1] See the charter, with notes and valuable comments, Round, *sup.* 88–113.

[2] Flor. *Cont.*; *Gesta*, 76; "Regno dimisso."

[3] Bishop Geoffrey Rufus had died on the 6th May; Sym. *H. D. E. Cont.* 143.

[4] See *Id.* 143–145.

[5] Flor. *Cont.*; W. Malm. s. 498. The latter regarded this refusal as the determining cause of the breach between the Empress and the Legate. He places the incident after her flight from London, but she and the Legate never met after that.

[6] Flor. *Cont.*; II. 132; W. Malm. s. 497; *Gesta* 76–78; for the date see Sym. *H. D. E. Cont.* 145. The Empress was on the point of investing Cumin with the Bishopric of Durham, without any reference to the Durham Chapter.

[7] *Gesta*, 78.

[8] He is shortly found fighting for Stephen; W. Malm. *H. N.* p. 580. The Queen, apparently, granted him a charter which has not been preserved, doubtless regranting all that the Empress had granted. See Round, 118.

The Legate did not follow Matilda to Oxford. Deeply irritated and offended he saw what an impracticable woman he had to deal with. From Westminster he made for Winchester: on the way he had an interview with Stephen's Queen at Guildford, and came to an understanding with her for the restoration of his brother. He also recalled the excommunications laid at Winchester on some of Stephen's supporters.[1] Gloucester hastened to Winchester, to remonstrate, but had to return to Oxford, to report the failure of his efforts.

The Legate Discards the Empress, and Retires to Winchester.

As the Legate would not listen to reason, the Empress in her rough high-handed way, resolved to convert him by force. Late in July she started from Oxford with her uncle, her three brothers, Archbishop Theobald, the trusty Miło, now raised to the Earldom of Hereford,[2] and a few others. Entering Winchester unexpectedly on the 31st of the month,[3] she took possession of the Royal castle, that is to say of the old Anglo-Saxon palace, formerly the residence of Queen Emma, situate in the West quarter of the city.[4]

The Empress Pursues Him.

Another Royal palace was that built by the Conqueror, a littleto the North-west of the Old Minster and at the West end of the New Minster; which again stood on the North side of the Old Minster, between it and the High Street.[5] According to one account the Conqueror's palace and hall had been demolished by Bishop Henry in 1138, for the sake of the materials.[6] But a local record asserts that it was still standing, though doomed to perish in two days time.[7] Then the Legate had two residences, both apparently fortified; namely the old episcopal castle, near the Minster;[8] and the new ambitious palace and Keep built by him in 1138, on a site a little to the South of the Minster, but just within the city walls,[9] and known as Wolvesey Castle.

Castles at Winchester.

[1] W. Malm. s. 498; *Gesta*, 78.

[2] 25th July; *Fœdera* I. 14. The *Gesta* give the names of all the leaders of the party as going with the Empress, but this is contradicted by Malmesbury.

[3] Hyde *Cartulary* (Stowe MS.), cited Round, *Mandeville*, 125. This date is confirmed by the *Waverley Annals*, which state that hostilities began on the 1st August; cnf. Flor. *C.* 133. But Malmesbury, *H. N.* p. 580, had it that the Empress only reached Winchester a few days before the 15th August. So too, in effect, the *Plympton Chronicle* in Liebermann's *Geschichtesquellen*, p. 28.

[4] The site is now occupied by the Barracks, the adjacent building being still called the Castle. "Domus Emmæ;" *Winton Domesday*. See Plan.

[5] See Plan. [6] So Giraldus Camb. VII. 46.

[7] "Palatium cum aula;" Hyde *Cartulary*; Round, *Mandeville*, 127.

[8] So Norgate.

[9] *Ann. Winton*, A.D. 1138. See the *Gesta*, 79, where two episcopal residences seem distinguished; but both are ascribed to the Legate. "Castellum episcopi quod . . . in civitatis medio locarat." This would be the older building. "Sed et domum illius quam ad instar castelli . . . inexpugnabiliter firmarat." This would be Wolvesey Castle. Of this a few ivy-clad fragments remain.

In this connexion we may add that the New Minster, with Ælfred's remains, had been removed in 1110 from its original cramped position, alongside of the Old Minster (St. Swithin's), to a more commodious site in Hyde Mead, to the North of the city, and just outside the walls;[1] whence its later name, Hyde Abbey.

The Legate, then, having control of the South Eastern quarters of the city, and the Empress that of the North Western quarters, without any very definite line of demarcation between them, Winchester was immediately split into two hostile camps, waging internecine warfare on each other.

Arrived in Winchester, the Empress sent a message to the Legate, requesting his immediate attendance. He did not wait for a second warning. Answering evasively, 'I will prepare me,'[2] he took horse, and galloped away from Southern end of the city to rally the Royalist party, and bring succour to the devoted band of retainers whom he left behind him to defend his interests in his absence.[3]

Flight of the Legate.

Next day (August 1st) began a furious assault on the episcopal strongholds.[4] In repelling the attack the besieged, to clear their front, fired the surrounding buildings. The Minster escaped, but the Conqueror's palace,[5] and a great part of the city was destroyed. The conflagration must have lasted two days, eventually reaching not only to St. Mary's nunnery within the walls, but even to the newly transplanted abbey at Hyde, without the walls, which perished on the 2nd August.[6]

Winchester Burnt.

On the side of the besieged, we hear of the fighting as being led by two devoted adherents of King Stephen, the brothers Roger and William Chesney.[7] But the energetic Legate soon brought up fresh and fresh succour from without. Royalist barons were induced to come forward to retrieve the disgrace they had incurred at Lincoln. Among these we hear of Simon Earl of Northampton, William of Warenne Earl of Surrey,[8] and Gilbert of Clare Earl of Pembroke.[9] William of Ypres, of course, was promptly on the spot with his Flemings. The Earl of Chester proposed to join the Royalists, but was received with such marked distrust that he went over to the Empress, taking care however to arrive too late to be of any service.[10] Finally Queen Matilda and Earl Mandeville came down from London with a well-appointed force, estimated as 1,000 strong. The

[1] *Ann. Winton*, A.D. 1110. See Plan.

[2] "Ego parabo me"; W. Malm. p. 580.

[3] *Id.*; *Gesta*, 79; Flor. *Cont.* 133.

[4] *Ann. Waverley.*

[5] Hyde *Cartulary*, *Round*, 127.

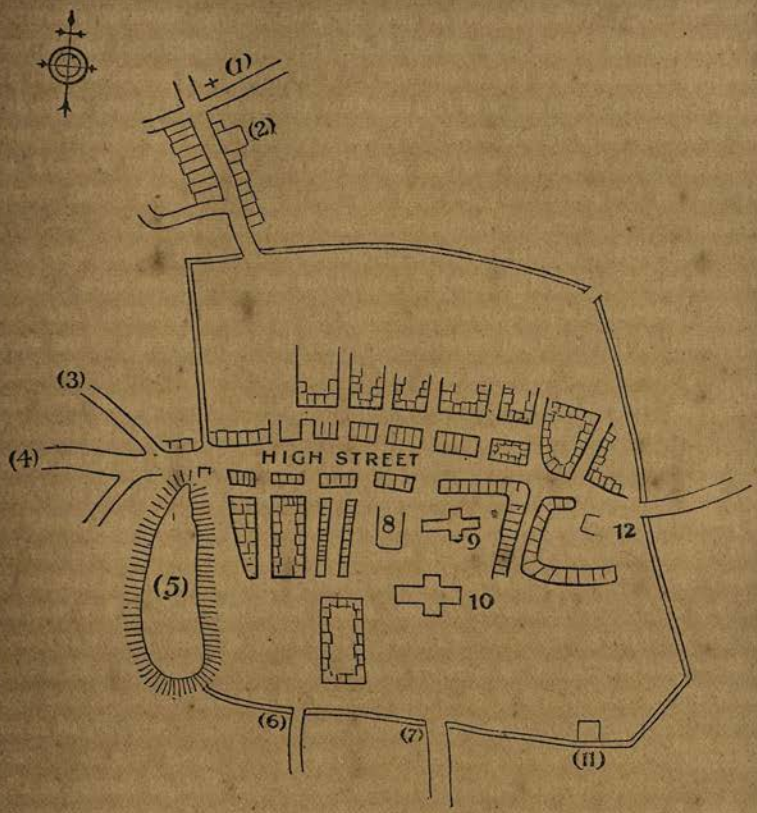
[6] *Gesta*, 81; W. Malm. p. 581; Hyde *Cartulary*, *sup.*; and for the date, Flor. *Cont.* II. 133.

[7] "De Casneto," *Gesta*, 80; also "de Querceto" Thorpe. For the family Mr. Howlett refers to *Monasticon*, V. 559.

[8] Flor. *Cont.* 134, 135.

[9] W. Malm. s. 507.

[10] Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 310; W. Malm. p. 580.



SKETCH PLAN OF WINCHESTER, A.D. 1141 (after Speed).

(1) Hyde Church.
(2) Hyde Abbey.
(3) Road to Andover and Ludgershall.
(4) Road to Stockbridge.
(5) Castle.
(6) South Gate.
(7) King's Gate.
(8) Conqueror's Palace.
(9) Original Site of New Minster.
(10) Cathedral.
(11) Wolvesey.
(12) St. Mary's.

Empress, in spite of reinforcements, now was in the singular position of being more besieged than besieging. While attacking the Legate's men from within, she was being beleaguered from without. The difficulty of procuring necessaries became extreme. The Queen beset all the roads to the East, while the Legate and his barons apparently operated on the South-west. The only road remaining at all open was that to Andover, and through that channel some scanty supplies were with difficulty introduced. To strengthen his hold on the road, Gloucester established an outpost at Wherwell nunnery.[1] William of Ypres fell on the place, overpowered the little garrison, and burnt down the nunnery. The town of Andover shared the same fate.[2]

The Empress Besieged in Winchester.

This final blow satisfied Gloucester that the position at Winchester was no longer tenable, and that further stay there would involve ruin. With his usual devotion to his sister's interests, his first care was to secure her escape, and so on the 14th September,[3] early in the morning, as we may suppose, he sent her off under the charge of her brother Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Brian of Wallingford, and his relative Geoffrey Boterel, brother of the Earl of Richmond.[4] They were to make for Ludgershall, while the Earl himself with the main body, including King David, Archbishop Theobald, the Earl of Hereford, and John the Marshal, would start later, and by the Stockbridge road,[5] so as to divert attention.[6] Matilda reached Ludgershall in safety, to be assured that it would not do to rest there; and so again, mounting in male fashion,[7] she rode on to Devizes, which had been held in her interest since the expulsion of Hervé of Lions. But even at Devizes it was found that she could not afford to make a stand. Utterly exhausted with a ride of over thirty miles, and unable any longer to bestride a steed, she was strapped on to a horse litter, and so brought more dead than alive to Gloucester.[8] The rear-guard fared worse. Overtaken by the Royalist forces under the Earl of Surrey at the crossing of the Test at Stockbridge, they were overpowered and scattered. Earl Robert was taken prisoner.[9] King

Flight of the Empress.

She reaches Gloucester.

The Earl of Gloucester Captured.

[1] *Gesta*, 81; W. Malm. p. 581.

[2] *Gesta* and W. Malm. *sup.* John of Hexham (Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 310), represents the affair at Wherwell as the cutting off of a convoy. The Continuator of Florence places the attack on Wherwell after the flight of the Empress, which is clearly wrong; and he appears to invent a proclamation of peace by the Legate, in order to raise a charge of treachery against him; p. 134. His narrative requires careful correction.

[3] W. Malm. s. 500. [4] Flor. *Cont.*; *Gesta*, 83; Sym. *H.R. Cont.*

[5] Flor. *Cont.*; Malmesbury, *supra*, represents the main body as having gone with the Empress; but this does not seem borne out by the details supplied by the other writers. His object throughout is to glorify his Earl.

[6] See esp. Malm. p. 586.

[7] "Equo iterum usu masculino supposita"; Flor. *Cont.*

[8] Flor. *Cont.* and Malm. *sup.* [9] Flor. *Cont.* II. 134, 135; *Gesta*, 82–84.

David fell into the hands of a man connected with Scotland, in fact his godson, by name David Oliphant, who let him go.[1]

The exchange of Earl Robert for King Stephen was the step that would suggest itself to all men's minds. But a good deal of haggling took place over the bargain. Robert himself thought that a king could not be fairly bartered for an earl; and he insisted that all the prisoners of his party, including Humphrey of Bohun and William of Salisbury, ought to be thrown in as make-weights. But the men who had secured these valuable prizes refused to part with them. Then great efforts were made to induce Gloucester to abandon his sister, and make private terms with the King. But he would not listen to any arrangement in which the Empress did not concur. At times, again, Royalists came down upon him with petty menaces, threatening to immure him for life at Boulogne. He silenced them by assuring them that if they did, his Countess Mabille would send King Stephen to Ireland—an awful doom. Finally he consented to allow himself to be emancipated, but only on condition that his friends should retain all castles and lands acquired by them since the day of Lincoln.[2]

Exchange of Stephen and Gloucester.

The actual exchange was effected by cautious stages, evincing the deep mistrust with which the parties viewed each other. On the 1st November Stephen was set free at Bristol; the Queen, his son Eustace, and two magnates taking his place as hostages for the liberation of the Earl. The King then rode to Winchester, to which place the Earl had been brought from his original place of confinement at Rochester. Gloucester was then set at large, leaving however his son William to be detained there till the King had gone to Bristol and brought back his Queen and other hostages in safety.[3]

Once more a free man, Stephen went up to London in December, to be received with great rejoicing. The citizens had been his first friends, and they were destined to continue his best friends to the last.

Stephen and the Londoners.

The Legate took the opportunity of holding a Synod at Westminster to undo the work done at Winchester in the spring, and to clear his own position in the eyes of the world (7th Dec.). According to the accounts received by William of Malmesbury, the proceedings were opened by reading a letter from the Pope, written before the news of Stephen's liberation had reached him. Innocent reproved the Bishop for having deserted his brother, and urged him to work for his release. Stephen then came in, and descanted in rather querulous tones on the indignity he had suffered at the hands of his own men, as he styled them—'to whom he

Synod at Westminster.

[1] "Holifard"; Symeon, *sup.* 310, 311. Holifard, of course, is a mere misrendering of the French "Oliphant," *i.e.* Ivory. David and his Chancellor, William Cumin, reached Durham by different routes, in the course of the month. Sym. *H.D.E. Cont.* 145. Cumin remained at Durham to keep up the struggle for the Bishopric.

[2] W. Malm. ss. 507–514. [3] W. Malm. s. 500; *Gesta*, 84, 85.

had never refused any justice'—who had taken him prisoner and put him into fetters.[1] The Legate, presuming on the ignorance of his audience, ventured to assure them that he had only accepted Matilda under the pressure of bodily fear, she having surrounded Winchester with her troops! She had broken all her pledges to the Church, and even, as he was assured, laid snares for his, the Legate's life. He ended by calling on all to support their King, Stephen, hallowed by the will of the people with the assent of the Apostolic See.[2] As for the supporters of the 'Countess of Anjou,' they would be laid under ban, and cut off from the society of all Christian folk.[3]

Christmas Crown-wearing at Canterbury.

Christmas, apparently, was held at Canterbury, among the faithful men of Kent, and was marked by a State Crown-wearing, if not a re-coronation of the King; as a solemn assertion that the Royal dignity had not been impaired by the recent captivity.[4] Geoffrey of Mandeville received a fresh charter, confirming one already granted to him by the Queen, and out-bidding the Empress' Charter of the previous Midsummer. She had granted him lands to the value of £100 a year; Stephen now bestows lands to the value of £400 a year, with £100 a year besides for the Earl's son Ernulf. Matilda had given Geoffrey the Shrievalty and Justiciarship of Essex in fee; He now receives the same rights over London, Middlesex, and Herts in addition.[5] To this joyful Christmas we may also ascribe the creation of two earldoms not previously heard of. Gilbert of Clare, son of Richard, and nephew of Gilbert Earl of Pembroke, appears as Earl of Herts; and William of Aubigny, the husband of the Queen Dowager, comes out as Earl of Arundel or Sussex.[6]

Distribution of Titled Honours

[1] See W. Malm, s. 490.

[2] "Voluntate populi et assensu sedis Apostolicæ inunctum."

[3] W. Malm, s. 501.

[4] Gervase, I. 123 (ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series, No. 73). See Round, *sup.* 137, etc., citing Bishop Stubbs' remarks on the Coronation of Richard I. after his captivity.

[5] See the Charter, Round, *sup.* 140; with his comments thereon.

[6] See the attestations to Mandeville's Charter, *Id.* p. 143.

CHAPTER XXVI

STEPHEN (*continued*)

A.D. 1142–1146

Royal Progress to York—Mission of the Earl of Gloucester to Normandy—Successes there of the Count of Anjou (1141–1142)—Siege and Capture of Oxford—Revolt of the Earl of Essex—Siege and Capture of Fortress at Faringdon.

THE liberation of the Royal captive could only portend a renewal of the hopeless struggle. Stephen certainly made no secret of his intention of pressing the war against his rival.[1] But sheer exhaustion enforced a pause of some months. In the early spring (March–April) 1142, however, Stephen appears to have made a progress through East Anglia to the North, leaving Matilda unmolested at Oxford. We find him signing at Ipswich;[2] and then we hear of him at Stamford, where he came to terms with the rebel Earls Ralph of Chester and William of Lincoln. The King and Ralph 'swore oaths';[3] and William of Roumare received a grant of Kirton in Lindsey, and a confirmation of the right to hold the Castle of Gainsborough and the bridge over the Trent, 'with all rights enjoyed by any English Earl in respect of his castles.'[4] From Stamford the King and Queen went on to York, where they appeared after Easter (April 19), to forbid a 'tournament' arranged to be held between the Northern magnates William of Aumâle Earl of Yorkshire, and Allan Earl of Richmond.[5] Considering the terms on which the Breton Earl lived with his neighbours, and that in 1140 he had forcibly ousted Aumâle from the Castle of Gilling in the North Riding, near Helmsley,[6] the meeting was not likely to be of a bloodless character. As for Stephen's action it will be remembered that he had shown the same aversion to set encounters at Ludlow in 1139. Returning Southwards after

Royal Progress.

King and Queen at York.

[1] Gervase, I. 123 (ed. Stubbs); Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 312.

[2] MS. Harl. 2044, fol. 55 b. See Round, *Mandeville*, 158, for the dates. Malmesbury, s. 515, notices the journey to the North. [3] *Chron.* p. 384.

[4] "Omnibus liberis consuetudinibus cum quibus aliquis comes Anglie tenet castella sua"; *Great Cowcher*, II. f. 445, cited Round, *sup.* where it is pointed out that in the 31st *D.K. Report*, the Charter is misdated 1135–1137.

[5] "Militares nundinas"; Sym *H.R. Cont.* 312.

[6] Sym. *sup.* 306. See also *Gesta*, 72.

Easter, he was taken ill at Northampton, and was incapacitated for active exertion till the month of June.[1]

The efforts of the Empress were now directed towards bringing over her reluctant husband, Count Geoffrey, "*Plante Geneste*," to assist her in her struggle. About Mid-lent (29th March) she made a trip to Devizes to hold a council and select envoys.[2] But the Count was not to be tempted by the phantom of a crown. With a clearer perception of what was attainable than his wife could boast of, he was confining his policy to the acquisition of Normandy, where he was making steady progress. On hearing of his wife's success at Lincoln he entered the Dûchy, calling on the Barons to recognise him. Rotrou of Mortagne at once came in. He was offended with Stephen for having failed to effect the liberation of his nephew Richer of Laigle, who, though now Stephen's man, had been treacherously seized by his old enemy Robert of Leicester in the previous autumn. To counteract Rotrou's movements the Archbishop of Rouen, Stephen's friend, held a council of the feudatories of Mortagne about the 9th March (1141), when a fresh offer of Normandy and England was made to Count Theobald, Stephen's brother. Again he declined, but thinking Stephen's cause lost, he expressed a willingness to recognise Geoffrey as King, if he would surrender Tours to himself, and procure the liberation of Stephen and the restoration of his old fiefs. This came to nothing, but Verneuil and Nonancourt[3] accepted Geoffrey, while at the end of March[4] John the aged Bishop of Lisieux, finding the Angevin party quite predominant to the West of the Seine, went to Caen, and gave in his allegiance.[5] Waleran of Meulan, the greatest man in Normandy, also agreed to recognise the Count, on condition of being allowed to retain the Castle of Montfort-sur-Risle; which he had seized at Henry's death; while finally Falaise was given up to the Lord of Anjou.[6] Geoffrey therefore, when his wife's agents came over (1142), declared that he could not discuss the question with any one but the Earl of Gloucester. This answer was reported to another council held at Devizes on the 14th June. Robert, we are told, was most unwilling to go, not knowing to whom he could entrust the Empress during his absence. Finally he consented to go, but only on condition of being allowed to take with him hostages for the fidelity of the chief men of his own party[7]—to such depths had political morality in England sunk. But in justice to Matilda's

The Count of Anjou in Normandy.

Fresh Offer of England to Count Theobald.

Angevin gains.

Gloucester to go to Normandy.

[1] W. Malm, s. 516; Sym. *sup.* [2] W. Malm. s. 515.

[3] Eure. [4] So Orderic; 6th April, R. de Monte.

[5] Orderic, 923. Here we lose this writer to whom we owe such a mass of facts relating to family, local, and ecclesiastical, as well as to general history. Worn out with age, as he tells us, he lays down the pen, in the sixty-seventh year of his life, and the fifty-seventh of his residence at St. Evroult.

[6] R. de Monte. [7] W. Malm. ss. 517, 518; R. de Monte.

regular partisans it must be stated that she had just been joined by supporters whose honour could not be held above suspicion. The shameless Mandeville, Earl of Essex, preparing to change sides for the third time within two years,[1] had approached the Empress, to receive further grants, not only for himself, but also for his relations and connexions. The shifty Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, also appears at this time as on the side of the Empress, and with him one whose family had hitherto been pretty faithful to Stephen, Gilbert of Clare, Earl of Pembroke.[2] Lastly we have a fourth ally won from the hostile camp in the person of Alberic de Vere, third of the name, son of Stephen's advocate,[3] and brother to Mandeville's wife, now raised to an Earldom, that of Cambridge, to be shortly exchanged for that of Oxford.[4] Gloucester might well hesitate to leave the Empress in the hands of such servants; and it was from them, we may take it, that the hostages were exacted.

Doubtful Accessions.

About the end of June Robert sailed from Wareham, and reached Caen in safety. There the Count joined him. But Geoffrey, wiser than his wife or her brother, was not to be lured by the chance of a crown from prosecuting a conquest that was clearly within reach. "Instead of helping Robert to conquer the Kingdom he determined to make Robert help him to conquer the Duchy." He explained that he could not possibly go over to England until he had placed affairs in Normandy in a more settled state. He invited the Earl to co-operate in the work. Robert, unwilling to disoblige him, consented, and joined in operations against hostile castles. Their first expedition may have been against Bastebourg, to the East of Caen, but their main operations lay to the West. Entering the *Bessin* they captured Trévières, between Bayeux and Issigny; then turning South, they reduced in quick succession Villers-Bocage, Aulnay, Plessis-le-Grimoult, Vire, and Tinchebrai.[5] Again moving Westwards they entered the *Avranchin*, and Stephen's county of Mortain, capturing Le Teilleul, Saint Hilaire, Mortain, and Pontorson. Finally Avranches, Cerences, and Coutances yielded without struggle.[6]

Gloucester and Count Geoffrey.

A Joint Campaign.

[1] For his first creation see Round, 49 (June-Dec. 1140.)

[2] See the fresh charter to Mandeville, and the attestations thereto, Round, *sup.* 165-172. Mr. Round suggests that the charter may have been granted during Stephen's illness, when in fact it was reported that he was dead.

[3] Alberic II. is said to have been killed in a tumult in London in May 1141, he being Portreeve of the city at the time.

[4] See his charter, Round, 180-194. He was created Earl of Cambridge with a proviso that if the King of Scots claimed the county as linked with Huntingdon, Alberic should have his choice of four other counties, and eventually he chose Oxford. He was also confirmed as Chamberlain of England, an office granted to his father by Henry I. in 1133, *Id.*

[5] The last named place is in Orne, all the rest in Calvados.

[6] W. Malm. s. 219; H. Hunt.; Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, I. 338.

By the time that these conquests had been achieved the autumn was well advanced, and then the Count finally discovered that it was impossible for him under any circumstances to go to England.

Young Henry Sent to England.

But as if to open up a new prospect for the future he allowed his eldest son to go over to assist his mother.[1] As the boy was not yet ten years old the future Henry II. would receive an early initiation in the mysteries of feudal politics, and the horrors of feudal warfare, a demoralising education. Nevertheless we are told that he was shortly sent to Bristol, and that he lived there, apparently at St. Augustine's, under the charge of a tutor, Matthew by name.[2]

In June, as already mentioned, Stephen had recovered his health and energy. Eager for action, his first move was against Wareham, Gloucester's harbour, where his eldest son William had been left in command. But the place was insufficiently garrisoned, and Stephen was able to burn the town and win the castle.[3] We next hear of him at Cirencester, where again the weakly guarded castle fell into his hands. He had now overcome his scruples about waging war on a lady, and was proposing to attack the Empress in person in her stronghold at Oxford. Descending the upper valley of the Thames he took Radcot and Brampton, where outposts had been established by Matilda to keep up her communications with the West. On the 26th September the King appeared before Oxford.[4] Placed on the intersection of the highway from London to Gloucester with that from Winchester to the Midlands and the North the City had not been left without fortifications, as the writer of the *Gesta* tells us.[5] The river Cherwell covered it on the East, and the manifold arms of the Isis, or Thames as it was then called,[6] on the West, both streams uniting their waters to guard it on the South. On the North or open side Oxford had its wall and ditch, all carefully repaired by Gloucester, and abutting on the West on the Castle enclosure: the latter included the old Saxon mote and the adjoining Norman Keep, both still extant, the latter standing on the brink of the Easternmost arm of the Isis.[7]

Siege of Oxford.

Site of the City.

It would seem that Stephen leaving the road from the West, which would bring him into Oxford close under the walls of the Castle, led his army from the heights of Cumnor round to the South, so as to

[1] W. Malm. s. 519. The writer prays that the boy may live to emulate his grandfather. R. de Monte.

[2] Gervase, I. 125, 131; and the *Monasticon* charter, cited Round, 407. Matthew was no doubt the man of the name "who is called Henry's chancellor in Foliot's letters; *S. Thom. Canty. Epp.* v. 201." Stubbs.

[3] July ?; W. Malm. ss. 519, 520. [4] Malm. *sup.*

[5] "Tutissime munita." [6] So in all the Chronicles.

[7] The Castle was the work of Robert of Oilly, the elder; it does not appear to have had any fire-place, and none of the floors are vaulted. For accounts of Robert of Oilly the elder see Freeman, *N. C.* IV. 46, 734.

approach the City by the Abingdon Road.[1] This would bring him to the primitive ford from which the City takes its name, but now spanned by Folly Bridge. He found an irregular force of citizens massed on the opposite bank to defend the passage with bows and arrows. Boldly plunging into the water at the head of his men he scattered the burghers, and, pressing them closely, entered the City pell-mell with them before the gate in St. Aldate's Street, as we suppose, could be shut. The town was then fired and sacked in the usual way.[2]

The City Won.

The Empress and her retinue had retired to the Castle. Stephen sat down before the place determined, if possible, to get Matilda into his hands. It does not appear that she had any man of consequence with her to assist her, nor was any attempt made to relieve Oxford. Some of her friends, however, ashamed of their negligence, mustered at Wallingford. We are told that they would have engaged Stephen in the field, if he would have come out to meet them, but that he declined to risk a second Lincoln.[3] At the end of some three months of bombardment and blockade the Empress, reduced to extremity, had once more to seek safety in flight. The country was buried in snow, the rivers frozen and still.

A few days before Christmas Matilda, with three or four attendants, all clad in white to escape notice, slipping out of the castle at dead of night, crossed the ice outside. One of Stephen's sentinels, who had been won over, allowed her to pass, and so she made her way on foot, some six or seven miles, to Abingdon. From thence she was able to ride on to the party stronghold at Wallingford. Four times, as the Royalist author of the *Gesta* points out, had the Empress been forced to fly from the face of her enemies, once from Arundel —which by the bye was hardly a flight—once from London, once from Winchester, and once from Oxford.[4]

Flight of the Empress.

The Castle at Oxford of course surrendered.

The Earl of Gloucester had returned to England nearly a month before,[5] but his action had been weak and desultory. He brought with him between three hundred and four hundred men-at-arms, transported in fifty-two ships of the period, the whole presumably provided by Count Geoffrey for the protection of his son. They were able to effect a landing at Wareham. One would have thought that Robert would not have lost a day in joining forces with the Empress.

Gloucester at Home Again.

[1] So Miss Norgate, *Angevin Kings*, I. 331, whose suggestion I adopt. Stephen, however, might have crossed the Thames at Radcote and so have entered Oxford by crossing the ford of the Cherwell. [2] *Gesta*, 91; Malm. *sup.* [3] Malm. *sup.*

[4] *Gesta*, 91–93; W. Malm. ss. 523, 524; H. Hunt. *Ann. Osney* (Luard). The Peterborough Chronicle represents the Empress as being let down from the Keep (*tur*) by ropes. Probably she was let down from the outer-wall to the ice.

[5] The siege of Oxford had lasted some two months when he landed; Gervase.

But the Castle of Wareham was in the hands of the enemy, and its recovery was thought a primary necessity. Three weeks were spent on this business,[1] as the garrison had to be allowed to communicate with Stephen, to demand succour in the usual way, before surrendering. After that Gloucester amused himself with conquering Lulworth Castle and the Isle of Portland. Then, and not till then, in the month of December,[2] did he call for a muster at Cirencester for a march to Oxford. He was on his way thither when the news of Matilda's flight to Wallingford reached him. He joined her there for the Christmas Feast. Dismal as their circumstances were he could gladden her heart with the sight of her son.[3]

Dilatory Action.

The loss of Oxford brought Matilda's fortunes to a low ebb, but with the year 1143 the pendulum seemed to take another swing. No operations are recorded in the early part of the year; but towards summer we have another unsuccessful effort on Stephen's part to recapture Wareham Castle; and after that a muster on a large scale to establish a castle at Wilton, to keep Gloucester's stronghold at Old Sarum in check. The Earl hastened to the rescue. Stephen rashly coming out to give battle was again utterly defeated, and only escaped a second captivity by hasty flight. His brother the Legate also had to ride for his life. But William Martel, Stephen's Steward (*Dapifer*), and one of his most faithful friends, was taken prisoner, carried off to Bristol, and not set free till he had surrendered Sherborne.[4]

Defeat of Stephen at Wilton.

The acquisition of this important post, we are told, made Gloucester master of nearly one-half of England from sea to sea, meaning as we may suppose one half of the South coast from Bristol to the English Channel.[5] Within those limits, for the time, only one man, Henry of Tracy, the lord of Barnstaple, kept up the struggle on behalf of Stephen.[6] Up the Severn valley the Empress held Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford. Worcester too might now be reckoned hers, as Waleran of Meulan, to whom Stephen had given the city, had submitted to Geoffrey in Normandy in 1141. In that same year Matilda, presumably in ignorance of the fact, had given the city and county to William of Beauchamp.[7] But in 1150 we shall find the city still held by Waleran, and as against Stephen. On the other hand, to the East of a line drawn

Territories Controlled by the Empress.

[1] Gervase, I. 124, 125.

[2] The Advent season had begun, Advent Sunday falling on the 29th Nov..

[3] W. Malm. ss. 521–522; *Gesta*, 93, 94; Gervase *sup.* Here the work of Malmesbury breaks off. He had not yet received full details of Matilda's escape when the last lines were penned. He must have died soon after.

[4] *Gesta*, 94–96; 1st July, Gervase, I. 125; "In æstate"; *Ann. Waverley*; Henry of Huntingdon and those who copy him refer the affair of Wilton to the year 1142.

[5] "Dimidiam fere Angliam a mari in latus usque ad mare;" *Gesta*, 97. [6] *Id.*

[7] See her charter granting the constableship of the castle and shrievalty of the county to him; Round, 313.

through Matilda's holds at Old Sarum, Ludgershall, and Marlborough, we may take it that Hants, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent recognised Stephen, forming in fact with London the real seat of his power. In the Midlands, Roger of Beaumont Earl of Warwick, as a supporter of Matilda[1] might be set against the Royalist Earl of Leicester. The Thames Valley likewise was divided, the Empress commanding Wallingford; the King, Reading and Oxford. Bedford was against him, having been wrested from Earl Hugh by Milo of Beauchamp, the former Constable.[2] East Anglia, from the Thames to the Wash, was in the hands of men either openly hostile, like Hugh of Norfolk, or covertly disloyal, like Geoffrey of Essex, and Alberic of Oxford. Farther North, the Earl of Chester having got the upper hand both of William of York and of Allan of Richmond, lorded it over a district described as equal to one third of England.[3] His rule would be entirely on his own account. The See of Durham went with the King; but Northumberland and Cumberland, under their Scottish Earl, would hold themselves of the obedience of Matilda. This minute subdivision and interlacing of territories will account for the weakness exhibited by both parties.

and Stephen respectively.

The Royalist chronicler praises Gloucester's efforts to govern as well as military necessities would allow; but again he gives a deplorable picture of the state of the country, presumably of the country on the South coast, as being utterly waste and depopulated through warfare, famine, and emigration. Whole townships could be seen utterly untenanted. What people were left were crowded in huts in the sanctuaries. The crops could not be got in for want of hands. The only people who seemed to abound were the ruffians who garrisoned the castles, and they had to live by plundering the clergy. The bishops for the most part were afraid to interfere, while some vied with the barons in building castles and oppressing the people. Chief of the offenders in this respect were the Legate-Bishop of Winchester, Alexander of Lincoln, and Roger Clinton of Lichfield.[4] Honourable exception, however, is made in favour of Bishop Robert of Hereford, who boldly withstood Earl Milo's exactions, finally excommunicating him, and laying the county under interdict.[5] Yet Henry of Blois was a churchman after his ideas of churchmanship. At Midlent in this very year (March 14th), he held a Synod in London, at which the King was present, and fulminated the severest edicts against all who should lay hands on clergymen, violate sanctuaries, or infringe on ecclesiastical rights.[6] We are glad to believe, if only on the strength of later authority, that the immunities of Sanctuary were extended to all labourers at work with their ploughs.[7]

Desolation of England.

Synod in London.

[1] See *Gesta*, 73, 80, Round, 65, 125. Roger, however, was not a very active partisan. [2] *Gesta*, 73. [3] *Id.*, 117. [4] *Id.*, 98–101.

[5] *Id.* 102, 103. Gilbert Foliot in one of his letters in Dr. Giles' collection, addresses the Legate on behalf of Milo.

[6] H. Hunt.; *Ann. Waverley.* [7] So R. Wendover and M. Paris.

To make up for the collapse of his influence in the South-Western counties, we find Stephen again exerting himself to assert his authority over the Eastern counties. Earl Mandeville, in spite of his intrigue with the Empress in the previous year, contrived still to pass as Stephen's man. There is reason to believe that he visited the King in his quarters at Oxford during the siege.[1] His absolute control over London, Middlesex, Essex, and Herts, made him, in the South, the richest and most influential man of the time. We are told that his word went for more than that of the King. He is described as a man of considerable ability, great strength of character, and undoubted courage.[2] Of course he had his enemies, who urged the King to action, and among them the Londoners,[3] who doubtless had suffered under him.

Geoffrey of Mandeville.

But even if Stephen was ignorant of the political undercurrents of the time, an unlikely circumstance, he had a gross personal insult to avenge. Sometime before, the Queen being in London with her daughter-in-law Constance, wife of the young Eustace, and wishing to leave Town, Geoffrey declared that Matilda might go if she pleased, but that Constance must remain in his hands; and he insisted on detaining her till the King compelled him to give her up.[4] In this state of things, in the autumn (1143), either in October or November,[5] Stephen held a council at St. Albans, at which Geoffrey was present. He was impeached of high treason. The King ordered his arrest, which was not effected without a scuffle, which was resented by the clergy as a violation of Sanctuary, for which, in fact, the King was compelled to make amends.[6]

His Impeachment.

But the Earl was secured, and taken in strict custody to London, and compelled under threat of hanging to surrender all his castles, including the Tower of London, Pleshy, and Saffron Walden. Then Stephen, with mistaken leniency, let him go free like a wounded beast, irritated but not disabled. He broke into furious revolt, entering Cambridgeshire, where hungry mercenaries soon gathered round him. His brother-in-law William of Sai acted with him; and they had a friendly understanding with the Earl of Norfolk. Cambridge and St. Ives were plundered.[7] From these places Mandeville advanced to Ely, where he was received as a friend. Bishop Nigel was not at home, though he had recovered possession of

He Retires to East Anglia,

Ely

[1] Mr. Round shows grounds for holding that the charter to Abingdon, given *Hist. Abingdon*, II. 178, 179, which is attested by Earl Geoffrey, at Oxford, was passed during the siege, *Mandeville*, 201. [2] *Gesta*, 103; W. Newburgh, I. 44.

[3] See the second charter of the Empress to Mandeville, where the Londoners are frankly stated to be his 'mortal enemies'; Round, p. 168. [4] W. Newb. *sup.*

[5] 'After Michaelmas,' so the short chronicle incorporated in the *Liber de Antiquis Legibus*, p. 197 (Camden Society), Round.

[6] See the *Gesta*, 104, and esp. M. Paris, *Hist. Angl.* A.D. 1142. The Earl of Arundel and his horse were knocked head over heels into the Holy Well.

[7] *Gesta*, 104, 105; H. Hunt.; W Newb. I. 45; Round, 209, 212, 213.

his See in the previous year. But, as it happened, when Geoffrey appeared, he was in London, attending a Synod, in which he was again impeached of treason.[1] His men naturally were thoroughly hostile to Stephen; and so the Earl was put into possession of the fortifications of the Isle, and also of the important outpost at Aldreth,[2] the key to the situation. From Ely Geoffrey pushed on to Ramsey Abbey,[3] where different politics obtained. There he must have been received as an enemy, as we hear that he behaved with the greatest violence, expelling the monks, seizing their treasures, fortifying the sacred precincts, and quartering his men on the Abbey tenants. To cover his double position, with one foot at Ely, and the other at Ramsey, he established outposts at Benwick on the Old Nen to the North, at Wood Walton on the Sawtray Way to the West, and at Fordham on the Soham Causeway to the East:[4] and so for some nine months he held out, defying all Stephen's efforts to dislodge him.

And Ramsey.

To notice some other matters connected with the year 1143, Pope Innocent II. died on the 24th September. Two days later Guido di Castello, Cardinal of St. Mark, a Tuscan, was elected, and took the style of Celestine II.[5] Before his death Innocent had settled the Durham difficulty, rejecting William Cumin, the nominee of the Empress, and directing a fresh election to be made. In compliance with his mandate a section of the Chapter met at York, on Mid-Lent Sunday (14th March), and elected the Dean of York, William of Sainte-Barbe,[6] who was at the time attending the Synod in London. On the 20th of June he was consecrated at Winchester.[7]

The Bishopric of Durham.

The question of the appointment to the Province of York seemed also

[1] Nigel's history since 1140 may be given here. As we have seen, he was driven from Ely by Stephen in that year, and went to join the Empress at Gloucester. In 1141, when Matilda's fortunes were in the ascendant, Nigel's followers began to return to Ely. Early in 1142, when Stephen was again at liberty, and passing through East Anglia, the Earls of Essex and Pembroke were sent to oust these men and retake possession (*Hist. Ely; Angl. Sacr.* I. 620, 621; Round, *Mandeville*, 161). But meanwhile Nigel had obtained from the Pope an order for his restoration to his See (April 1142. See the letters given from the Cotton MS. Tiberius A. VI., Round, 411, 412). Stephen bowed to the Papal mandate, and the Earls of Essex and Pembroke handed over the Isle to the Bishop. But in November, 1143, the time that we have reached, he was again attacked in a Synod held in London by the Legate, apparently on a charge of treason, as above mentioned, and ordered to go to Rome (*Ann. Waverley; Hist. Ely*, 622). He went to Rome, and in May 1144 obtained from the then Pope, Lucius II., a fresh order for his restoration (*Hist. Ely*, 623; and the letters, Round, 412).

[2] *Hist. Ely*, I. 623.

[3] 'In Advent,' *i.e.* after November 28, *Liber de Antiqq. sup.*

[4] *Hist. Ramsey*, 329, 332; *Hist. Ely*, and *Gesta*, *sup.*

[5] H. Nicolas.

[6] Qy. Sainte-Barbe-sur-Gaillon? Eure.

[7] Sym. *H. D. E. Cont.* 148–150; *Reg. Sacr.* Cumin held out by sheer force of arms for sixteen months, and Bishop William was not installed till the 18th October, 1144. See *H. D. E. Cont.* 150–160; *H. R. Cont.* 314–316.

in a fair way to be settled when Innocent died. William fitz Herbert and the Cistercians and others who resisted his appointment had been duly summoned to Rome, as above stated. The case was twice heard in Papal Consistory, once in 1142, and again in March, 1143. The Pope, who evidently did not want to quash the election, finally declared that, subject to certain declarations to be made by William himself, and the Dean of York—William of Sainte-Barbe, just being elected Bishop of Durham—to establish the purity of the election, it might stand. As a concession on William's behalf it was obtained that failing the Dean the oath of some other person might be substituted. The Dean, or rather Bishop as he had become by that time, did not take the oath; but apparently it was taken by the Bishop of Orkney, and so on the 26th September William fitz Herbert was consecrated at Winchester by the Legate, Archbishop Theobald not concurring.[1] William took possession of his See, but he failed to obtain his *Pallium* from the new Pope, Celestine, and, four years later, we shall find a Cistercian Pope cancelling his appointment, and installing a brother of his own Order.[2]

St. William of York.

By the death of Innocent the Legatine commission of the Bishop of Winchester had expired. Theobald had submitted to the encroachment on his legitimate authority with truly monastic patience, biding his time. But he could not miss an opportunity of shaking off the yoke. At the death of Innocent both Archbishop and Bishop started for Rome. But the new Pope, Celestine II., was in the Angevin interest, and so Henry, understanding that he had no chance, halted at Cluny, his old home. On the 12th March, 1144, Celestine died, to be succeeded in three days' time by Lucius II. Henry then went to Rome, had a friendly reception, and was allowed to refute certain charges brought against him by the Empress. But the Legatine commission was not renewed.[3]

The Bishop of Winchester

No Longer Legate

In the negotiations at Rome on this delicate matter we hear that Theobald was much indebted to the services of a cleric, a member of his household, who must already have shown distinguished ability to have been entrusted with such business, a young man known at the time as Thomas of London, but destined to live in history as Archbishop Becket, otherwise St. Thomas of Canterbury.[4]

Thomas Becket.

A serious blow to the cause of the Empress was the loss of Milo Earl of Hereford, who died on the 24th December, accidentally struck by an arrow while hunting deer.[5] The Earl of Gloucester also in the course of the year lost a son, spoken of as the flower of the flock.[6]

Stephen's first move in the year 1144 was naturally directed against the

[1] Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 307, 311, 313, 315; *Reg. Sacrum*; Gervase, II. 385 (*Actus Pontiff.*).
[2] Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 317, 318, 320.
[3] *Id.* 315; H. Hunt.; W. Newb. I. 43.
[4] Gervase, II. 384.
[5] Sym. *sup.*; *Gesta*, 103.
[6] "Propagationis suæ splendor et decus"; *Id.*, 95.

double-dyed traitor Mandeville. But Geoffrey quickly moving from one Fen stronghold to another baffled all his efforts.[1] Leaving outposts to keep the enemy in check, the King, in his erratic way, pressed on once more to besiege the Earl of Chester at Lincoln. But there again disappointment awaited him. Some eighty men engaged in setting up a counterwork were cut off by the enemy, and he retired in disgust.[2]

Repulse of Stephen at Lincoln.

But, on the other hand, Mandeville's brigand career came to a sudden end. In the month of August he was attacking a post established by the King at Barwell to keep Fordham in check. The weather being very hot, Geoffrey took off his helmet, and was struck on the head by an arrow. He made light of the wound, but he had to retire; and in the course of the next month he succumbed at Mildenhall, on the borders of Suffolk. "Unshriven he had passed away, laden with the curses of the Church. His soul was lost for ever; and his body no man might bury." But through the agency of a friendly Templar, who was with him at the last, his remains were taken in a leaden coffin to the Old Temple in Holborn, and there placed in an unconsecrated vault (*antro*), to lie for nearly twenty years, till his son, Geoffrey II., having made terms with the Church, obtained for his father's corpse the concession of Christian burial.[3]

End of Geoffrey of Mandeville.

The fate of the eldest son, Ernulf, deserves special notice as illustrating the power of the Church at a time when Church rights seemed to be trampled upon with impunity. He was in command at Ramsey, and, with some difficulty, was induced to surrender the place. Later in the year he was taken prisoner, and banished,[4] but not for good, as he lived to return, and found an independent family in England. But he was never admitted to his father's earldom. The Empress herself would not take under her wing a man under the ban of the Church. The second son, Geoffrey, was shortly recognised as Earl of Essex by Matilda and her son (1144–1147), the title being again granted, as if by a fresh creation, by Henry, as King, in 1154.[5]

Mandeville's Sons.

Between the depredations of Mandeville from within, and the assaults of Stephen from without, the country round Ely and Ramsey had been reduced to a desert. The lands were untilled unless held by marauders; beasts of husbandry had disappeared; the corpses of persons who had perished of starvation lay rotting in the fields. As the charge of torturing prisoners for ransom is specifically laid against Mandeville,[6] we have the

[1] *Gesta*, 106. [2] H. Hunt.

[3] See H. Hunt.; *Hist. Ramsey*, 331–333; Gervase, I. 128; and the Walden Chronicle, *Monasticon*, IV. 142, cited by Mr. Round, 224, 226. M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, gives the 14th September as the day of Geoffrey's death; the Walden Chronicler gives the 16th September. For Archbishop Becket's order for the burial, dated in 1163, see *Chron. Ramsey*, 306. [4] H. Hunt. [5] See the charters, etc., Round, *sup.* 228, 233, 235, 417.

[6] *Hist. Ely*, *sup.* 623; Round, 214.

worst features of the picture of the Peterborough Chronicle illustrated here, if indeed that celebrated description was not directly taken from the state of East Anglia in 1143–1144.[1]

In the North the Earl of Chester waged ceaseless warfare against all Royalist barons.[2] In the South and West the partisans of the Empress kept making desperate efforts to maintain or strengthen their ground. In Devon we hear of Earl Redvers, at Marlborough of John the Marshall, and in various quarters of Gloucester's sons as vying with one another in their activity in fortifying posts, pushing forays, and levying contributions. William of Dover, one of the Earl's chief lieutenants, established a fort at Cricklade, high up in the valley of the Thames, from whence he harassed the Royal garrison at Malmesbury, and carried raids as far as Oxford. Round Malmesbury centred the chief operations of the year. Gloucester blocked the place with three counterforts, hoping to starve it out. Stephen, hearing that Malmesbury was in extremities, came down with an imposing force, revictualled it, and then sat down to reduce Gloucester's counter forts, establishing his headquarters at Tetbury, some five or six miles off. Then Gloucester and Roger the young Earl of Hereford appeared in turn, with a still larger force, swelled by footsoldiers drawn from Bristol and Wales. Awaiting reinforcements, which kept coming in, they took up a position two miles from that of the King. A pitched battle might have been expected, but the King's barons, never in earnest about fighting, were able to show valid reasons for declining a struggle, to be risked far from their own base of operations, against a host of wild Welshmen and Bristol burghers. Stephen, as usual, gave way; but to do something with his army, he led them off to attack Winchcomb, that old bone of contention, then held for the Earl of Hereford. The place yielded to Stephen's assaults, and with that achievement apparently his campaigning for the year came to an end.[3]

The War.

Operations round Malmesbury.

The year 1145, like its predecessor, opened with operations in East Anglia, but only of the usual indecisive character, simply destructive to life and property. Bigod having indulged in predatory incursions on Royalist lands, Stephen retaliated, overrunning the Earl's possessions, and remaining there till he had established forts to keep the Earl in check.[4] But the Thames valley was again the seat of the real struggle. William of Dover at Cricklade showed the same activity as before, harassing alternately the garrisons of Malmesbury and Oxford. His crowning success was the capture of the Constable of Malmesbury, one Walter of Pinkney.[5] Walter was taken to Bristol, and delivered to the Empress and her son. Matilda did her utmost by all

Operations in Thames Valley.

[1] So Mr. Round suggests, *Mandeville*, 214; see *Hist. Ramsey*, 333, 334; *Hist. Ely, sup.* 623.

[2] Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 315 (A.D. 1143), *Gesta*, 107; W. Newburgh, I. 47.

[3] *Gesta*, 107–111. [4] *Gesta*, 112; H. Hunt. [5] Four miles West of Malmesbury.

means fair and foul, using alternate promises and threats, to induce Walter to surrender Malmesbury. But the man chose rather to languish in fetters than to betray his trust. In fact, we are told that he could not have given over Malmesbury, if he would, because Stephen, on hearing of his capture, had hastened to refresh the garrison and strengthen the fortifications.[1] But William of Dover, sick of his ruthless work, suddenly threw up his command at Cricklade and retired from England. In the course of the ensuing year, like so many others, he joined the Second Crusade, there to die on pilgrimage.[2] He was succeeded by Gloucester's son Philip, described as a daring but brutal soldier, a true product of the times. Pressing his attacks on Oxford with some success, he urged his father to undertake more systematic operations for the recovery of the city. With that object Gloucester, in the course of the summer, established a strong fortress at Faringdon, on the high-road from Bristol to London, and about half way between Cricklade and Oxford. The garrison there would be within twenty-five miles of their friends at Wallingford, within twelve miles of Abingdon, seventeen of Oxford, or thereabouts, and able to command the Thames both above and below the city. Thus menaced, the garrison at Oxford sent pressing appeals to the King. He was not deaf to their prayers. Realizing the urgency of the case, he marched to Oxford with an army largely recruited in London. Advancing after a few days to Faringdon, he first secured his own position by entrenching a camp, and then began to open siege in regular form. Flights of arrows swept the battlements, while the garrison were bombarded with stones and other missiles projected from engines, the nature of which, however, is not particularly described. The defences apparently consisted mainly of earthworks, as we are told that at times the besiegers would climb the *vallum* to engage in hand-to-hand encounters with the besieged.[3] Earl Robert manœuvred in the neighbourhood in order to effect a diversion, but he could not venture to attack the King in his entrenched camp. Faringdon had been well provided with munitions. But all Gloucester's care and forethought had not apparently been able to secure a devoted garrison. The commanders were not of one mind as to the lengths to which the resistance ought to be carried. Some of them, without the knowledge of the others, made private terms with Stephen. The result was that in one way or another the fort was surrendered and the King entered in triumph.[4] With

Faringdon Fortified.

and Besieged by Stephen.

Capitulation.

[1] *Gesta*, 114; G. Foliot, *Epp.* No. 41. [2] *Gesta, sup.*

[3] "Valida pubes clivosi valli celsitudinem animosse conscendens." The stronghold is further described as "Castellum vallo e propugnaculis munitissimum"; *Gesta*, 115, 116. Nothing now remains, but the Union Workhouse is said to occupy the site, in a fairly commanding position at the intersection of the road from Radcote to Wantage with that from Faringdon to London. [4] *Gesta, sup.*; H. Hunt.

the stronghold some important prisoners fell into Stephen's hands, and an amount of booty described as very considerable. But the moral effects of the capture were the greatest, and the King's prospects seemed to have entered on a new phase.

The first direct fruits of the success came in the shape of the submission, more seeming however than real, of the Earl of Chester. He came boldly to Court (1146) full of apologies for past misconduct, and was readmitted to peace and friendship by the good-natured King. The chronicler's account of Ralph's bearing and reception imply that he came very much on the footing of an independent potentate, as in fact he was.[1] "To prove the sincerity of his repentance," he led a force against Bedford and recovered it for his lord. The place had been a thorn in Stephen's side since 1141, when Milo of Beauchamp had ousted Stephen's Earl, Hugh the Poor of Beaumont.[2] He also helped the King to build a stockade at Crowmarsh, on the Thames, on the Berkshire side of the river, immediately in front of Wallingford Bridge, thus blocking all access to Wallingford from the South.[3] But, as in 1141, during the operations round Winchester, so now, he failed to gain the confidence either of the King or of his barons. It could not pass unnoticed that he said no word of surrendering Lincoln, or of accounting to the Exchequer for the large amount of Royal dues in his hands. But as he was surrounded by a 'reinforcement' of three hundred men-at-arms, caution had to be exercised in dealing with him. Then Philip of Gloucester, the Constable of Cricklade, to his unspeakable disgrace, thinking that the times were about to change, went over to Stephen, made terms with him, and then began parricidal warfare on his father's lands. Moreover by an act of gross treachery he seized his natural cousin, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, when on his way to Court under the King's safe-conduct. Of course Stephen immediately ordered Reginald to be released.[4]

The Earl of Chester.

In fact, the inability of either party to gain a decisive success was so apparent that negotiations for a pacification had again been opened. Conferences were held. But the representatives of the 'Countess,' as the writer of the *Gesta* is careful to style her, were so imbued with the unbending spirit of their mistress that they refused to concede to Stephen the style or dignity of a king on any terms. He again refused to part with anything of which he was in possession—no matter by what title. The conferences therefore again came to nothing.[5]

Conferences.

[1] A.D. 1147. "Veteris amicitiæ renovato inter eos fœdere in gratiam rediit"; *Gesta*, 117. [2] *Gesta*, 32, 73. See Round, *sup.* 171.

[3] "Ligneum castellum"; Gervase, I. 130; *Gesta*, 117; "In ipso pontis ingressu," H. Hunt. 1152. Mr. Howlett also refers to a charter, *Hist. Abingdon*, II. 180, issued by Stephen "Apud Wareng. in obsidione." [4] *Gesta*, 119. [5] *Id.*

CHAPTER XXVII

STEPHEN (*continued*)

A.D. 1146–1150

Rupture with the Earl of Chester, and through him with the Earls of Pembroke and Herts—Second Visit of Young Henry of Anjou to England—Death of the Earl of Gloucester, and Retirement of the Empress—Reduction of Normandy by Count Geoffrey—Ecclesiastical Affairs—Third Visit of Henry to England

THE civil history of England for the next year and more resolves itself into that of a struggle between the King and the Earl of Chester and his friends, a struggle provoked, it would seem, by the Earl's own audacity. Having, as it were, cleared his character by the services that he had rendered at Bedford and Wallingford, he came to Northampton, where the Court was, to ask a favour in return. His retinue was ostentatiously small. He complained of the ravages committed by the Welsh on his lands; whole villages had been reduced to ashes; others were in imminent danger. Single-handed he could not cope with the invaders. He pressed for help, he specially pressed for the King's coming in person. The mere word of his presence[1] would be worth more than thousands without him. He, Ralph, would find money and supplies; the King need not be detained by any lengthy campaign; a mere progress in arms[2] would send him home in triumph, crowned with glory. Stephen, perhaps flattered by the compliment paid to his personal *prestige*, gave a joyful consent offhand.[3] But the Earl had betrayed too much eagerness, and the King's friends suspected a trap, a plot to seize their lord. They protested against an undertaking so rash and uncalled for as a plunge into Wales when there were so much to be done at home. They pointed out the risk of entrusting the King's person to the keeping of a man of such doubtful antecedents as Earl Ralph. They insisted that if he wanted the King's help he should first be required to give hostages, and restore the King's possessions that he had illegally seized. Failing compliance, he ought to be arrested as a traitor. With great difficulty, Stephen, for once, was induced to take sound advice.[4] His barons had an interview with the

The Earl of Chester.

A Trap for the King.

1 "Audito tantum regis nomine," etc.

2 "Nec diu regem secum commorandum sed . . . quasi in transitu," etc.

3 "Lætus et alacer promittebat."

4 "Cum sano hujusmodi consilio rex tandem, licet invite, acquievisset."

Earl of Chester, and told him the conditions on which the King was prepared to give the desired help. Ralph, taken aback, protested that he had not come to Northampton to render any account of his doings; he had had no notice of any such demand; he must consult his friends, and so forth. The altercation soon waxed hot, and the end of it was that the King's men, laying violent hands on the Earl, then and there committed him to bonds.[1]

The Earl Arrested.

On hearing of their lord's imprisonment the Cheshire barons and other feudatories of the Earl flew to arms, vowing dire things against the King. Regard for their lord's safety brought them to reason. Ralph surrendered Lincoln and other castles; gave hostages, swore an oath of fealty before the whole assembled Court, and was then set free—as Mandeville had been under similar circumstances—to do his worst.[2]

His Castles Given Up.

The worthy Peterborough Chronicler could not make up his mind what to think of the King's conduct in the matter. It seemed to him that Stephen had arrested the Earl through 'wicked rede,' and then, 'eftsones let him out through worse rede.' Other writers, like Gervase and William of Newburgh, take the Earl's part altogether. We can only suggest local feeling, or personal connexion of some sort, to account for a partizanship which to modern ideas seems unaccountable. The writers one and all condemn the Barons as a whole. Yet, every now and then, we have exception made in favour of some one man for which we can see no valid ground. 'But human nature must be allowed its partialities.' As for the King's action, he ought in strictness to have cited the Earl to appear before his Court to answer for his conduct. That was Henry I.'s way of dealing with his enemies. But against a man in Ralph's position the proceeding would have been simply nugatory.

Late in the year Stephen went to Lincoln and took possession. He kept his Christmas Feast there, and wore his crown in state, in defiance of the popular superstition that forbad a King to set foot within the walls of the city.[3] As a matter of fact no special luck, good or bad, no manifestation of any sort, was evoked by the King's audacious step.

The King Enters Lincoln.

Panting for revenge, Earl Ralph, in flagrant breach of his oath, went into immediate revolt. He attacked Lincoln where, of course, a strong garrison had been left by Stephen. But he was repulsed with loss in an

[1] *Gesta*, 123–125; H. Hunt.; Chron. E; Gervase, I. 130.

[2] *Gesta*, 125, 126; H. Hunt.; Gervase, *sup.*; W. Newb. I. 48.

[3] "Superstitionem qua reges Anglorum eandem civitatem ingredi vetabantur"; W. Newb. I. 57; H. Hunt. The latter thought Stephen very rash—"quantæ audaciæ." Newburgh, the intelligent writer, praises the King for his good sense. Nothing seems to be known of the origin of the Lincoln superstition of which no previous mention has been made.

attack on the Northern or Newport Gate,[1] the only assailable side of the city, as we have seen. We next hear of him as advancing into the Midlands, laying siege to Coventry, and building a counter-work. Grounds have been suggested for believing that Coventry was one of the Royal castles that he had seized and had now been obliged to surrender.[2] Stephen came to the rescue, and threw supplies into the city; but was worsted in a skirmishing encounter in a country lane outside; was slightly wounded himself, and forced to retire. Returning to the charge, however, he defeated Ralph, stormed his counter-fort, and drove him out of the Midlands. We are told that he went on to attack sundry holds of the Earl with a certain measure of success, but evidently not with the success to be expected in a struggle between a King and a mere subject.[3]

Chester in Arms.

War in the Midlands.

The rupture with Chester involved Stephen in troubles with the great House of Clare, at one time his staunch supporters. Gilbert, brother of Richard who fell in Wales, had been created Earl of Pembroke by Stephen in 1138; Walter, another brother, had defended Stephen's cause in Normandy in 1136.[4] Baldwin, a third brother, had been Stephen's spokesman at the battle of Lincoln. Their nephew Gilbert, son of Richard, had been created Earl of Herts in 1141. But he was, through his mother, nephew to the Earl of Chester,[5] and as such had been given up as a hostage to Stephen. Earl Ralph having forfeited his bond, Earl Gilbert was at the King's mercy. The ransom demanded for his deliverance was the usual one, the surrender of his castles. That brought up his uncle of Pembroke, who suggested that his nephew's castles should be made over to him. He had been with Stephen at Christmas 1141; but had visited the Empress at Oxford in the summer of 1142.[6] Still he was now attending Court, if not as a man above suspicion,[7] at any rate as one ostensibly loyal. Finding that his petition was not to be granted, he retired secretly, making for the nearest of his nephew's castles, probably Leeds in Kent, or perhaps Tonbridge. The point is doubtful, because the name of the place is not given. But Stephen, who was always prompt, if nothing else, got there in force as soon as Pembroke did, and all but captured him in the act of entering the gate. The Earl escaped, but the fortress surrendered in a few days. A short campaign led to the reduction of two more family strongholds, and then the King found himself under Roman walls of a

The House of Clare.

Reduction of their Castles.

[1] See Plan, above, 397.

[2] So Mr. Round, *English Historical Review*, X. 90; where he refers to "the curious treaty in Dugdale," *Baronage*, I. 38, between Robert Earl of Leicester and Ralph, as implying that when it was made Coventry was in the possession of the latter.

[3] *Gesta*, 126, 127.

[5] His mother Adelaide was sister to Ralph Gernons, *Gesta*, 13; *G. E. C. Peerage*.

[6] See Round, *sup.* 178, and the Earl's attestation of Matilda's Charter, *Id.* 172.

[7] "Quia prius [regi] suspectus fuerat."

fourth, the time-honoured Pevensey. As the place would have to be blockaded by sea as well as land, the process threatened to be a lengthy one, and before it came to an end Stephen's attention was called off by an alarm in another quarter.[1]

We are told that young Henry, the son of the Empress, stayed four years in England on the occasion of his first visit to the country. As he came over late in 1142, that implies that he went back late in 1146, and, apparently, so he did, though, strange to say, the fact is not noticed by any writer.[2] In the spring of 1147, while Stephen was attacking Pevensey, he reappeared on the scene, at the call of Gilbert of Clare, who hoped through him to effect a diversion in favour of his stronghold.[3] Great was the excitement at the reports of Henry's arrival. But the hopes and fears of the contending parties subsided when it became known that the Heir of the House of Anjou had brought not a powerful army, with a well-filled military chest, but a small band of adventurers, mostly retained, not with money in hand, but with promises of money in the future.[4] Where they landed we know not. Robert Earl of Leicester, formerly one of Stephen's prime favourites, joined them,[5] but apparently did not do much for them. The only operations attributed to them were an attack on Cricklade—still held for Stephen by the renegade Philip of Gloucester—and one on Bourton, presumably Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire.[6] Both attempts were repulsed with ease. Discouraged by this want of success, Henry's men began to desert; he soon found himself in great straits. We are told by a writer on the other side that he applied to his mother and his uncle, but that they could do nothing for him. We are even assured that he applied to Stephen for help, and that the King, in his chivalrous way, sent him money, perhaps

Henry of Anjou.

Second Visit to England.

Feeble Operations.

[1] *Gesta*, 127–129. We may fairly suppose two of the unnamed castles to have been Tonbridge and Leeds. The latter had been won from Gloucester by the Clares in 1138; Ord. 917.

[2] For the four years see Gervase, I. 125, 131. I think that this specific statement may be accepted, as it serves to fill up a gap, and fits in with other things. But the writer's chronology here is most confused. He evidently mixes up the return to Normandy which certainly happened in May, 1147, with that which, on his own showing, must have happened late in 1146, and applies the dates of the two to one journey. Thus he gives 1146 as the year of Henry's return to Normandy, which is true of the first return, not of the second; and then he tells us that this same return happened in the year of Gloucester's death, *i.e.* 1147, which is true of the second voyage, not of the first. The recognition of two trips across the Channel will harmonise everything.

[3] *Gesta*, 129; Symeon, *H.R. Cont.* p. 324. (Given under 1151, Henry's visit in 1149 having been chronicled in its right place.)

[4] "Militum globum exiguum; nondum ad tempus stipe data, sed in futuro promissa, conductos"; *Gesta*, *sup.*

[5] Sym. *sup.*

[6] To the South of Stow-on-the-Wold. There are remains of earthworks there. Lewis, *Topog. Dicty.*

to get him out of the country.[1] On the other hand, it is clear that the period of Henry's distress cannot have lasted very long. Geoffrey, anxious lest mischance should befall his son, recalled him. Gloucester escorted him to Wareham.[2] On Ascension Day (May 29) the monks at Bec received him in solemn procession.[3]

Return to Normandy.

The personal prospects of the Empress, as distinguished from those of her dynasty, had now become very dim, and were about to vanish utterly. On the 31st October Earl Robert of Gloucester, the statesman and soldier, the patron of William of Malmesbury, the devoted brother, the soul of his sister's party, was gathered to his fathers.[4] Milo of Hereford had fallen four years before; only Brian of Wallingford and John the Marshal remained. The Empress herself, seeing that all hope was gone, left England for ever (February, 1148), returning to end her days in her husband's court.[5]

Death of the Earl of Gloucester.

Retirement of the Empress.

The reader must not suppose that the retirement of Stephen's ostensible competitor either gave England peace, or made his rule one whit more real than before. He was still a mere King 'on sufferance.'[6] The Barons remained to pursue each man his own policy and fight his own battles. Every lord of a castle was a petty king, ruling his own tenants, coining his own money, administering his own justice. For this last prerogative the lords of soc and sac would have a certain legal foundation to rest upon. The only district in the enjoyment of any quiet was that beyond the Tees, under the sway of Earl Henry of Scotland.[7]

While Matilda's position in England had been slowly but surely sinking, her husband was making progress in Normandy by leaps and bounds. In 1143 he followed up the successes of the previous year by reducing the rest of the Côtentin, ending with the capture of Cherbourg. The surrender of Vaudreuil then made him master of all to the West of the Seine. But his successes did not stop there, as we are told that within the year Walter Giffard III. and all the

Geoffrey in Normandy.

[1] So the *Gesta*, 130–132. The story rather lacks confirmation. [2] Gervase, I. 131.

[3] R. de Monte. This "flying visit" of Henry to England has been either ignored or mixed up with that of 1149 by previous historians, but I agree with Mr. Howlett (*Gesta*, 130, note) that we must not discard the record of the *Gesta*, consistent and correct as it is in the sequence of events, and to a certain extent distinctly corroborated by John of Hexham, the Continuator of Symeon (*sup.*). The MS. of the *Gesta* breaks off abruptly in 1148, else no doubt we should have had an account of the visit of 1149 also.

[4] So Ann. Margan, Gloucester's own foundation in Glamorgan, established that same year (Rolls Series No. 36, Luard). For the year see also Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 321; and *Ann. Waverley*, and *Tewkesbury* (Luard, *sup.*). For the time of the year conf. Gervase, I. 131 (given as 1146). The Earl died at Bristol, where he was buried.

[5] Gervase, p. 133. Before Ash Wednesday, 24th February.

[6] "Auf Kundigung"; Rössler, *Mathilde*.

[7] W. Newb. I. 69, 70. Some of the private coins of the reign are extant; Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England*, ed. Kenyon, 189, cited Bp. Stubbs. But see below, 457.

men of Caux 'came in to his peace.'[1] Only Rouen now held out. Following up his advantage, in January 1144 the Count of Anjou crossed the Seine at Vernon. A few days later he pitched his camp at La Trinité-du-Mont, just outside the walls of Rouen. Next day, 20th January, the city opened its gates, and received Geoffrey in procession. But the castle, which was held by followers of William of Warenne, the Earl of Surrey, who still adhered to Stephen, held out. Waleran of Meulan, Rotrou of Mortagne, and other barons came to help in the attack, but it was not till the garrison had been reduced to the last extremities of hunger that they surrendered. On St. George's Day (April 23) they marched out.[2]

The Count of Flanders, Dietrich of Alsace, Geoffrey's brother-in-law, and Louis VII. of France now came forward to greet the new Duke of Normandy. Louis, at bitter enmity with Theobald of Blois, threw Stephen and his son overboard, and granted investiture of the Duchy to Count Geoffrey, reserving only Gisors, the old disputed border fortress.[3]

Invested as Duke.

With the help of such allies the few outstanding strongholds were soon reduced. The Earl of Surrey's men yielded Driencourt, otherwise Neufchâtel-en-Bray; and Hugh of Gournay surrendered Lions-la-Fôret. But the mighty Keep with which Henry I. had crowned the fortifications of Arques kept Geoffrey at bay till the summer of the ensuing 1145.[4]

The tale of the Second Crusade, preached by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and preached, it must be said, in the spirit of the Koran, not of the Gospel,[5] and led by Louis VII. of France, and Conrad III. of Germany, does not fall within the compass of English history. We need not therefore follow the steps of the crusading hosts down the Danube to Constantinople (May–Oct. 1147); nor pause to narrate how a disastrous advance, partly by land and partly by sea, from the shores of the Bosphorus to the city of Antioch (Oct. 1147–March 1148), left them with numbers too reduced for anything except pilgrim visits to the Holy Places. The only operation attempted—the siege of Damascus—failed utterly (May–June 1148). Conrad sailed home in 1148. Louis lingered nearly another year doing

St. Bernard and the Second Crusade.

[1] R. de Monte, 1143.

[2] *Id.*; *Chron. Rouen*, Bouquet, XII. 785, cited Norgate, I. 342.

[3] R. de Monte, and *Hist. Gaufr. Ducis* (Marchegay), 282, cited Norgate. Dr. Rössler would connect Louis' recognition of Geoffrey with the change in Stephen's relations with the Papacy. But Lucius II., the Pope at the time, showed no hostility to Stephen, though he did not renew the Bishop of Winchester's Legatine commission.

[4] R. de Monte, 1144, 1145. For Henry's Keep see *Id.* 1123; and Round, *sup.* 340, etc.

[5] See the quotation from a sermon to the Templars; 'The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, more sure if he is slain'; Milman, *Latin Ch.* III. 399.

nothing. In October 1149 he entered the mouth of the Rhone. Gaul and Germany had been drained of their means; the bones of their bravest sons whitened the plains of Asia Minor, but not a thing had been done towards either extending or strengthening the Christian position in the Holy Land.[1]

It was not to be expected that either Stephen or Geoffrey should join the expedition. But England was deeply stirred by the movement, and both England and Normandy supplied recruits of high and low degree. Among the former were Waleran of Meulan, the Earl of Surrey, Roger of Mowbray (the founder of Byland), Philip of Gloucester.[2] To a private armament recruited from the Rhine, Flanders, the *Boulonnais*, and the harbours of England fell the honour of having achieved the only success connected with the Second Crusade; namely, the recovery of Lisbon from the Moors. In the contingent furnished by our islands for this enterprise the English are pointedly distinguished from the Normans,[3] so that for once we may feel sure that the men called by that name were really such, and not, as with nineteen out of every twenty men whose deeds we record, mere foreigners, Normans, Angevins, Bretons, or Flemings settled on English soil. The final muster was held at Dartmouth; and, on the 23rd May, 1147, the allied fleet of one hundred and sixty-four vessels sailed from that port. Their original destination is not quite clear, but the programme evidently contemplated a certain amount of preying on Spanish and African commerce, and some protested against the diversion of the expedition to other objects.[4] On the 13th June they reached Oporto, where they found a pressing invitation from Alfonso, first King of Portugal, who was quite prepared for their coming, to join him in an attack on Lisbon. On the 28th of the month they landed in the Tagus. Operations were begun at once. On the 22nd October the Moors capitulated. As previously arranged with Alfonso, the whole plunder of the city was assigned to the adventurers. For five consecutive days the dispossessed inhabitants, a helpless multitude, streamed out of the gates to find homes elsewhere or die in the wilderness. Lisbon became the seat of a Bishopric, and received one Gilbert of Hastings as its first pastor.[5]

Expedition to Portugal.

Capture of Lisbon.

The headless state of England is reflected in the affairs of Church

[1] See Sismondi, *France*, V. 325-355; from William of Tyre; also G. W. Cox, *Crusades*. Henry of Huntingdon gives a good summary of events.

[2] Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 319; R. de Monte, *A.D.* 1146; *Gesta*, 121.

[3] "Nostri interim Normanni scilicet et Angli"; Osbern. *Memorials of Richard the First*, vol. I. clxv. (Bp. Stubbs, Rolls Series, No. 38).

[4] On this point see the position taken up by the men of Hastings and Southampton. *Id.* clvii.

[5] See the account by one Osbern, apparently an English priest, who was on the expedition, *sup.* cxliv.-clxxxii. Two letters on the subject are cited from Martene and

no less than in those of State. We have spoken of the troubles of William fitz Herbert—St. William of York[1]—who was consecrated Archbishop of York in September 1143, apparently in accordance with the requirements of Pope Innocent II.[2] Celestine II. acquiesced in his appointment, and Lucius II. actually sent a Pall to England for him, a most unusual, if not an unprecedented favour, as Archbishops were always required to go to Rome for their *Pallia*. But Lucius died before the sacred badge had been actually delivered (Feb. 1145); and the new Pope, Eugenius III., being a Cistercian, and entirely ruled by St. Bernard, the attack on the Archbishop was at once renewed. A fresh appeal against him was lodged at Rome, and the Cardinal Hicmar, or Hincmar, the bearer of the Pall, instead of delivering it, carried it back to Italy.[3] William then took the trouble of going to Rome in person, to defend himself and demand his rights. But Eugenius, at the bidding of St. Bernard, rejecting the alternative oath permitted by Innocent, suspended William until the oath as to the strictly canonical character of his election should have been taken by the Bishop of Durham,[4] and not by any substitute. The Archbishop, evidently aware that the Bishop would not speak for him, retired for a while to the Court of King Roger of Sicily (1146). Returning to England, he was welcomed by his friend the Bishop of Winchester, who, ignoring his suspension, entertained him for years with all the honours and precedence due to an Archbishop.[5] As William had anticipated, the Bishop of Durham would not take the oath. After a due interval of time, therefore, namely, at Easter (20th April) 1147, Eugenius, being then in France,[6] held a Council in Paris, and, in spite of much opposition, finally deposed William. By his orders a fresh election was taken in hand. The Chapter, unable to meet in the Cathedral city, through the hostility of the Earl of York (William of Aumale), went to Richmond, where they met on the 24th July. Robert of Ghent, Stephen's Chancellor and Dean of York (a Fleming of course), and Hugh of Puiset, a young Frenchman of high connexions, styled nephew to Stephen,[7] of whom we shall hear much, being at the time Treasurer

St. William of York

Suspended

And finally Deposed.

Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, I. 800; and Pertz, XVII. 27. All the chroniclers notice the expedition. [1] June 8th is his day in the Calendar. [2] Above, p. 422.

[3] 1144, 1145; Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* 317, 318.

[4] For St. Bernard's part in the matter see his letters, cited by Miss Norgate, I. 364; Nos. 235, 236, 238, 340 (Mabillon). The Bishop of Durham, of course, was William of Sainte-Barbe, who had been Dean of York when the other William was elected.

[5] Symeon, 318, 320; W. Newb. I. 55, 56.

[6] For his stay in France, see Sismondi, *France*, V. 525.

[7] Hugh was apparently the son of one Hugh, Lord of the castle of Puiset near Chartres, and hereditary Viscount of Chartres, by his wife Agnes. Symeon styles the son *nepos* to Stephen, but Stephen is not known to have had any sister of the name of Agnes. See Bp. Stubbs, Hoveden, III. xxxiii.

of York, proposed one Master Hilary, a great Canonist, and a Papal Chaplain. The Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, on the other hand, nominated Henry Murdac, a Cistercian recently appointed by St. Bernard to be Abbot of Fountains.[1]

Murdac was a Yorkshireman, though his surname suggests a Celtic origin; at any rate, he was a native, the second native Bishop appointed to an English See since the Conquest. He had been patronized by Thurstan; he stood high in the estimation of his Order. In 1135 he had been sent to found a new Cistercian Abbey at Vauclaire;[2] and from Vauclaire he was translated to Fountains.[3]

The double nomination having been reported to Eugenius, he decided in favour of Murdac, and himself consecrated him at Trèves on the 7th December, at the same time clenching the matter by investing him with his *Pallium*. But Murdac had yet to obtain possession of his See, and that involved a prolonged and unseemly struggle, not unattended with actual bloodshed.[4] Stephen would have nothing to say to him, and ordered the revenues of the See to be taken into hand. When he presented himself at York, Hugh of Puiset and the citizens closed the gates against him. He retired to Ripon, showering spiritual censures on his adversaries, and laying the city of York under Interdict. Hugh, not to be outdone, excommunicated him in return.[5] For nearly three years this state of things lasted. Stephen was doubtless offended at seeing an archbishop appointed without any application for his consent, and in direct opposition to the man whom he supported. But policy would have urged avoidance of so open a breach with the Papacy. We may here add that Hilary had been promptly consoled for the loss of York by promotion to the See of Chichester, to which he was consecrated by Theobald as early as the 3rd August, 1147.[6]

Henry Murdac Archbishop of York.

He is Kept out of his See.

Concurrently with these affairs we hear of a violent quarrel between Archbishop Theobald and the ex-Legate Henry of Winchester. Each appealed to the Pope, but the Archbishop, taking the law into his own hands, suspended the Bishop. With difficulty Stephen brought them to terms.[7]

[1] Symeon, *H.R. Cont.* 317, 320; Gervase, I. 134, 135, where the deposition of William is wrongly ascribed to the Council of Rheims, held in March, 1148.

[2] Dordogne?

[3] For Henry Murdac's earlier life the reader is referred to Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* 210.

[4] Some of the Fountains estates were ravaged, and an archdeacon was killed by the supporters of Archbishop William; Sym. *sup.* 318; W. Newb. I. 56.

[5] 1148. Symeon, *sup.* 320, 322; W. Newb. I. 55–57.

[6] Gervase, I. 132. Symeon, *sup.* 321; *Reg. Sacrum.*

[7] A.D. 1146. Symeon, 319. Eugenius found fault with Theobald for having acted without him; but otherwise we are told that he was not at all well disposed towards Stephen or his brother; *Ib.*

Two years later we have another most impolitic struggle, on which Stephen and his brother entered against Eugenius and Theobald, ending in the King's defeat. The Pope having summoned a Council to meet at Rheims in March, 1148,[1] the English prelates, like others, were required to attend. The Bishops of Hereford, Chichester, and Norwich were sent by Stephen. The Bishop of Winchester did not condescend to appear. Theobald applied in the usual course for leave to go, but met with a refusal. The King may have been unwilling to give the Archbishop an opportunity of meeting Angevin partizans abroad. But Winchester's refusal would be a mere insult to the Pope. Stephen, however, being bent on his purpose, set a watch at the ports, and told Theobald that if he dared to go he would not be allowed to return. Nevertheless the Archbishop made his way across the Channel in a crazy fishing-boat, with two attendants, Roger of Pont-l'Evêque and Thomas Becket, men already pitted against each other, but as yet only as rivals contending for the first place in Theobald's service.

Council at Rheims.

The King and the Pope.

On their arrival the three were received by the Council with acclamation, as men who, at the call of duty, had 'swum rather than sailed' across the Channel. The Bishops who had failed to attend were all suspended, Henry of Winchester in particular.[2] Eugenius would have excommunicated the King, but Theobald procured for him a respite of three months, just as Anselm had interceded for Rufus under similar circumstances.[3] So completely had Stephen's relations with the Papacy been revolutionized since the times of Pope Innocent II.

The Council over, Theobald returned to Canterbury. Stephen posted down from London and ordered him out of the country, at the same time seizing his revenues. Theobald retired to 'France,' moving from place to place.[4] Finally at the suggestion of the Queen and William of Ypres he settled at St. Omer, to be within easier reach of England. There on the 5th September he consecrated Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester, to be Bishop of Hereford under a nomination by the Pope. This was a fresh act of Papal aggression, and a plain blow at Stephen, as Foliot had always been a supporter of the Angevin cause. The King being still set against Theobald, the latter, under Papal directions, proceeded to lay all England under Interdict, to take effect as from the 12th September. Finding that little attention

Theobald Banished.

An Interdict.

[1] The proceedings began on the 21st March; *Canterbury Chronicle*; Liebermann, *Geschichtesquellen*, 80; Gervase, *ad loc.*, note Stubbs.

[2] Gervase, I. 138; *Epp. Foliot*, No. 76. The Bishop of Winchester had to earn pardon by going to Rome; Symeon, 322; *Hist. Pontif.* Pertz, xx. 520.

[3] See a letter of Becket, *Epp.* No. 250 (Robertson, VI. 57); Gervase, I. 134, 138; *Hist. Pontificalis, sup.* 519.

[4] Theobald was at Arras in July, and Gilbert Foliot with him; *Epp. Foliot*, No. 73.

was paid to this decree, except in his own diocese,[1] he left the Continent. Sailing from Gravelines, he landed on the rebellious coast of East Anglia, where he was entertained by the Earl of Norfolk at Framlingham. Bishops and others gathered round him, and the King, finding that he was getting the worst of it, gave in, and allowed the Archbishop to be taken back to Canterbury in triumph.[2]

The pacification was signalised by the dedication of Faversham Abbey, the King's foundation for Cluniac monks. On the 11th November one Clarembald was consecrated by Theobald as the first Abbot.

The King Vanquished.

As the Queen had been at Canterbury superintending the execution of the works, we may trace her hand in the reconciliation. Another consecration that followed eight days later was that of Robert of Chesney as Bishop of Lincoln, in succession to our old friend Bishop Alexander, who had died in February.[3]

Early in 1149 young Henry of Anjou, after an absence of less than two years, reappeared in England. Eustace, the eldest son of King Stephen, had been knighted by his father with all due pomp,

Third Visit of Young Henry.

and created Earl, in 1147.[4] It was not meet that the heir of the rival dynasty should be left behindhand in social distinction, and, accordingly, Henry was sent over mainly, if not solely, in order to be knighted, and knighted by the hand of his Royal great-uncle, David of Scotland.

Henry apparently landed at the family haven, Wareham, because on the 13th April he was at Devizes, where he sealed a charter in favour of the church of Salisbury. Among the attesting witnesses were Earl Roger of Hereford (son of Milo), and Patrick Earl of Salisbury, a creation not heard of before; also John the Marshal, William of Beauchamp, and Roger of Berkeley.[5] From Devizes we find Henry passing without resistance to the court of King David at Carlisle. At first sight the journey would seem a very hazardous one for a man in Henry's position, a de-

[1] *Hist. Pontif. sup.* 530, 532. Even at Canterbury the monks of St. Augustine's appealed against the decree. For the long quarrel that ensued, see Gervase, I. 136, 138.

[2] *Hist. Pontif.* 533; Gervase, I. 135, 136.

[3] *Id.* 138, 139; H. Hunt.

[4] "Militiæ cingulo . . . honoranter accinxit . . . eumque . . . ad consulatus apicem . . . provexit"; *Gesta*, 132. The reference to the *consulatus* is important because it tallies with charters cited by Mr. Howlett (*Gesta*, xxi.) of 1147–1148 in which Eustace first signes as *comes*. This corrects Henry of Huntingdon and John of Hexham (Sym. *H. R.* 323), who represent Eustace as having been knighted in 1149, after Henry had been knighted.

[5] *Sarum Charters*, No. 17 (Rolls Series, No. 97). Patrick of Salisbury was son of Walter (*Liber Niger Scacc.* 106), he again apparently being son of Edward the Standard Bearer of Brémule; J. G. Nichols; *Proc. Arch. Instit.* 1849; Round, *Mandeville*, 276. Roger of Berkeley had been taken prisoner by the Angevins in 1146 (*Gesta*, 121), and had probably changed sides to gain his liberty. Gervase, I. 140, represents Henry as landing in May, a slight inaccuracy.

cleared competitor for the Crown, with no great army to protect him. But in fact his path on the one side would be guarded by the sympathy of the Earls of Warwick, Meulan, and Leicester; the Severn Valley on the other side was mostly in the hands of friends; and so the personal escort of the Earl of Hereford would suffice until they had reached the territory of the Earl of Chester, who, again, was waiting to take him on to his destination.

Journey to Carlisle.

At Carlisle he was received with great rejoicing by David and his son Henry, the Earl of Northumberland, and there on Whitsunday, being the 22nd of May, Henry was duly invested with the belt and other insignia of knighthood (*cingulo militiæ*).[1] Later writers add that in return Henry pledged himself to confirm David and his heirs in all the possessions then held by him or his son in England. If the pledge was given it certainly was not kept.[2]

He is Knighted by David I.

Ralph of Chester had borne a lasting grudge against the Scottish King and his son on account of the Honour of Carlisle, formerly held by his father Ralph Meschin, but then in their hands. Now however he was prepared to make friends, and actually, we are told, did homage to King David. This singular proceeding should be viewed in connexion with certain ulterior schemes of which we hear, namely that Ralph's son should marry a granddaughter of the King; and that David should confer on the Earl the Honour of Lancaster, a private possession of King Stephen, to be conquered by them jointly. The plan suggests an idea on the part of the Earl of throwing off his connexion with the English Crown, and establishing an independent position, partly based on an alliance with Scotland. In pursuance of this plan David raised an army and advanced to Lancaster. The Earl was to have done the same from his side, but, strange to say, he never appeared, and so the Scots retired, and the whole scheme was dropped.[3] Of this sudden and mysterious change of policy on Ralph's part, and why he threw away the tempting prize that seemed so much within his reach, no explanation whatever is offered by the chroniclers. All that we hear from them is that Stephen, hearing of these movements, advanced to York, and remained there all August, waiting to be attacked; but that the Scots, who had returned to Carlisle, left the initiative to him, and that so no further operations took place.[4]

The Earl of Chester and King David.

A Sudden Change.

The truth of the matter would seem to be that Stephen had outbid King David and young Henry, and had offered the Earl, not only all the lands of Roger of Poitou, 'from Northampton to Scotland,' including of course the great Honour of Lancaster, with the lands 'between the Ribble and the Mersey'; not only the lands of

Stephen and the Earl of Chester.

[1] Gervase, I. 140, 141; Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* p. 322; H. Hunt. *Chron. Melrose.*
[2] So W. Newburgh, I. 70, "ut dicitur"; also R. Hoveden, A.D. 1148.
[3] Symeon, *sup.* [4] H. Hunt.

Roger of Bully with Tickhill-Blyth; not only the restoration of Lincoln, but also a vast array of other fiefs in central England, including Grimsby, Torksey, Mansfield, Belvoir, Rothley (Leicestershire), Stoneleigh, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and possibly Derby. All these, we are told, were either old Crown demesnes, or else forfeited estates in hand. A glance at the map will show that under this grant the Earl would command most of the country between lines drawn from the Wash to the South border of Cheshire on the South, and from the Humber to Morecambe Bay on the North.[1]

Henry leaves England.

Of young Henry's movements during the rest of this visit to England, where he stayed, or what he did, we know nothing. The next thing that we hear of him is that early in January, 1150, he went back to Normandy.[2] The Barons again had held at a distance, watching the course of events, and content with keeping Stephen at arm's length.

Stephen and the Papacy.

Stephen had not yet resigned himself to the primacy of Henry Murdac, St. Bernard's Archbishop of York. While in the North, watching the movements of the Scots, he inflicted a fine on the men of Beverley for having entertained Murdac. His son Eustace took up the matter in a very off-hand fashion, ordering Divine service to be resumed at York, notwithstanding the Interdict.[3] Equally impolitic was another gratuitous insult offered in the ensuing year (1150) to a Papal Legate, Cardinal John Paparo, bearer of Palls for four Archbishoprics to be established in Ireland, at Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. Having applied for leave to pass through England, he was told that he must first pledge himself to engage in no intrigues against the realm.[4] Much affronted the Cardinal went back to Rome, and eventually made his way to Ireland through Northumberland, landing at Tynemouth, and advancing to Hexham and Carlisle, where he was received with all honour by King David. Stephen's opposition to the passage of the Legate appears to have filled up the measure of his offences against Rome.[5]

The King's Son Eustace.

Lectures at Oxford on Civil Law.

Prompted by the same spirit of hostility to Rome and all things Roman, was Stephen's attempt to suppress the study of the Civil Law, introduced by Theobald. Under his protection one Vacarius, a Lombard, had been lecturing at Oxford with great success. By Stephen's orders his lectures were stopped, and the whole subject proscribed. But Roman Jurisprudence was only taken up with the greater ardour.[6]

[1] See J. H. Round, *English Hist. Review*, citing the charter given in Dugdale's *Baronage*, I. 39, which he assigns to this juncture. [2] Gervase, I. 102.

[3] Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* 323, 324; W. Newburgh, I. 56.

[4] "Nisi fidem daret . . . regno anglorum nullum damnum quærere."

[5] Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* 326. The Cardinal did not reach Ireland till late in 1151. For his mission, see *Hist. Pont. sup.* 518, 539; Giraldus Camb. V. 162; *Four Masters*.

[6] R. de Monte, A.D. 1149; Gervase, II. 384; John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus*, II. 357

Here we may notice the novel appeals to Rome of which we have such complaints.[1] Unknown before the Conquest, forbidden by the two Williams, they had received a sort of sanction from Henry I., who had found it convenient to negotiate with the Pope in his struggle with Anselm. Under Stephen they grew and multiplied beyond measure. Every petty squabble was referred to Rome. If a Monastery quarrelled with their abbot, or a Chapter with their bishop; if a canonical election resulted in a double nomination, the Pope was called in to decide.[2] Theobald battled manfully for his rights, dealing spiritual censures right and left at his adversaries; but without the King to back him up he was powerless to stay the evil. The Bishop of Winchester was taxed with having encouraged these invocations of Papal interference;[3] but they were evidently due to the general disorganization of the Kingdom, and the division of ecclesiastical authority caused by the Bishop's appointment as Legate over Theobald's head.

Appeals to Rome.

(Giles). Neither the time when Vacarius began to lecture, nor that when he was put to silence are clearly given. De Monte seems to give 1149 as the year when he began; but I think that it is really given as the year when he published Excerpts from the *Codex* and the *Digest* for the use of his pupils, who had become very numerous. Gervase (*sup.*) seems to throw back the invitation to Vacarius to come to England to the time of Celestine (1143–1144), connecting it with Theobald's wish to define the powers of a *Legatus a latere*, and to regulate the right of appeal to Rome.

[1] H. Hunt. A.D. 1151; Gervase, I. 147; II. 384; "Appellationes antea inauditæ."

[2] See *e.g.* the appeal of Jeremiah, Prior of Christ Church Canterbury, against Theobald (Gervase, I. 126, 127); the appeal of the monks of St. Augustine's against the Archbishop's Interdict in 1147 (*Id.* I. 136); the appeal of the Hyde monks against their abbot and the Bishop of Winchester in 1149 (*Ann. Winton.*). For other cases, besides that of York, see Foliot, *Epp.* Nos. 39, 42, 43, 52, etc.

[3] H. Hunt. A.D. 1151.

CHAPTER XXVIII

STEPHEN (*continued*)

A.D. 1150–1154

Efforts of Stephen to have his son Eustace declared Heir to the Throne—Death of Count Geoffrey of Anjou—Divorce of Eleanor of Aquitaine from Louis VII., and her re-marriage to Henry of Anjou—Operations in Normandy—Fourth visit of Henry to England—Death of Stephen's son Eustace—Pacification of Winchester—Death of Stephen

STEPHEN, when it was too late, was made to realize the folly of the conduct by which he had irritated and alienated the heads of the Church.

Shortly after his return to Normandy, (January, 1150), young Henry, now a duly belted Knight, had been invested with the Duchy of Normandy by his father.[1] It behoved Stephen therefore to to make a move on behalf of his son Eustace. The obvious thing was to get him recognized as Heir to the Throne. An appeal to a grand Council or Witenagemot of Magnates spiritual and lay, would have been the constitutional course. Unfortunately an overwhelming majority of the Baronage was opposed to Stephen.[2] The Earls created by him had mostly gone over to the other side, while those created by the Empress had kept true, at least true to their opposition to the King. Stephen therefore had to turn to the clergy. From Theobald nothing could be expected; but terms might be made with Henry Murdac. Accordingly Eustace had a private interview with him and made friends. A gracious reception by the King followed. On the

Henry, Duke of Normandy.

[1] R. de Monte.

[2] Clearly opposed to Stephen we have the Earls of Gloucester, Hereford, Meulan, Leicester, Warwick, Norfolk, Chester, Pembroke, Herts, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Salisbury. Against these we can only set the Earls of York, Arundel or Sussex, Derby (Robert of Ferrars II.), Northampton, Richmond (Conan son of Allan), and Oxford. That Alberic de Vere had gone over to Stephen may be gathered from the fact that Queen Matilda died under his roof in 1152. The position of the Earldom of Lincoln at this time is a mystery. Apparently it had been taken from William of Roumare, who was still living, and had a son and grandsons. The Peerages give Gilbert of Ghent as Earl of Lincoln at this time. Yet Roumare signs as Earl in 1152; (below, 448). The Earl of Pembroke, whom from the family politics of recent years I reckon on the Angevin side, was the famous Richard Strongbow, son of Gilbert the first Earl, who died in 1148. Doyle, *G.E.C. Peerage.*

25th January, 1151, the Archbishop was at last installed at York. Shortly afterwards he started for Rome, to fulfil his part of the compact, that is to say, to press for the recognition of Eustace by Eugenius.[1] But Stephen had now sinned beyond forgiveness. The Pope was still smarting under a sense of the affront offered to his Legate, and not only refused to 'hallow and confirm' Eustace, but even wrote forbidding the English Bishops to do so.[2] We are told that the prohibition was expressly based on the ground that Stephen 'had snatched the crown in violation of his oath.'[3] 'Thus at last, after much hesitation, had Rome uttered the decisive word, and declared *ex cathedra* that Stephen was a usurper, and that his son had no right to succeed.'[4]

Henry Murdac Installed at York.

But events were hurrying onwards towards the conclusion of the weary drama. On the 18th March (1151) we hear of a Synod held in London by Theobald, now at last invested with Legatine authority, at which Stephen and Eustace are said to have assisted. But the only outcome was a fresh crop of appeals to Rome, three being entered against the Bishop of Winchester alone.[5] We next hear of Eustace as being sent to France, on a visit to Louis, to ascertain the chances of support in an attempt to regain Normandy. This would be a set-off to Henry's descents on England. For French interests under the circumstances the one thing to be desired was that England and Normandy should be kept apart. Otherwise it mattered little whether they were united in the hands of a Count of Anjou, or in those of a scion of the hostile House of Blois. This consideration had probably induced Louis to accept Geoffrey as Duke of Normandy, Stephen being in possession of England. But Louis at the time that we have now reached, was incensed with Geoffrey, who was attacking the castle of Montreuil-Bellay,[6] on the Southern border of Anjou. The place was held by one Gerald Berlai, a man held in particular esteem by the King. In his wrath he took up the cause of Eustace, and led an army into Normandy, advancing as far as Arques. There Duke Henry boldly confronted him, with a mixed force of Normans, Angevins, and Bretons. It would seem that he was disposed to give battle, but that his advisers told him that it would not be proper

Eustace in France.

Normandy Invaded.

[1] Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* 325. [2] *Id.* and H. Hunt. A.D. 1152.

[3] "Quia Stephanus regnum contra jusjurandum præripuisse videbatur"; H. Hunt.

[4] Rössler, *Mathilde*, 395. Stephen, when it was too late, endeavoured to make it up with Cardinal Paparo, inviting him to Court on his return from Ireland in 1153. It does not appear, however, that anything came of the King's efforts; Sym. *H. R. Cont.*

[5] H. Hunt. Bernard of Clairvaux was said to be one of the accusing parties. Henry again went to Rome and eventually succeeded in clearing himself; *Ann. Winton.*; *Hist. Pontif. sup.* 522.

[6] Maine et Loire. The siege began in 1149, and lasted parts of three years. For details, see Miss Norgate, I. 384.

to attack his over-lord without having received some further provocation. Louis retired, and there the inroad ended.

As desultory in his warfare as Stephen himself, Louis called out another force in August, and sent them down the left bank of the Seine, to the neighbourhood of Mantes. Geoffrey, who had at last reduced Montreuil, and taken Berlai prisoner, came down to assist his son in guarding the Norman frontier. Louis was in Paris detained by illness.[1] Negotiations for an arrangement were opened, one of the mediators being no less a person than St. Bernard himself.[2] Geoffrey, a prudent politician, was prepared not only to give up his prisoner Berlai, but even to cede the Norman Vexin—the old battle-ground between the Epte and the Andelle—if Louis would invest young Henry with the rest of Normandy. On these terms Louis accepted Henry's homage.[3]

Henry Recognised by Louis VII.

Highly pleased with this settlement of affairs, Geoffrey and Henry hastened from Paris to prepare for an immediate invasion of England. The 14th September was fixed for the muster, but the Count did not live to see the day. A week before the time, on the 7th September, he passed away in the prime of his manhood, in fact just as he was entering on his thirty-ninth year. He died at Château du Loir, of a fever brought on by bathing in a river when he was in a state of excessive heat (fatigue?). His last advice to his son was always to respect local feelings, and never to attempt to introduce the customs of one part of his dominions into another.[4] Altogether we may give the handsome "Giffrei Plante Geneste"[5] a high place among the rulers of the period for sobriety of judgment and consistency of purpose.

Death of Geoffrey, "Plante Geneste."

By the death of his father, Henry, now in his nineteenth year, found himself Lord of Anjou and Maine, as well as of Normandy. But a further vast accession of territorial dominion was about to follow. Louis VII. and Eleanor of Aquitaine had been married for more than fourteen years.[6] For more than ten years their lives had been unruffled by any recorded difference. Louis' fondness had insisted on the company of his wife during the Crusade; and her devotion had not shrunk from the perils of the journey. A first jar, apparently, occurred on their reaching Antioch, in March, 1148. They were welcomed there by her uncle Raymond, Count of the place. But he was

Louis VII. and Eleanor of Aquitaine.

[1] R. de Monte.

[2] So the *Life of St. Bernard*, printed among his works by Mabillon, I. c. 1135; cited Norgate.

[3] *Hist. Ludov. VII.*, Bouquet, XII. 127; *Chron. Regg. Fran. Ibid.* 213; Gauf. Vos. *Id.* 437, Norgate; Sismondi; R. de Monte. The last, however, has no reference to the cession of the Vexin.

[4] R. de Monte; *Gesta Coss.* 156 (Marchegay, *Contes*), and *Hist. Gauf. Ibid.* 292; Norgate.

[5] *R. Rou*, line 10,300 (ed. Andresen); and Bouquet, XII. 474.

[6] They were married in July 1137; Orderic, 911.

deeply disappointed and annoyed to find that Louis could not be induced to employ his resources in attacking Aleppo, or any other of the strongholds by which Antioch was harassed. High words followed. Eleanor, a woman of spirit, shared her uncle's feelings, and perhaps from that time began to think that after all she was married to a man who had in him more of the monk than the King.[1] Still they kept together in domestic union, and in fact their second daughter was not born till after their return to France in November in 1149. But estrangement was creeping in, and the possibility of a divorce being taken into consideration.[2]

Towards the close of 1151 the Royal pair went down for a progress through the Queen's possessions. Christmas was kept at Limoges. But in January (1152) Abbot Suger of St. Denys, Louis' Minister, who had resisted the divorce, paid the debt of nature.[3] Louis then, as if preparing for a separation, began to withdraw his garrisons from Eleanor's strongholds. In March a Synod of the Gallican Church was held at Beaugency on the Loire, in the presence both of Louis and Eleanor.[4] A sworn information was put in by friends of the King,[5] averring that he and the Queen were related within the prohibited degrees. Louis and Eleanor, apparently, without either traversing or supporting the allegation, left the matter in the hands of the clergy, who, without further enquiry, dissolved the marriage (March 18).[6]

Divorce of Louis and Eleanor.

A divorce decreed under such circumstances can only be regarded as a separation by mutual consent,[7] effected under cover of the rules of the Church, whose preposterous stringency, however well meant, simply made for laxity. Hardly a marriage in the ruling classes of the time could have stood the test of the Tenth Degree.[8]

The hand that could dispose of one-third of the soil of Gaul did not long go a-begging. Hastening to leave 'France' for her own dominions, Eleanor encountered a first suitor at Blois, in the person of the young Count Theobald, second son of Stephen's brother Theobald the Great, who had also died in January.[9] Making her escape from Theobald by a

[1] See Sismondi, *France*, V. 348, 378; "Causante se monacho non regi nupsisse;" W. Newb. I. 92, 93. See also *Hist. Pontif. sup.* 537.

[2] See the protests of Abbot Suger, warning the King of the folly of giving in to such a step; *Vita Sugeri*, Bouquet, XII. 104; cited Norgate, and *Epp. Suger.* No. 69. Suger died in January 1152. [3] 13th January; *Vita Sugeri*, Bouquet, XII. 111, 113.

[4] So *Hist. Lud. VII. sup.*

[5] "Consanguinei Regis . . . . juramentum executi sunt." *Id.*

[6] See *Hist. Lud. VII.* Bouquet, XII. 127; *Chron. Turon. Id.* 474; Geoff. Vigeois, *Id.* 437; *Gesta Lud. VII.* Duchesne, *Hist. Fr. Scriptt.* IV. 431; W. Newb. I. 93; Sismondi, V. 398; Norgate, I. 392.

[7] So the *Gesta Lud. VII.* Duchesne, *sup.* "Per consensum partium matrimonium dissolutum."

[8] Eleanor was more nearly related to her second husband Henry than to Louis; Norgate.

[9] Theobald left three sons; Henry who became Count of Troyes and Champagne;

night ride to Tours, the ex-Queen found herself encountered by the overtures of another suitor, young Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's brother, who, to simplify matters, was preparing to intercept the lady at Le Port-de-Piles (*Vienne*), as she passed from Touraine into Poitou.[1] But Eleanor had made up her mind as to the man whom she was resolved to marry. In answer to an intimation, conveyed we must hope with all due regard for feminine delicacy, the young Duke of Normandy hastened to Poitiers, and there in the Whitsun week (May 18–24) was married to Eleanor.[2] "Young in years, in wisdom old,"[3] Henry was now master of a territory that would enable him to march on his own land from the Channel to the Pyrenees.

Marriage of Duke Henry and Eleanor.

After a short honeymoon Henry, about the end of June, went down to Barfleur to carry out the invasion of England agreed upon in the previous autumn. But at once he found himself threatened by a coalition in his rear, a coalition that included King Louis and his brother Robert of Dreux, styled Count of Perche in right of his wife, the widow of Rotrou, who died in 1144; the young Count Henry of Champagne, and his brother Théobald of Blois;[4] Eustace; and his own younger brother Geoffrey of Anjou. His extensive dominions were to be attacked on all sides and broken up.

A Coalition.

Entering Normandy Louis laid siege to Neufmarché, a small place just outside the newly ceded Norman Vexin.[5] On the 16th July Henry left Barfleur to succour Neufmarché. He did not arrive in time to save the place; but Louis at his approach fell back on Chaumont, in the French Vexin, leaving Henry free to harry the Norman Vexin, now no longer Norman.

Invasion of Normandy.

Louis Retires,

About the middle of August the King made a flank movement, taking his army across the Seine at Meulan. Henry met this by crossing the river by the bridge at Vernon, himself pushing on from thence with a flying column towards Verneuil, which he thought was to be attacked. An urgent message recalled him to Pacy, as the place really threatened, and to Pacy he returned, by a forced march of so desperate a character that his men's horses dropped by the way.[6] But Normandy was saved from invasion. Louis again declining an encounter, retired the same day to Mantes. Henry then went back to Verneuil, to forestall attacks by Robert of Dreux, who had an ally in Richer of Laigle. Brézolles[7] and another place be-

Advances Again,

And Again Draws Back.

Theobald who became Count of Chartres and Blois; and Stephen who received the lordship of Saucerre in Berry; R. de Monte, A.D. 1152. [1] *Chron. Turon. sup.*

[2] Gervase, I. 149; R. de Monte; *Chron. Turon. sup.*

[3] "Puer annis mente senilis;" H. Hunt. A.D. 1153; "Henricus moribus quiddam senile præferens"; Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 323.

[4] See above, p. 444, note. [5] Seine Inf. near Gournay.

[6] From Pacy to Verneuil is 30 miles as the crow flies, and was probably 40 miles by road. [7] Eure et Loire, between Dreux and Verneuil.

longing to Robert were burnt; Richer was forced to give hostages, and a nest of desperadoes established by him at Bonmoulins[1] was dispersed.

Henry then, after leaving garrisons to defend the Norman frontier, went South, about the end of August, to deal with his rebellious brother. His chief supporters were driven into Montsoreau.[2] The reduction of the castle and other reverses brought Geoffrey to his knees. In all these operations Henry certainly showed a vigour not unworthy of his maternal ancestry.

Henry in Anjou.

Louis having agreed to a truce, Henry returned to the sea-coast intending to sail. But the truce having been shortly renounced by Louis, he remained where he was, till an urgent message from his friends in England brought him over in January (1153).[3]

The chief domestic events of the years 1150 and 1151 have already been mentioned. The war languished without actually dying out. In the former year Stephen made a rush across the country, and sacked and burned the city of Worcester, that he himself had placed in the hands of the Earl of Meulan, formerly his great friend, but now his enemy. Regard for his possessions in Normandy had induced Waleran to change sides. Worcester Castle however held out, and so the King returned to the charge in the following year, laying close siege to the fortress, and building two counter-forts—his usual practice. But again, as was his way,[4] having done that much he went off, without waiting to see the enterprise brought to an end. Waleran's brother of Leicester then came to the rescue, captured the King's counter-forts, and undid all his work.[5]

The War in England.

Sieges of Worcester.

The failure of Stephen's efforts at Rome to obtain recognition of Eustace as the Heir to the Crown (1151) have already been noticed. Clinging above all things to the hope of his son's succession, in Lent, 1152, the King summoned a Grand Council of Magnates, Spiritual and Lay, to meet in London.[6] His proposal was not merely that they should swear allegiance to Eustace as his heir, but that Eustace should be actually hallowed and crowned King by anticipation, a step without precedent in England, but one known in France, where several Kings had adopted it with success. But Theobald and his bishops were prepared with their answer. The Pope had forbidden it, and the thing could not be done. Stephen and Eustace were furious. They endeavoured, as their way was, to get the better of the spiritual authority by physical force. They surrounded the

Eustace and the Succession.

A Hostile Council.

[1] Orne, on the Iton.
[2] Maine et Loire, near Saumur.
[3] R. de Monte, the only account, summarised by Gervase.
[4] "Quia mos regius erat quod multa strenue inciperet, et segniter exsequeretur."
[5] H. Hunt.
[6] "Generali consilio . . . episcopis et proceribus"; Gervase; 6th April, *Chron. Canterbury*, Liebermann, p. 82.

building in which the clergy were assembled, threatening them with personal arrest. As Henry of Huntingdon remarks, it would not be the first time that Stephen had laid hands on bishops. But the clergy stood firm, and Stephen had to let them go. Theobald crossed the Thames to Lambeth, and then to avoid further pressure went down to Dover, and thence once more across the Channel into exile.[1]

It would seem that the credit of having obtained the Papal prohibition was afterwards claimed for the diplomatic action of Thomas Becket.[2] He doubtless, had been sent by Theobald to frustrate the efforts of Henry Murdac, the Archbishop of York. Becket may have done something, but Eugenius, as we have seen, had reasons of his own enough for acting as he did. Stephen had forfeited all right to look for any further support from the Papacy.

No other course remaining open to him, Stephen now drew the sword with greater vigour. He attacked and actually reduced the castle at Newbury. No such success had attended his efforts since 1147, when he captured the strongholds of the Earl of Herts. He then went on to attack Wallingford, the unsubdued stronghold of Brian fitz Count, that still hampered all the King's communications with Oxford and the West.

Siege of Wallingford. The old counter-work at Crowmarsh, facing Wallingford Bridge,[3] was restored, and the siege pressed with such earnestness, that the garrison, finding themselves in real danger, sent a pressing message to the man whom they regarded as their feudal Lord, Duke Henry. They preferred the usual alternative request, demanding either succour within a given time, or leave to capitulate.[4]

Fourth Visit of Henry to England. Henry answered the summons in person. Within the Octaves of the Epiphany (January 6–12, 1153) he landed in England[5] for a fourth time.

The young Duke of course brought with him a force very superior to any that had accompanied him on his former visits. But his friends, who perhaps had formed exaggerated ideas of his resources, were again disappointed with their numbers. The Archdeacon of Huntingdon consoled himself with the thought that Henry's glory would eventually be the greater because he brought so 'few' (*paucos*).[6] William of Newburgh in

[1] H. Hunt.; Gervase, I. 150, 151. The *Canterbury Chronicle* (Liebermann, *sup.*) tells us that a few (*nonnullis*) of the magnates did homage to Eustace on the occasion of this Council. That corrects the impossible assertion of the *Waverley Annals* that all accepted him.

[2] So Gervase, the Canterbury writer.

[3] "In ipso pontis ingressu"; H. Hunt. "Castrum Coraveinense"; R. de Monte, A.D. 1153. See above, 426.

[4] H. Hunt; Gervase. Reginald of Cornwall had been sent over in the spring to press for help; R. de Monte.

[5] R. de Monte. Gervase writing long after the time, ventures to fix the day as actually the 6th January.

[6] See the poetical effusion evidently written on receipt of the news of Henry's landing, A.D. 1153.

like manner speaks of his 'small band' (*parvam manum*). Fortunately, however, he gives the numbers that the 'small band' was supposed to comprise, namely, 140 men-at-arms and 3,000 foot-soldiers,[1] a substantial army according to our ideas. With this estimate we may compare the statement of Robert of Torigny (*De Monte*) who, being Claustral Prior of Bec at the time, had every means of learning the facts, and he says that Henry sailed with thirty-six ships. If we might assume that a ship would carry either 100 men or 20 to 25 horses, the two accounts would tally exactly. If Henry's army was not as large as some people had hoped that it would be, we must remember that with the enemies that he left behind him he could not denude Normandy of its garrisons.

His Army.

As already intimated, the Duke's appearance was not unexpected. The old followers of the Empress flocked to greet their young lord. Among them, if we may style him an old follower of the Empress, came the unblushing Earl of Chester. He came, of course, to apologise for his desertion in 1149; and to hold out his hand for fresh grants to insure more faithful service for the future. Henry accepting the situation, as his mother and Stephen had done, made him immediate grants of all the Honour of Roger of Poitou, *i.e.* Lancaster, and much besides; of all the fief of William Peverel, including the town and castle of Nottingham, with Derby and Stafford, and the most of Staffordshire. "Fief after fief" was promised in the future, with the Avranchin in Normandy, to be created into "a kind of Palatinate" for him. This would be conceded to him as grand-nephew to the former Earl, Hugh of Avranches.[2] On these terms he joined the Duke.

Henry and his followers held a council of war to concert plans. An attack on Malmesbury was resolved upon, as the first thing to be taken in hand. The outer works (*castrum*) were stormed, but the impregnable Keep (*turris*)[3] could only be reduced by blockade. A call for help from the Constable, one Jourdan, brought Stephen to the scene of action. Approaching Malmesbury from the East with a well appointed army, in battle array, he encountered a bitter storm of wind and sleet; still he held on till he reached the banks of the Avon, there a little stream, but, at the time, swollen by snow and rain. The Angevins, with the storm at their backs, held the other side. Unable to

Reduction of Malmesbury.

[1] *Hist. Angl.* I. 88.

[2] See *Cotton Charters*, XVII. 2; translated Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. 39; J. Horace Round, *Engl. Hist. Review*, X. 91; also his Life of the Earl in the *Nat. Dictionary*. The grant of the fief of William Peverel "proved a fatal acquisition, for to poison at his hand was attributed the death of the Earl this very year;" *Ib.*; Gervase, I. 155. Ralph died on the 16th December, 1153; Dugdale, *Baronage*, I. 40. Among the witnesses attesting Henry's charter are William [of Roumare], Earl of Lincoln, and one William 'Chancellor.'

[3] On the importance of distinguishing between *castrum* and *turris* see Round, *Mandeville*, 328, etc.

effect a crossing, and giving way as usual to the first check, Stephen went back to London.[1]

The Keep at Malmesbury having surrendered, Henry hastened to succour the faithful Brian, now at the end of his resources. A wooden tower built by Stephen on the very bridge was stormed, Wallingford revictualled, and the great counter-work at Crowmarsh completely invested. To cut off all possibility of communication with the exterior, Henry entrenched himself within a continuous palisade, drawn all round the enemy's position, and provided with but one outlet, and that towards Wallingford. Again Stephen came to the rescue. Henry, nothing loth, went out to meet him. This time there was no Avon to keep the armies apart. Stephen, who probably felt that time was against him, was most anxious for action. Henry was no less ready. But again the Barons, who dreaded most the final victory of either side, refused to cross swords in earnest. Their reluctant suzerains were compelled to sign a short truce, but Stephen betrayed a sense of weakness by consenting to demolish his fort at Crowmarsh.[2] We then hear of a confidential parley held by Stephen and Henry across a narrow arm of the Thames, when the possibility of a pacification was discussed, but nothing settled.[3]

Operations round Wallingford.

A Truce.

If we except the abortive negotiations of 1140 and 1146, which presumably involved some suspension of hostilities, this Wallingford truce, said to have been granted for five days and no more, is the only armistice of which we know anything since the final outbreak of the war in 1138. A struggle kept up with such persistency was a rare thing in mediæval days, when campaigns were usually of short duration.

Following up these first advantages, Henry now undertook an armed progress through the central districts of England, with excellent results. His first steps, however, were directed to the head-quarters at Bristol;[4] we next find him attacking Winchcomb,[5] captured by Stephen in 1146; after that we hear of him at Evesham.[6] From Evesham he advanced to Warwick. Earl Roger's sympathies had always followed the Angevin cause, little as he had done for the Empress or her son. But in fact his hands were tied, as Stephen had a garrison in Warwick Castle. The Earl however died about this time, and his wife or widow, Gondrade of Warenne, taking a decided line, expelled Stephen's men and admitted the

Ducal Progress.

Warwick.

[1] H. Hunt.; Gervase, I. 151, 152; W. Newb. *sup.*

[2] "Inducias igitur inter se rex duxque constituerunt coacti nolentes;" H. Hunt.; Gervase, I. 153, 154; R. de Monte.

[3] *Id.*

[4] See *Trésor des Chartes*, I. 73; cited Howlett, in R. de Monte.

[5] So I render "Wicumb," MS. Addl. 31,943, f. 101, cited Howlett *sup.* Wycombe in Bucks would be out of the way.

[6] *Monasticon* (ed. 1635), I. 884, cited as above.

Duke.[1] From Warwick he would advance to Leicester,[2] where Earl Robert had been at war with Stephen for years. The next point was Stamford, where a siege had to be undertaken. The town was soon carried, the castle as usual holding out. Stephen at the time was in East Anglia, pressing Ipswich, which had been seized by Hugh Bigod. A pressing call for help was sent by the garrison of Stamford to Ipswich, but the King, for once, refused to be turned from the work in hand. Ipswich fell; but the gain was counterbalanced by the loss of Stamford Castle, which surrendered to Henry. His next move was to Nottingham, the stronghold of William Peverel. The town again opened its gates to him, but the men in the castle forced him to retire by firing the place from end to end.[3] Thus for the second time within thirteen years was Nottingham reduced to ashes.

Leicester.

Stamford.

Nottingham.

At this point the situation was completely changed by the sudden death of the King's eldest son. Another rough brutal soldier,[4] Eustace had none of the engaging qualities of his father, and his tenacity had been the chief obstacle to a settlement.[5] Furious with the King for having consented even to talk of peace, he had left his camp at Wallingford to roam on his own account, through East Anglia, just like a wild beast in quest of prey. Cambridge was honoured with a visit by him. His career ended at Bury St. Edmunds. The monks had received him with all hospitality, but refused a subvention in money. In revenge, on the 10th August, St. Laurence's Day, he sent out his men to seize the Abbey crops. About a week later he died, obviously struck down by the arm of the injured Saint on whose rights he had ventured to trample.[6]

Death of the King's Son Eustace.

Just one hundred and forty years before the like transgression had brought down the same penalty on the head of the barbaric Swein. Two younger sons the King had, one, William, already married or betrothed to the daughter and heiress of the late William of Warenne III., Earl of Surrey, who had fallen in the Crusade.[7] On the other hand, Stephen's cause had been further weakened by the death of his noble wife,[8] and by the loss of two faithful partisans, namely the Earl of Surrey, just named,

[1] Robert de Monte. He seems to imply that the Earl was already dead: he died June 12 (Doyle); but the writer's sequence of events cannot be depended upon.

[2] See Gervase, I. 152.

[3] H. Hunt.; R. de Monte; Gervase, I. 155; W. Newb. I. 89.

[4] "Militia quidem probatus, sed in ea quæ Dei sunt obstinatus, rectoribus ecclesiarum durissimus," etc., H. Hunt. p. 228. "He was an yvel man . . . he dide mare yvel thanne god" (good); Chron. E. The writer of the *Gesta* does his best for Eustace, but has to dwell most on his martial qualities; p. 132. [5] W. Newb. I. 90.

[6] R. de Monte; Gervase, *sup.*; 17th August, *Chron. Canterbury* (Liebermann), 82.

[7] 13th January, 1148; *Lewes Cartulary*, MS. Cott. Vesp., XV. 89b, cited Round, *Antient Charters*, 50.

[8] 3rd May, 1152; Gervase, I. 151; Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* 327. She died at Heveningham in Suffolk, a seat of the Earl of Oxford; De Monte; Sandford, *Geneal. History.*

and Simon of St. Liz II., Earl of Northampton.[1] Young William had not taken any active part in the war, and his father did not wish to involve him in the struggles of a disputed succession. At the death of Eustace the Bishop of Winchester, who, as the man who had done most to make his brother King, must have felt some compunctions at the terrible consequences of that act,[2] pressed forward to mediate. Theobald, returning from exile, found a field on which he could co-operate with his old rival.[3] After two months of negotiation, terms were adjusted. They were strictly in the nature of a compromise, each party conceding something in order to secure something. The essence of the scheme was that Stephen during his life should be recognised as King, and King of all England, not merely of the districts that had accepted his rule;[4] that Henry at his death should succeed to the crown; while the King's son William would succeed to all private possessions that his father had enjoyed either in England or Normandy before coming to the throne, besides retaining whatever else he might have in right of his wife or otherwise in either country. The county of Mortain and the castles of Bellencombre and Mortemer were specially named.[5] Boulogne of course would pass to young William without mention. Ancillary provisions stipulated for the cessation of all acts of war, the dismissal of foreign mercenaries, and the demolition of castles built since the death of the late King.[6] Stephen also promised to consult the Duke in the conduct of the affairs of the realm.[7] Later writers add a large programme of social reform for securing to the King his rights as such, with peace and prosperity to the nation at large.[8] But of all this the chronicles of the time say nothing.

The Succession.

A Compromise.

On the 6th November Henry was received in state at Winchester by the King, and presented to a Grand Council of Magnates convened to accept and ratify the compact already settled.[9] Stephen declared Henry his heir to the throne, and promised to 'cherish him as a son,'[10] a phrase expounded by the chroniclers as meaning actual adoption. Henry did homage, and swore allegiance to Stephen; and young William did the like to Henry; while the Earls and Barons of the Duke's party, 'who had never at any time been Stephen's

Pacification of Winchester.

[1] August 10–17, 1153; H. Hunt.

[2] See H. Hunt., p. 289.

[3] H. Hunt.; Symeon, *H. R. Cont.* 331; Gervase, I. 156.

[4] See the significant words of his Proclamation: "Tam in parte ducis quam in parte mea." [5] Seine Inf. See the Proclamation below.

[6] Symeon, *sup.*; R. Monte. Most MSS. of the latter give the number of castles as 1115. One MS. gives them as 375.

[7] "In negotiis regni consilio ducis operabor." John of Hexham (the Continuator of Symeon) and Gervase expand this into the grant of an actual regency to Henry.

[8] See Ralph of Diceto, *Scriptt. Decem.* 527; also Rolls Series, No. 68, I. 296; R. Hoveden, I. 212. [9] R. Monte. [10] "Sicut filium."

men,'[1] became such now. As he himself records the fact, we have here a fresh admission on Stephen's part that he never had been King of all England. In return Stephen's Earls and Barons did homage to the Duke, saving their allegiance to the King, during his life. The duty of enforcing observance of the treaty was committed to the Church, the Archbishops and Bishops being authorised to visit any infringement with ecclesiastical censures.[2]

The Church certainly had played a wonderful part during the reign. It had clearly made Stephen King in the first instance; it had affected to raise Matilda to the throne in his stead; it had finally cut off the succession of his heirs. As for the Barons, the compromise would suit them well enough. They could still play off the one prince against the other.

From Winchester the whole concourse adjourned to London, where, as we may well believe, they were received with unprecedented rejoicings.

Adjournment to London.

After all those years of agony, the prospect of peace would be something too good to be true. A proclamation was issued making known the terms of the compact,[3] but for Christmas the two parties thought it better to separate. They came together again, however, on the 13th January, 1154, at Oxford.

The meeting passed off without a cloud.[4] Not so one held a little later at Dunstable, when Henry ventured to complain of the slow rate at which the demolition of the 'adulterine' castles[5] of the King's allegiance was proceeding. Stephen's answer, we are told, was rather stiff.[6] No breach however ensued, as we next hear of a joint progress through Canterbury to Dover (February), to hold a conference with Dietrich of Flanders and his Countess. She was Henry's aunt, Sibylle of Anjou, his father's sister, divorced relict of young William of Normandy, Robert's son. But the Flemings were closely bound up with Stephen and his party. On the way back to Canterbury Henry was informed of a plot laid by some of the Flemings, presumably Stephen's mercenaries, to take his life. Acting on the hint he hastened on to Rochester and London, and from thence he took ship to Normandy, where he landed about Easter (4th April).[7]

Friendly Meeting.

A Progress to Dover.

Henry Returns to Normandy.

[1] "Comites et Barones Ducis qui homines mei nunquam fuerunt." These are Stephen's own words.

[2] *Fœdera*, I. 18, from the *Red Book* of the Exchequer (now printed by Mr. H. Hall, Rolls Series, No. 99); Bromton, *Scriptt. Decem.* 1037; there seems to be no reason for holding that the treaty was negotiated at Wallingford. The reference to Wallingford in Roger of Wendover is evidently based on the events of the spring.

[3] *Fœd.*, and Bromton, *sup.*

[4] H. Hunt. The writer introduces here the homages to Henry, evidently rendered at Winchester, but not previously noticed by him. So too Gervase, I. 157.

[5] "Munitiones adulteræ"; W. Newb. I. 94. Bishop Stubbs points out that the term was not peculiar to England, see above, 256.

[6] H. Hunt.; Gervase, *sup.*

[7] Gervase, 158; R. de Monte.

Stephen's return from the coast was attended by an unfortunate accident, that was thought to portend further troubles in the future. On the way from Dover to Canterbury his son William was thrown from his horse and broke his thigh.[1]

In any case it was wise of the young Duke to retire from England where his stay might easily have caused dangerous friction. Besides he had affairs in Normandy to look to, and we might even give him credit for a wish to see his bride and the infant son and heir born in his absence.[2]

Stephen appears to have done his best to fulfil his part of the compact with Henry. In the summer he undertook a progress to the North, partly we are told to enjoy the luxury of being peaceably received by all as King; partly to suppress illegal strongholds. He was at York during harvest-time, and we hear in particular of the forcible reduction of Drax, a petty fortress on the Ouse.[3] Towards Michaelmas Stephen returned to London for an ecclesiastical Synod, to which we shall presently refer. In October he went once more to Dover, for an interview with the Count of Flanders. Shortly afterwards he was attacked there by some bowel complaint, which carried him off on the 25th October,[4] in the nineteenth year of his reign, and perhaps the sixty-eighth of his life. He was taken to Faversham, his own foundation, and there laid to rest beside his wife Matilda and his eldest son Eustace.[5]

Stephen in the North.

Synod in London.

A Run to Dover.

Death of the King.

Stephen at any rate had justified his boast, 'they shall never call me a dethroned King.'[6] His reign had served one purpose. He had shown the people of England the horrors of Continental feudalism when left to run its own course: it must have brought home to their minds the conviction that no sacrifices could be too great to secure a ruler capable of keeping down such evils.

Stephen's Reign.

Stephen's personal reputation has suffered through the association of his memory with the miseries brought on England by his ambition. He must have been a bad man to have caused so much mischief. Of course he broke his oath to the Empress, and showed gross ingratitude to his uncle Henry. But a struggle for a crown seems to blind men to regard for such considerations. To some his treatment of Churchmen may seem unpardonable. But his acts were more blundering than criminal, and recoiled chiefly on his own head. If we take his life as a whole we must pronounce him, in the language of

His Character.

[1] Gervase, *sup.* W. Newburgh, I. 91.

[2] 17th August, 1153; R. de Monte. The boy was named William.

[3] W. Newb. I. 94; R. Hoveden. Both writers belonged to the neighbourhood. See also Sym. *H. R. Cont.* 331.

[4] "Subito illic dolore cum veterano emoroidarum fluxu violenter corripitur"; Gervase, I. 159; R. de Monte. [5] De Monte; Gervase, *sup.*

[6] "Nunquam rex dejectus appellabor"; W. Malm. *H. N.* p. 544. See above, 345.

modern society, one of the "best fellows" that ever sat on our throne. His character was that of a simple-minded athlete, destitute even of the self-preserving instincts that exalted positions engender in persons of very moderate intelligence. Perpetually trusting and forgiving, he found his confidence perpetually abused. No acts of cruelty, nothing mean or petty was ever brought home to him. His tenderness for human life must specially be remembered. His readiness for desultory adventure was that of a knight-errant of romance. One is tempted to think that his character may have been influenced by the Arthurian legend, then in the first burst of its popularity. It was in 1139 that Henry of Huntingdon, visiting Bec on his way to Rome with Archbishop Theobald, was first shewn by Robert of Torigny (R. de Monte) a copy of the *Gesta Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, a work that came upon the worthy Archdeacon as a perfect revelation.[1] In 1152 Geoffrey, 'the Arthurian Geoffrey' as he was called (*Gaufredus Artur*), received the reward of his labours by his promotion to the See of St. Asaph,[2] an appointment in which Stephen presumably concurred, if he did not suggest it.

Arthurian Romance.

Geoffrey of Monmouth.

We have referred to the Synod held in London about the beginning of October (1154).[3] A fresh appointment to the distracted See of York was the chief piece of business transacted. William fitz Herbert, consecrated in 1143 by the Bishop of Winchester, had been deposed by Eugenius III. and the Cistercian interest in 1147, when Henry Murdac was elected to succeed him. The Pope gave Henry his Pall, but he did not gain peaceable possession of his office till January, 1151, when he came to terms with Stephen, and, as we have seen, went to Rome on behalf of Eustace. But a fresh disturbance broke out in 1153, over an appointment to the Bishopric of Durham. William of Sainte Barbe died in November, 1152.[4] On the 22nd January, 1153, the Durham Chapter agreed in electing Hugh of Puiset, Treasurer of York, and Archdeacon of Winchester, a man favoured by the King, to whom he was related. But Murdac absolutely refused to consecrate the Elect, objecting both to his youth and his private character. Not content with that he actually excommunicated the heads of the Durham Chapter when they came to notify the election. A furious tumult broke out at York, and Murdac was driven out, never to return (March? 1153).[5] But in July Eugenius died.[6] On the 20th August Bernard of Clairvaux followed him to the grave; and

Synod.

Ecclesiastical Appointments.

Hugh of Puiset, Bishop of Durham.

[1] "Stupens inveni." See his Letter to Warinus or Guérin, a Breton, printed by Mr. Howlett in his De Monte, 65–75.

[2] 24th Feb., *Reg. Sacr.*; R. de Monte. Geoffrey however did not enjoy his promotion long, as he died in 1154. *Reg. Sacr.* [3] W. Newburgh, I. 94.

[4] 13th Nov. Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 328; 13th Dec. *Id. H.D.E.* 167; 24th Nov. *Reg. Sacrum.* [5] Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 328, 329; *H.D.E.* 169. For Hugh of Puiset, see above, 434. [6] July 7 or 8; H. Nicolas.

Henry Murdac likewise passed away on the 14th October.[1] The Cistercians being no longer supreme at Rome both William fitz Herbert and Hugh of Puiset hastened to the spiritual metropolis, and were favourably received by the new Pontiff, Anastasius IV.[2] William was restored to his archbishopric, and, at last, received his Pall. Hugh was consecrated to Durham. Both returned to England; Hugh to rule the Church of St. Cuthberht for two-and-forty years; William to pass away within six months. At Easter 1154 (April 4), he was at Winchester; on May 9 he made his entry to York, when the crowd that followed was such that the wooden bridge over the Ouse broke down, and many people were precipitated into the stream. Fortunately, however, no lives were lost. On Trinity Sunday (May 30), after Mass, the Archbishop was attacked by a fever, which carried him off on the 8th June. Popular regret for him was such that men would have it that he had been poisoned.[3] The man chosen to succeed him was one of Theobald's innermost circle, Roger of Pont l'Eveque, Archdeacon of Canterbury. On the 10th October he was consecrated at Westminster. The Northern clergy insisted that he had been consecrated by Theobald *quâ* Legate, not *quâ* Archbishop of Canterbury.[4] That would get rid of the delicate question of the subjection of the Northern Province, a matter of which however we hear nothing on this occasion. Roger's place at Canterbury was filled by the promotion of Theobald's confidential agent, Thomas Becket, still commonly called Thomas of London, 'a man of great energy and intelligence.'[5]

Death of Archbishop Murdac.

William fitz Herbert Restored.

His Death.

Roger of Pont l'Eveque, Archbishop of York.

Thomas Becket.

A very remarkable feature of the reign were the religious foundations, greatly exceeding in number those of any other period of equal duration. There was hardly a man of note of the time whose name is not associated with some great benefaction, William of Ypres not excepted.[6] This man, by the way, through following the ill-omened calling of a captain of hired mercenaries, was one of the few men of the time who can be said to have been faithful and true to his lord. With respect to the charitable foundations we must suppose that the men whose selfish ambition had 'troubled Israel' were seeking to earn pardon for their misdeeds, and gain entrance to everlasting habitations through the Mammon of Unrighteousness. The monastic movement still running with unbroken current would point out the channel along which their liberality should flow. The Cistercians of course, as the leading spiritual force of the time, head the list.

Foundations of the Reign.

The Cistercians.

[1] Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 331. [2] Elected 9th July; H. Nicolas.
[3] T. Stubbs, 1721; W. Newb. I. 78–80; cnf. Gervase, I. 157, 158.
[4] So W. Newb. I. 95.
[5] Gervase, I. 159; "Viro admodum strenuo atque ingenii perspicacis."
[6] Boxley, Kent, was his foundation.

They could boast of Byland, Meaux, Kirkstall, Jervaulx, Roche, Sawley (all Yorkshire); they had Swineshead, Louth Park, Kirksted, Revesby, Vaudey, Greenfield, in Lincolnshire; Bitlesden (Bucks.); Wardon, Woburn (Beds.); Ford (Dorset); Buckfastleigh (Devon); Newminster (near Morpeth, Northumberland); Thame, Bruerne (Oxon.); Bordeslea (Worcestershire); Coombe, Stoneleigh, Merevale (Warwickshire); Pipewell (Northamptonshire); Sawtrey (Hunts); Sibton (Suffolk); Stratford Langthorne, Tiltey (Essex); Coggeshall (Queen Matilda); Boxley (Kent); Kingswood (Wilts); Flaxley, or Dene (Gloucestershire); Dore (Herefordshire); Whiteland (Caermarthen); Margan (Glamorgan); Holm Cultram (Cumberland). We have also four nunneries of the same Order in different counties.[1]

The foundations of Black or Augustinian Canons were also numerous, but perhaps not more so than in the time of Henry I. Among these we have Bredon, St. Mary de Pré (Leicestershire); Llanthony (Gloucestershire); St. Augustine or Holy Trinity, Bristol (now the Cathedral); Nocton, Thornholm (Lincolnshire); Studley (Warwickshire); Pyneham (Sussex); Bradenstoke (Wilts); Norton (Cheshire); Newburgh, Thornton-upon-Humber (Yorks); with some eight or nine others, and a nunnery at Harwood (Beds.).[2]

Augustinian or Black Canons.

Hospitals, too, in considerable numbers were founded, some almshouses, others houses of entertainment for poor pilgrims and travellers.[3] The Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, founded by Bishop Henry, partook of a double character, being established for the support of thirteen poor brethren, while a modicum of bread and beer is still supplied to every passing applicant for refreshment. But the soil of England even gave birth to a new Order of its own, that of Gilbert of Sempringham, in Lincolnshire. A man of charming character, English on his mother's side, and specially fitted to be "a spiritual director of women," he founded a double system for men and women (A.D. 1139). The Order was confirmed by Eugenius III.,[4] and Gilbert lived to see thirteen priories of his Order founded, four for men only, and nine for men and women.[5]

Hospitals.

The Gilbertines.

The Church of the Hospital of St. Cross, above named, is the most undoubted and perfect monument of the architecture of the reign. The beautiful church of Iffley near Oxford, and that of Castle Rising in Norfolk, perhaps the work of William of Aubigny, are also ascribed to the period.[6] The date of Romsey Abbey in Hants might probably be associated with these.

Of Stephen's revenue it would be idle to attempt an estimate. No data of any sort are available. All that we can say is that it would be

[1] See *Monasticon*, V. pp. 236, etc. [2] *Monasticon*, VI. pp. 330, etc.
[3] See *Id.* Pt. 2, 607, etc. [4] *Id.* vi.
[5] See Gilbert's *Life*, given *Monasticon*, *sup.* v., from MS. Cott., Cleopatra B., I. 37 *b*.
[6] Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*.

hard to rate it too low. The district on which he could draw must have been limited to the South Eastern counties round London, say from Hants to Essex, while the state of the country was utterly unfavourable for the raising of taxes or contributions of any kind. But the machinery of the Exchequer does not seem to have been thrown out of gear. With the advent of a new King we shall find it in working order. At any rate Bishop Nigel of Ely and his son Richard were there, depositories of all the old learning and traditions of the office (*scaccarii scientiam*).[1] With respect to the currency, the penny seems to have been copied from types of the reign of Henry I., very roughly struck, but not in debased metal. One piece has been found representing Stephen and his Queen as sharing the sceptre. We would suggest that this belongs to the period of Stephen's captivity, when the Queen might act in his name. Coins of the Empress (MAT. IMP.), of Robert of Gloucester, and of Henry of Winchester have also been found. With regard to the coinage of the rebel barons it would seem that what they usually did was to take Stephen's pieces and deface his effigy by over-striking it with a cross.[2]

By Matilda, daughter of Eustace III. Count of Boulogne and Mary of Scotland (Matilda died 3rd May, 1152),[3] Stephen had—

I. Baldwin; died young (before 1135). Buried at Trinity, Aldgate.[4]

II. Eustace, born *circa* 1129–1131?;[5] married to Constance, daughter of Louis VI. of France; died *s. p.* 17th August, 1153.[6] Constance remarried Raymond III. of Saint Giles, Count of Toulouse.[7]

III. William, born *circa* 1134; married before 6th November, 1153, to Isabelle, daughter and heiress of William III. of Warenne, Earl of Surrey; Earl of Surrey in her right, and, after Stephen's death, Count of Boulogne and Mortain; died *s. p.* October, 1159. Isabelle in 1164 remarried Hamelin, natural brother of Henry II., by whom she left issue and died 13th July, 1199.[8]

IV. Matilda, born in 1134; betrothed in 1136 to Waleran Earl or Count of Meulan, who as her portion received the city of Worcester. She died young, and was buried at Trinity, Aldgate, with her brother Baldwin.[9]

V. Mary, Abbess of Romsey; taken from thence and married to Matthew, son of Count Dietrich of Flanders; succeeded to the county of Boulogne at the death of her brother William, and left two daughters, the eldest of whom, Ida, succeeded to Boulogne.[10]

We also hear of a natural son Gervase, in Holy Orders, alleged to have been born in Normandy and brought to England in 1140; appointed by

[1] *Dialogus, sup.* p. 191.
[2] *Ex relatione* H. A. Grueber, Esq., F.S.A., of the British Museum.
[3] Gervase, I. 151; and above, 450.
[4] Sandford, *Genealogical History*, 42.
[5] He was knighted in 1147; above, 437.
[6] R. de Monte, and above, 450.
[7] Sandford, 43.
[8] *G.E.C. Peerage*; Doyle.
[9] Sandford, *sup.*; Green, *Princesses*, I. 191.
[10] Sandford, 44; Lappenberg.

his father to be Abbot of Westminster, from which office he was removed by Henry II.;[1] but nevertheless buried there "in the South part of the cloister."[2]

Another natural son, a second William, is also named.[3] Besides these we have a daughter, whose name is not given, married to Hervé of Lions, described as a Breton Count. He is styled the King's son-in-law in the year 1141,[4] so that his wife must have been older than any of the King's legitimate children.

[1] So Sym. *H.R. Cont.* 330. [2] So Sandford, giving his epitaph, p. 44.
[3] *Id.* [4] *Gesta Stephani*, 65.

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